This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

600017714Q

Mus. Bibl. III.

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time.

VOL. XL.

THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Univerſal Hiſtory,

FROM THE

Earlieſt ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL WRITERS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANTIENT PART.

VOL. XL.

IN RECTO DECVS

LONDON:
Printed for T. OSBORNE, C. HITCH, A. MILLAR,
JOHN RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER, B. LAW and
Co. T. LONGMAN, and C. WARE.

M.DCC.LXIII.

223

BIBLIOTHECA · BODLEIANA

Modern Hiſtory:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Univerſal Hiſtory.

The HISTORY of AMERICA.

CANADA, [*Continued.*]

Proſperous ſtate of Canada.

IN the year 1668, ſo great was the attention of the court of *France* to the proſperity of *Canada*, that the affairs of that colony had a moſt promiſing aſpect. Gentlemen of ancient families aud ſmall fortunes in *Old France* tranſported themſelves to the *New*, where they had lands and lordſhips aſſigned them; and, with a very moderate ſhare of induſtry, they were ſoon enabled to live like men of quality. The ſoldiers of the regiment of *Carignan Salieres* were now become planters and coloniſts, and every officer amongſt them was a great landholder; a policy that cannot be ſufficiently admired in the court of *France*, as every man thereby had an intereſt and a property in what he fought for. New troops were ſent over, which ſtill added not only to the ſtrength, but the tranquillity of the colony; and the habits of induſtry, application, and labour, became now to be faſhionable. Happily for their neighbours, the ſubjects of *Great Britain*, thoſe habits were forced, and of no long continuance. The moment the *French* planter found means to ſubſiſt himſelf with a little outward ſhew and ſplendour, all toil and application was laid aſide; which always gave the *Engliſh* an important ſuperiority in the ſolid poſſeſſions of life. The tranquillity, however, which the colony enjoyed was a proof of its proſperity; ſo that, towards the end of this year, even the *Tſonnonthouans* applied to M. *Courcelles* for a miſſionary to inſtruct them, and he ſent them father *Fremin.* The *Agniers*, who had hitherto appeared the moſt determined enemies of the miſſionaries, and who had ſo often embrued their hands in their blood, became now reconciled to their doctrines; and vaſt numbers of converts were made about the falls of *St. Lewis*, and the mountain; but the *Onneyouths* and *Goyogouins* were leſs tractable. By this time, the *Iroquois*, remaining in perfect peace, the *Algonquins*, whom they had diſlodged and driven away, returned to their former habitations, all of them converts to chriſtianity, or rather to popery, though *Charlevoix* ingenuouſly confeſſes[a], that moſt of thoſe converſions were the effect of intereſt and convenience only, and ſeldom ſincere. About this time, father *Nicholas*, who was labouring with *Allouez* at *Chagouamigon*, conducted to *Quebec* ſavages who are known by the name of *Pierced-noſes*, from their practice of piercing their noſes, and hanging beads and plates to them. After diſpoſing of their merchandizes they returned to *Chagouamigon.*

Differences between Courcelles *and* Talon.

ABOUT the year 1668, or 1669, a miſunderſtanding grew up between *Courcelles* the governor-general, and *Talon*, the intendant general of *New France.* Both of them were men of great and acknowledged ablities. *Talon* underſtood the intereſts of the colony, and had done it great ſervices; but being an accompliſhed courtier, he eſpouſed on all occaſions the intereſts of the jeſuits, whom *Courcelles* diſliked. The latter had fine parts, and would have been a moſt excellent governor, had he been a little more active; or, if he could have ſuffered *Talon* to have ſupplied his place. *Talon* ſaw this weakneſs, and often ventured to diſpatch buſineſs without conſulting the governor general, ſo that they lived uneaſily together, and *Talon* going over to *France* was ſucceeded by M. *Bouteroue.* This miniſter brought along with him a letter from M. *Colbert* to *Courcelles*, which politely gave him to underſtand that he ought to live upon better terms than he did with the biſhop of *Petrée* and the jeſuits, and that M. *Bouteroue* was preferred to the intendency of the province, chiefly on account of the great regard he had for that order.

Quebec *made a biſhoprick.*

FOR ſome years paſt a negotiation had been on foot between the courts of *France* and *Rome* about erecting *Quebec* into a biſhopric. As there was at this time but a very indifferent underſtanding between the two courts, his holineſs made great difficulties on account of the independency, which a biſhop of *Quebec* might affect in ſo diſtant a country. At laſt, all difficulties were got over; his moſt chriſtian majeſty, to make ſuitable proviſion for the new biſhopric, gave to it, and the chapter of the cathedral, the rents of the abbey of *Maubec*, which was afterwards encreaſed with thoſe of the abbey of *Benevent*. So miſerably poor, however, was the new biſhop of *Quebec*, and ſo griping the papal court, that the bulls of his creation lay for four years at *Rome* for want of money to defray the expence of paſſing them. About this time, *Maiſonneuve*, who had ſo long and ſo worthily governed *Montreal*, reſigned his poſt, and M. *Bretonvilliers*, as ſuperior general of the ſeminary of *St. Sulpice*, named M. *Perrot* to ſucceed him. The latter, who had married a niece of *Talon*, thought it beneath his character to a[illegible] under a commiſſion from a private ſubject, and, therefore, had intereſt enough to obtain commiſſion from the king, which, however, expreſly mentioned that it was granted upon the nomination of M. *Bretonvilliers*.

---

[a] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 187.

Conduct of Courcelles.

NOTWITHSTANDING the natural inactivity of *Courcelles*, yet he was extremely alert in every thing relating to the intereſt of *New France*, eſpecially with regard to the ſavages. Underſtanding that the *Iroquois*, who lay towards the lake *Ontario*, had ſent preſents to the *Outaouais* to engage them to bring their furs to them that they might diſpoſe of them to the *Engliſh* of *New York*, he reſolved to check them. For that purpoſe he embarked with a body of troops on the river *St. Laurence*, and notwithſtanding the great number of falls and rapids he met with between *Montreal* and lake *Ontario*, he ſhewed the ſavages that it would always be in the power of the *French* to invade them by boats; which had all the effect he could have wiſhed for, by their breaking off their commerce with the *Outaouais*, and the other northern ſavages. This voyage, however, did ſo much prejudice to his health, that he ſoon after deſired to be recalled. The remaining term of his government was chiefly taken up in replacing the *French* ſettlements of *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, which had been ceded to the crown of *France*, by the treaty of *Breda*. In the year 1670, M. *Talon*, who had retired from the intendency of *New France*, only that he might reſume it with greater advantages, returned to *Canada*. That able miniſter, notwithſtanding all his attachment to the jeſuits, was convinced that their miniſtry was prejudicial to the temporal affairs of the colony; and, during his abſence in *France*, he had obtained the re-eſtabliſhment of the fathers recollects, who the reader may remember, were the firſt miſſionaries in *Canada*, 1670.

da, before the conqueſt of *Quebec* by the *Engliſh*, and whoſe ſucceſſors were extremely deſirous of reſuming their functions in that colony. *Talon*'s views in this re-eſtabliſhment was to moderate the influence and power of the jeſuits over the natives, whom they abſolutely governed, not only by the ſway they had over their conſciences, but by debarring them from, or indulging them in, the uſe of ſpirituous liquors. He obtained at the ſame time a recruit of five hundred families from his moſt chriſtian majeſty for peopling *Canada*; but after ſetting ſail with part of them, the ſhip they were in was wrecked and many of them loſt. *Talon*, however, ſoon raiſed freſh recruits both of recollects and inhabitants, with whom he arrived at *Quebec*, where he found that the ſame ſtorm, which had wrecked his ſhip had done damage to the amount of 100,000 francs.

Irregularities of the French *ſoldiers.*

TALON's zeal for peopling *Canada*, though founded on right maxims of policy, was not without its inconveniences; for his coloniſts imported, into the country, vices, till then unknown to the inhabitants. Three *French* ſoldiers meeting with an *Iroquois* chief, who had with him a valuable cargo of furs, firſt made him drunk and then murdered him; but notwithſtanding all the precautions they took, they were diſcovered and thrown into priſon. While their proceſs was preparing, ſix *Mahingan Indians*, who were poſſeſſed of furs to the amount of 1000 crowns, after being made drunk, were murdered and robbed by three other *French* ſoldiers, who ſold the furs as their own property, and had ſo little precaution, that they did not even bury the dead bodies, which were diſcovered by their countrymen. The latter, imagining the *Iroquois* were the perpetrators of the murders, flew to arms, and demanded ſatisfaction; but one of the *French* ſoldiers, quarrelling with his confederates, diſcovered the truth, and then both the *Mahingans* and *Iroquois* united in a war againſt the *French*. Four of the *Mahingans* burnt the houſe of a *French* lady with herſelf in it; and the *Iroquois* were equally exaſperated by the impeaching murderer accuſing his two confederates of deſigning to poiſon all the ſavages they met with. Matters, however, were but juſt coming to extremities, when *Courcelles* arrived at *Montreal*, and, in the preſence both of the *Mahingans* and *Iroquois* who were there, put to death the *French* ſoldiers, who had murdered the *Iroquois* chief, promiſing that the aſſaſſins of the three *Mahingans* ſhould meet with the ſame fate, as ſoon as they could be diſcovered. This example of ſpeedy juſtice charmed the ſavages, and diſarmed them of their wrath; and, upon *Courcelles* promiſing to make good all the damages that had been done, they laid aſide all farther reſentment. *Courcelles*, having thus eſtabliſhed his authority by his juſtice, applied himſelf to compoſe the differences between the *Iroquois* and the *Outaouais*, which had broken out into hoſtilities, and ſo highly was he reſpected, that both ſides ſent deputies to *Quebec*, where, chiefly by the prudence of *Garakonthie*, all intereſts were reconciled. *Garakonthie*, who, no doubt, had a ſecret underſtanding with the *French* before the departure of the deputies to their own country, publickly profeſſed his having been long a chriſtian in his heart, and his deteſting the errors in which he had been educated, and earneſtly deſiring the biſhop to baptize him, which he accordingly performed with great ſtate and ceremony. The name he received at the font was *Daniel*; and the ceremony was attended with a noble entertainment given to the ſavage deputies, which had a moſt excellent effect upon the unconverted natives in general.

Mortality amongſt the ſavages.

WHILE the province of *Canada* was in this deſirable ſituation, a moſt dreadful mortality broke out amongſt the northern natives, which carried off whole tribes, particularly that of the *Attikamegues*, who never have been ſince heard of under that name. About the ſame time, *Tadouſſac*, which had hitherto been the chief mart of the *Indian* ſavages in the fur trade with the *French*, began to be entirely deſerted, as likewiſe did *Trois Rivieres*, by means of the ſmall pox breaking out, which carried off 1500 ſavages at once. The *French*, however, maintained their ſettlement at *Trois Rivieres*, though they could not do that at *Tadouſſac*. The ſame loathſome diſtemper made likewiſe great havock at *Sylleri*, where all the converts died. It was at this time that the *Huron* chriſtian ſettlement of *Loretto*, which we have already mentioned, was inſtituted by father *Chaumonot*; and that the *Engliſh* ſubjects of *New York*, in the neighbourhood of the canton of *Agnier*[b], began to tamper with the natives, and to endeavour to bring them over to proteſtantiſm; but, according to *Charlevoix*, without effect. They then endeavoured to intimidate the women, by telling them that the government of *New York* would not ſuffer them to appear with beads and other marks of popery in their province; but all was to no purpoſe, for the ladies, on the head of religion, proved ſtill more intractable than the men. Notwithſtanding this, many of the *Agniers* continued to inſult the miſſionaries. A chief of one of their cantons turned father *Perron* out of the aſſembly of the natives, and impoſed ſilence upon

Zeal of their women.

---

[b] Id. ibid. p. 223.

them; upon which *Perron* threatened them with the reſentment of the great *Onnonthio*, and to complain of the affront to the governor-general. We are told that this ſhew of reſolution in the miſſionary ſo greatly daunted the *Iroquois* chief, that he came and aſked pardon of the father, who reproached him ſoundly for his inſolence and impiety, and would not even hear what the ſavage had to urge in behalf of himſelf. The haughtineſs of the father produced an effect very contrary to what might have been naturally expected, for the chief immediately undertook to bring all his canton into the pale of chriſtianity. For this purpoſe, he went round all its elders, and perſuaded them to agree to a general aſſembly, which being accordingly held, was opened by a ſpeech from the chief, which might have proceeded from the moſt zealous miſſionary. He was ſeconded by father *Perron*, and *Garakonthie* happening providentially to be there, he harangued in his turn, on the ſame ſubject with ſo much energy, that the aſſembly unanimouſly came to the following reſolutions. Firſt, no longer to acknowledge *Agreſkoue*, (which it ſeems was the name of the ſupreme deity of thoſe ſavages,) as the author of life, and that he ſhould be no longer worſhipped. Secondly, that their jugglers or empirics ſhould no longer be called to viſit their ſick; and, thirdly, that they aboliſh all indecent and ſuperſtitious dances.

Ill ſucceſs of the miſſionaries.

We have mentioned theſe particulars, rather to give our countrymen, now that they are become poſſeſſed of *New France*, ſome idea of the manners and diſpoſitions of the ſavages and the true method of treating them, than for any material information they contain [c]. *Charlevoix* acknowledges that the event was far from anſwering thoſe promiſing appearances. In the canton of *Onneyouth*, father *Bruyas*, the miſſionary there, had very indifferent ſucceſs, though he was ſeconded by the indefatigable zeal of *Garakonthie*. The miſſionaries attributed the averſion of the natives for them to the neighbourhood of *New York*, from which they were furniſhed with ſpirituous liquors. All the zeal of *Garakonthie*, and his aſſiſtant-miſſionary, could not prevail with a ſingle ſavage of either ſex to declare for them, or to hear their inſtructions. They comforted themſelves, however, by peopling heaven with a great number of children, whom they baptized in the laſt ſtages of their lives. They had better ſucceſs with the other cantons of the *Upper Iroquois*, who were farther removed from the *Engliſh*, and had been greatly mortified by the late wars. They had ſtill greater ſucceſs with the *Upper Algonquins*, in whoſe converſion not only the miſſionaries, but the government of *New France* took great concern. A large quantity of ground was cleared and ſown with grain of all kind, near the fall of *St. Mary*, which was in the heart of their ſettlements, and was the center of a conſiderable commerce. But after all, there is reaſon for believing that their ſucceſs in propagating their religion, even there, was nothing equal to what they gave it out to be, as appeared on every occaſion.

---

[c] Ibid. p. 226.

Differences with the Tſonnonthouans.

COURCELLES, ever ſince the *French* expeditions againſt the *Agniers*, had affected to treat all the ſavage nations in the neighbourhood of *New France*, as his maſter's ſubjects, and had been at great pains in preſcribing them the terms of their pacifications with one another; of which he gave them to underſtand he was to be the guarantee. This haughtineſs had a conſiderable effect upon the ſavages lying in the neighbourhood of the *French*, who found their account in the ſame; but was by no means reliſhed by the *Tſonnonthouans*, who fell upon the *Pouteoutamis*, notwithſtanding *Courcelles* had but very lately concluded a peace between them. He immediately ſent a threatening meſſage to the aſſailants, and charged them to keep the peace on pain of his high diſpleaſure. The *Tſonnonthouans* reſented this haughtineſs in a manner worthy a free people, and told the governor-general, that they neither were, nor ever would be, ſubjects to *France*. *Courcelles* had ordered them to give up the *Pouteouatamis* priſoners. This, at firſt, they refuſed to do; but, after ſome deliberation, the great chief of the *Goyogouins*, who has been already mentioned, and who was next in credit with all the *Iroquois* to *Garakonthie*, perſuaded them to put into his hands eight priſoners, out of thirty-five of the *Pouteouatamis*. He then delivered them up to *Courcelles*, who received them as the whole, being glad of getting off with ſome ſhew of credit in ſo tickliſh an affair. The *Goyogouin* chief, in preſenting the captives, acquainted *Courcelles*, that he had undertaken that commiſſion only with a view of being baptized by the hands of the biſhop. This gave great pleaſure to all the *French*. M. *Talon*, who was by this time returned to *Canada*, was his godfather, and gave him the name of *Lewis*, together with a grand entertainment to all the chriſtian ſavages at *Quebec*, *Loretto*, and *Sylleri*, in the name of the new convert. About this time, moſt of the chriſtian *Agniers*, amongſt whom were ſome eminent female converts, removed to the *Huron* ſettlement of *Loretto*, where they were encouraged by *Courcelles* to reſide, in hopes, that they would in time prove a barrier againſt their ſavage countrymen, if they ſhould renew their inroads. As their numbers conſiderably encreaſed, he formed a ſettlement for the chriſtian *Iroquois* almoſt oppoſite to *Montreal*, in a place called *Magdalen's Meadow*, from whence it was removed ſoon after two leagues farther to the ſouth; and it is now called the miſſion of the fall of *St. Lewis*. In the mean while, *Talon* began to carry into execution a project he had formed when he was laſt in *France*, which was to ſend a proper meſſenger through the moſt diſtant parts of *Canada*, to engage all the different nations of the ſavages to ſend deputies to a certain place to treat with them about putting themſelves under the protection of *France*. Having communicated his project to *Courcelles*, the latter recommended as a proper perſon for this negotiation, one *Nicholas Perrot*, who was in the ſervice of the jeſuits, and, being a man of addreſs, had been employed by them in different parts of *Canada*.

A grand congreſs between the French *and the ſavages.*

TALON having approved of this choice, *Perrot* received his inſtructions, and viſited all the northern tribes, who were known to the *French*, and invited them to ſend their deputies, by a certain time, to the falls of *St. Mary*, there to meet one of the great *Onnonthio*'s commanders. From thence he went towards the weſt, and edging to the ſouth, he fell down to *Chicagou*, which is ſituated at the bottom of *Lake Michigan*, then the reſidence of the *Miamis*, being eſcorted all the way by a party of *Pouteouatamis* to prevent them from inſults; the ſavages being then at war with each other. *Perrot* found the chief of the *Miamis*, as well as his ſubjects, to be very different from the other ſavages. He could raiſe four or five hundred warriors, and was always attended by forty of them as his body-guard. He lived in ſome kind of ſtate, and had his miniſters, to whom he iſſued his orders, without communicating them to any other. *Tetinchoua*, for that was his name, being apprized of *Perrot*'s approach, who travelled under the title of envoy-general of *France*, received him and his eſcort in a warlike manner, and ordered him a ſplendid apartment with a guard of fifty men. In ſhort, nothing could be wanting to teſtify their high eſteem for the *French* nation; and, when *Perrot* ſet out for *St. Mary*'s fall, *Tetinchoua* would have attended him; but was diſſuaded by his ſubjects, on account of his great age and infirmities. *Perrot* then would have viſited a great many nations lying towards the *Miſſiſſippi*, particularly the *Maſcoutins*, the *Kicapous*, and the *Illinois*, but had not time. In *May*, 1671, the grand aſſembly was held at *St. Mary*'s fall, and ſavages reſorted to the meeting even from the ſouthern part of *Hudſon's Bay*. The reader, however, is to judge for himſelf of the credibility of the *French* relations of this congreſs, as even *Charlevoix* himſelf ſeems to be ſomewhat ſcrupulous of *Perrot*'s ſtrict adherence to veracity in his relations. He certainly had an intereſt in magnifying his ſervices with his employers, whoſe profeſſed purpoſe on this occaſion was to intimidate, or trick the ignorant inhabitants out of their country.

Its event,

ON the day appointed for the great congreſs at *St. Mary*'s fall, the ſieur *Luſſon*, a ſubdelegate for the intendant of *New France* acted under a ſpecial commiſſion to take poſſeſſion of all the country held by thoſe people, and to receive them under the *French* king's protection. The aſſembly was opened by father *Allouez* pronouncing a ſpeech in the *Algonquin* tongue, magnifying the power of *France*, and explaining to the deputies the infinite advantages they would receive by their becoming ſlaves to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, or, as he expreſſed it, by their acknowledging him for their great head. *Luſſon* then aſked in *French*, which was interpreted by *Allouez* into *Algonquin*, whether all of them agreed to what was propoſed, which all having done, with loud acclamations of “long live the king,” a croſs and the arms of *France* were immediately erected, and his moſt chriſtian majeſty was, by the ſieur *Luſſon*, graciouſly pleaſed to take poſſeſſion of all the countries from which the ſaid deputies came, and to receive the inhabitants into his protection. After this the aſſembly was concluded with great civilities and careſſes, that paſſed on both ſides, and by a grand entertainment given by the ſubdelegate, the expectation of which, more than probably, was the great inducement to their ſubmiſſions. *Luſſon*, after this, by *Talon*'s order, paid a viſit to the ſouthern part of *Canada*, where he found many well-built *Engliſh* ſettlements on the banks of *Kennebeck* river; but he acquainted the owners, that, by the tranſactions of the late congreſs, the lands, on which they had been built, had been ceded to his moſt chriſtian majeſty; and that they were now his ſubjects. *Luſſon* moſt abſurdly pretended, in the memoirs he ſent on this occaſion to his ſuperiors, that they willingly promiſed obedience and fidelity to his moſt chriſtian majeſty; notwithſtanding which, they ſtill remained the ſubjects of *England*, even by the acknowledgment of the *French* court.

THE year, *viz.* 1671, the *Tionnontatez Hurons* eſtabliſhed themſelves near *Michillimakinac*, upon a ſpot lying on the ſtrait that divides lake *Michigan* from lake *Huron*, and in the center of thoſe two lakes and the upper lake. This ſituation was choſen for them by father *Marquette*, though extremely incommodious on account of the bitter cold occaſioned by the neighbourhood of thoſe immenſe lakes. This year is diſtinguiſhed in the annals of the jeſuits by many ſupernatural appearances of mock ſuns, and other phenomena in thoſe ſavage countries, which are of little conſequence to our hiſtory, though, no doubt, the fathers improved them to their own ends amongſt the ignorant inhabitants.

and ſmall ſucceſs.

ALL this while, the ſavages ſeem to have purchaſed no repoſe by their pretended ſubjection to his moſt chriſtian majeſty. It appears, even from the *French* accounts, that ſome of the moſt powerful cantons had refuſed or neglected to ſend deputies to the congreſs at *St. Mary*'s fall; and the *Iroquois*, in the mean while, continued a moſt cruel war with the *Andaſtes* and the *Chaouanons*, two nations whom they almoſt exterminated. The few who remained unbutchered were incorporated into the cantons of the victors, eſpecially thoſe of the *Tſonnonthouans*, to repeople their country. *Courcelles* ſoon became ſenſible that the pretended ſubmiſſion of the *Indians* was a moſt precarious dependance, and that the *Iroquois* paid very little regard to his authority. He therefore reſolved, as he could not ſubdue them, to endeavour to outwit them. For this purpoſe he ſent meſſages through their cantons, informing them that he had ſomething of great conſequence to propoſe, and deſiring them to meet him at *Cataracuoy*, as ſoon as poſſible. The ſavages, curious to know what this important buſineſs was, reſorted thither in great numbers, and were met by the governor. After the uſual introduction of ſome preſents, and a vaſt number of careſſes, he informed them that he had their welfare ſo much at heart, that he intended to erect near that ſpot a commodious building, to ſerve as a place of trade and reſort in their dealings with the *French*. The ſavages, little ſuſpecting that *Courcelles* intended to erect a ſtrong fort for bridling them, highly approved of his intention, and preſſed him to ſet about it immediately; but this was incompatible with his private views of returning to *France*.

Courcelles *recalled.*

HE had already ſollicited his recal at that court, and upon his return from *Cataracuoy* to *Quebec*, he there found count *Frontenac*, who had been appointed to ſucceed him. After conferring together about the deſign of the fort, the new governor highly approved of the ſame, and early in the ſpring ſet out for *Cataracuoy*, where he built it, and gave it his own name; by which it was afterwards ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed; but as that fort was thus fraudulently erected upon the lands belonging to the allies, if not the ſubjects, of *England*, we mean the northern *Iroquois*, the legality of the *French* title to it was, even then, very doubtful. This important fort ſtands upon the bay of *Cataracuoy*, at the place where the river *St. Lawrence* diſcarges itſelf into lake *Ontario*, and thereby commands the paſſages between *Montreal* and that lake; ſo that, while in the hands of the *French*, it ſerved to connect that dangerous chain of forts, which they had raiſed for 3000 miles, along the frontiers of the *Britiſh* colonies. As to the new general, it is agreed on all hands that he was a man of capacity and courage; that he had ſtudied and underſtood the true intereſts of *New France*; that he was moſt indefatigable in promoting them; and that he had a remarkable talent of making himſelf reſpected by the *French Canadians*, and their *Indian* ſubjects, or, as they are called, their allies. At the ſame time, the general faults of almoſt all *American* governors entered into his compoſition. He was poſitive, haughty, overbearing, ſuſceptible of prepoſſeſſions which he could never ſhake off, and ſtuck at no means, had they been ever ſo violent, to remove all who oppoſed, or diſputed, his pleaſure. But all his faults were counterbalanced, in the eye of his court, by his zeal for the honour of the crown, and the proſperity of *Canada*.

Diſcovery of the Miſſiſſippi.

TALON ſoon underſtood the true character of *Frontenac*, and ſoon after the latter's arrival he applied to the *French* court for his recal. It was owing to this great miniſter, that about this time the famous river of *Miſſiſſippi* was diſcovered. It was known, in general, from the accounts of the ſavages, that there was ſuch a river towards the ſouthern parts of *New France*; but the public were ignorant where it diſcharged itſelf, whether in the gulph of *Mexico*, or in the *South Sea*. *Talon* thought that the proſecution of this diſcovery was a matter of ſo great importance, that he employed father *Marquette*, and an inhabitant of *Quebec*, one *Joliet*, a ſpirited able adventurer, and well acquainted with thoſe countries, in the attempt (A). Before they ſet out they drew a map of the

(A) The reader is to obſerve, that father *Hennepin*, who has wrote an account of the diſcoveries we are now to mention, was a kind of a renegade from the *Romiſh* religion, and therefore his relation is much diſcredited by *Charlevoix*, and other jeſuits, in their accounts of *New France*. Notwithſtanding this, and ſome immaterial inaccuracies he has fallen into, his accounts agree in the main, and in their material ſubſtance with what they have themſelves related, and it is evident, that in many important particulars relating to the ſavages, and their ſituations, as well as in their ſubſequent diſcoveries and travels they were greatly indebted to *Hennepin*'s work, in which we find *Marquette*'s journal of the voyage mentioned in the text.

countries, through which they ſuppoſed they were to paſs, from the information of the ſavages, and laid in their proviſions, which conſiſted of boiled fleſh and *Indian* corn. They then ſet out for the bay of *Puantes*, or lake *Michigan*[d], but found all the people, through which they paſſed extremely, ignorant and ſuperſtitious. Embarking on the river *des Renards*, they ſailed up it, notwithſtanding its rapids, and after travelling ſome days by land they reimbarked upon the river *Ouiſconſing*, or *Miſconſing*. The particulars of their voyages and travels, though curious and entertaining, are foreign to this work. It is ſufficient to ſay, that on the 17th of *June*, 1673, they entered the great river *Miſſiſſippi*, which anſwered all the high ideas they had conceived of it from the relations of the ſavages. Having ſailed down it a great way, they met with the *Illinois*, who lived in three townſhips three leagues below the place where the river *Miſſouri* diſcharges itſelf into the *Miſſiſſippi*. Thoſe *Indians* entertained the travellers with great marks of ſavage politeneſs, and afterwards, to the number of about eight hundred, conducted them to their canoes. During their ſtay with the *Illinois*, they underſtood that the latter were apprehenſive of being invaded by the *Iroquois*, for whom their nation was no match; and they implored the good offices of the governor-general of *Canada* in their favour. *Marquette* and *Joliet*, then reimbarking, fell down the river till they came to the mouth of the river *Ouabouſkigou*, where they found a numerous, harmleſs, nation, who inhabited thirty-eight villages, called the *Chuoanous*, who were were greatly harraſſed by the *Iroquois*. Soon after they met with a nation of ſavages, who had fire-arms, who informed them that they purchaſed them, and their working utenſils from *Europeans*, who lived to the eaſtward, and that they were only ten days journey from the ſea. Before they reached the great village of *Akamſca* they met with another race of ſavages, not ſo poliſhed but friendly. The natives of *Akamſca* received them with great civility; but ſome of them were for murdering the father and his companions, from which they were diverted by the authority of their chief. *Marquette* and *Joliet* here held a conſultation with their companions, who were five *Frenchmen*, concerning their future proceedings, and obſerving by their reckoning, that they were within three days journey of the gulph of *Mexico*, where they could expect nothing but death from the *Spaniards*, and conſidering their proviſions were now almoſt ſpent, they turned back towards *Canada*. Arriving at *Chicagou* on the lake *Michigan*, *Marquette* reremained with the *Miamis*, and *Joliet* went to *Quebec*, where he found *Talon* preparing to return to *France*. *Marquette* was

Account of farther diſcoveries.

---

[d] Relation de pere MARQUETTE.

received with great civility by the grand chief of the *Miamis*. About the ſame time, the fathers *Allouez* and *Dablon* went up the river *des Renards*, and preached, but without much ſucceſs, to the *Indians*, that inhabited to the ſouth of lake *Michigan*. In their travels, they met with the fragment of a rock, which, at a certain diſtance, bore ſome reſemblance to a human head, and was worſhipped by the ſavages as an idol. The two fathers had the courage not only to preach againſt this idolatry, but to tumble the idol from its ſtation; ſo that neither it, nor its worſhip was ever heard of again. In the courſe of thoſe voyages it appeared, that the river *des Renards* or *Foxes*, after the falls are paſt, rolls through a moſt delightful country, where woods and meadows are agreeably interſperſed, while the borders of the river itſelf, and thoſe of ſeveral ſmaller ſtreams, which fall into it, produce a kind of wild oats, that, in the winter time, attracts a vaſt quantity of game. In ſhort, nothing but cultivation is wanting to render it one of the moſt agreeable countries on the globe; for vines producing large grapes grow ſpontaneouſly in its woods, as do plumbs, apples, and other fruits; which, though wild, are not diſagreeable to the taſte, but, if cultivated, would become delicious.

Frontenac's *haughty behaviour.*

TOWARDS the ſouth, the miſſionaries entered the country of the *Maſcoutins*, which, by the ſimilitude of its name to an *Indian* word, ſignifying fire, is, by ſome geographers called the country of fire; though its real etymology imports, that it is an open country; the land there being more free from wood than any in *North America*. The *Kicapous* are the neighbours, and conſtant allies, of the *Maſcoutins*. Here the two miſſionaries found the *Miamis* chief at the head of 3000 of his own ſubjects, *Maſcoutins* and *Kicapous*, whom the fear of the *Iroquois* and the *Sioux* had brought to the field. The miſſionaries were diſappointed in their labours to convert thoſe people. They were indeed received and treated by them with great civility; but all the fruit they gained from their exhortations, was, that the ſavages hearing them talk ſo well, took them for divinities, and inviting them to a great war-feaſt, petitioned them to grant them the victory over their enemies. Soon after *Dablon*, to his great regret, was recalled to *Quebec*, and father *Allouez* went to reſide with the *Outagamis*, who, at that time, conſiſted of about 1000 families. As there was no good underſtanding between them and the *French*, the *Miamis* and the *Maſcoutins*, were earneſt to diſſuade him from venturing himſelf amongſt thoſe ſavages; but he was deaf to their remonſtrances, and proceeded in his miſſion with much greater ſucceſs than he had reaſon to expect.

In the mean while, every thing was in confuſion in the government of *Canada*. *Frontenac*, as we have already ſeen, was violent and arbitrary, and had impriſoned the abbot of *Salignac Fenelon*, who belonged to the ſeminary of *St. Sulpice*, as well as monſ. *Perrot*, late governor of *Montreal*. In ſhort, he not only quarrelled with all the clergy and miſſionaries, but with monſ. *du Cheſneau*, who had ſucceeded *Talon* as intendant of *New France*. He likewiſe garbled the upper council, ſo that it conſiſted entirely of his own friends and creatures, and he iſſued more warrants in one year, than had been for ſixty before, ſo that the whole colony was in the utmoſt confuſion. We have already mentioned the ſettlements of the ſavage *Iroquois* at *Magdalen*'s meadow; but experience ſoon convinced them, that the ſoil there could not produce that kind of corn that was proper for their ſubſiſtence; ſo that the ſettlement was in danger of being entirely abandoned. The miſſionaries, to prevent this, applied to the governor for leave to remove to the fall of *St. Lewis*, and he taking no notice of their requeſt, *Cheſneau*, as intendant-general, granted them the ſpot they petitioned for; and notwithſtanding the reſentment of *Frontenac*, which he diſcovered in a moſt violent manner, they kept poſſeſſion of it. About this time the miſſionaries were driven by the *Dutch* out of the canton of *Agniers*, and *Canada* was threatened by the *Iroquois* ſavages with a freſh invaſion. *Frontenac*, to encreaſe his credit at the *French* court, wrote to that miniſtry, in ſuch terms, as if he had by his addreſs in gaining over the heads of the *Iroquois*, ſaved *New France* from entire deſtruction. His intelligence, however, only ſerved to confirm the opinion of the neceſſity of maintaining the *Iroquois*' ſettlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*.

Difference between the governor and the clergy.

The breach now grew every day wider between the governor-general on one part, and the biſhop and intendant on the other. Both parties had great friends at court, and thoſe of *Frontenac* had credit enough to prevent his being recalled, and perhaps puniſhed for his injuſtice and violences. He engroſſed to himſelf the whole power of the upper council, by acting as its preſident. By his own authority he baniſhed the procurator-general, and two counſellors, and even diſregarded the orders that came from *France*. That king, had in *June* 1675, emitted an ordonnance, by which the governor-general was to have the firſt ſeat in the council, the biſhop the ſecond, and the intendant the third, but that the latter ſhould collect the voices and pronounce the ſentences. *Frontenac* paid no regard to this ordonnance, and even threatened to throw the intendant into priſon. His intereſt, however,

ver, at the *French* court prevented his moſt Chriſtian majeſty from knowing the whole of his behaviour, and both he and the intendant received reprimands, though that of *Frontenac* was the moſt ſevere, becauſe he had expreſly diſobeyed the king's ordonnance. The letters, which brought over thoſe reprimands, eſtabliſhed ſeveral other regulations, particularly, againſt a ſet of men called *coureurs des bois*, or rangers, who carried on an illicit trade, both with the *Engliſh* and the natives, whom they furniſhed with ſtrong liquors. *Frontenac*, on the other hand, and his friends, with ſome juſtice perhaps, pretended, that the ſtrong liquor trade was abſolutely neceſſary for preſerving the intereſt of the *French* amongſt the ſavages; that the biſhop and the jeſuits greatly exaggerated the evils attending it; and that their real deſign was by getting that trade into their own hands, to engroſs the management of the colony, and the affections of the natives. *Colbert* himſelf became at laſt ſo much of the ſame opinion, that he checked *Cheſneau* for oppoſing the ſtrong liquor-traffic. At laſt, the matter began to be very ſerious; but the jeſuits carried their point. The opinions of twenty of the principal inhabitants of *New France* were taken as to the commerce in queſtion, and the whole matter was referred by the king to the archbiſhop of *Paris*, and the famous father *la Chaiſe*, the king's confeſſor, and himſelf a jeſuit, who pronounced ſentence entirely in favour of the biſhop and the miſſionaries; and the moſt expreſs orders were given againſt the traffic, under the moſt heavy penalties.

An account of le Sale.

ALL this while, by the abſence of *Talon*, and the death of father *Marquette*, the diſcovery of the great river *Miſſiſſippi* remained unproſecuted; but it was now reſumed by the Sieur *la Sale*, one of the moſt extraordinary adventurers of that age. He was a native of *Rouen*, and, having lived for ſome years with the Jeſuits, he forfeited his patrimony. Throwing himſelf upon fortune, he reſolved to do ſomething that might diſtinguiſh him in the world. His firſt ſcheme was to diſcover a paſſage by the north, or the weſt, of *Canada*, to *Japan*, or *China*. It was with this view that he came from *France* to *Canada*, though unprovided with money, and every requiſite that could promote his undertaking. Being, however, poſſeſſed of great preſence of mind, invincible reſolution, and a good addreſs, he found friends and protectors, and amongſt them the count *de Frontenac* himſelf. He was at *Montreal* at the time when *Joliet* returned from his diſcoveries of the *Miſſiſſippi*, *la Sale*, and after diſcourſing with him, he reſolved to proſecute the diſcovery, and to ſail northward up the ſame river. Being furniſhed with all neceſſary informations, and arguments, to make good his point, he artfully applied himſelf to *Frontenac*, on a ſubject which he knew was his ruling paſſion, the improving and fortifying his poſt at *Cataracouy*, which, at this time [c], was ſurrounded only with ſtakes, palliſadoes, and earthen ramparts. His reaſons for making this fort a barrier againſt the *Iroquois*, and all the hoſtile *Indians*, were ſo flattering to *Frontenac's* views, that he agreed *le Sale* ſhould return to *France*, where he was to lay before the court his plans, not only for ſailing up the *Miſſiſſippi*, but for building, peopling, and garriſoning the fort at *Catarocouy*, and rendering its neighbourhood a populous and thriving plantation; ſo as to produce all the neceſſaries of life, and docks, and materials for building veſſels proper for the navigation of lake *Ontario*. Being furniſhed with proper credentials from *Frontenac*, he immediately repaired to *France*, where he found *Colbert* dead; but his poſt of the marine department, occupied by his ſon, the marquis *de Seignelay*. After conferring with that miniſter, *le Sale* obtained, to the full, all he wanted. Letters of nobility were expedited in his favour. The lordſhip of *Caterocuoy* was granted him, together with the government of the fort, provided he would build it with ſtones, and he likewiſe received full powers for the extenſion of commerce and proſecuting his intended diſcoveries. In the courſe of his ſollicitations, the prince of *Conti* became his patron with the *French* king, and was of vaſt ſervice to him; while all the acknowledgement he required, was *la Sale* receiving the chevalier *Tonti*, an officer of courage and experience, into a command under him. On the 14th of *July*, 1678, *la Sale* and *Tonti*, with thirty other perſons, ſome of whom were pilots, and others workmen, embarked at *Rochelle* for *Quebec*, where they arrived on the 15th of *September* following. After a very ſhort ſtay there, they repaired to *Cataracuoy*, carrying with them father *Hennepin*, whom we have already mentioned, and who was a *Flemiſh* recollect. This expedition, in which *la Sale* worked at the fort, and at building a veſſel, gave very promiſing appearances of his future government. As ſoon as the veſſel was ready, he repaired to *Niagara*, where he formed the deſign of another fort at the entrance of lake *Erie*, above the famous fall of *Niagara*. After that he travelled on foot thoughout all the canton of *Tſonnonthouan*, lying to the eaſt of *Niagara*, and returned by land to *Cataracuoy*; all the while carrying on a trade by means of his bark, which was, ſoon after, wrecked through the negligence of the pilot.

Arrival of La Sale *and* Tonti.

---

[c] Hennepin's Travels, page 17.

LA SALE applied himſelf with great ſpirit and diligence, as did *Tonti* likewiſe, in repairing this loſs; and in the mean while both of them viſited the different ſavages in the neighbourhood, with whom they ſettled a commerce; and about the middle of *Auguſt*, 1679, the veſſel being now ready, *la Sale* embarked on board of it, with forty perſons, of whom three were fathers recollects for *Michillimakinac.* In his voyage he met with ſo ſevere a ſtorm, that moſt part of his attendants left him; but happening to fall in with the chevalier *Tonti*, who had taken another route, he perſuaded them to return. His veſſel then ſailed to the bay of *Puantes*, from whence it returned to *Niagara*, loaded with furs, while he himſelf went in a canoe to the river *St. Joſeph*, where *Tonti* joined him. After remaining there a ſhort while, *Tonti* went to the country of the *Illinois*, while *la Sale* returned to *Catarocouy*, where he received undoubted intelligence, that his new veſſel, which was called the *Griphon*, was loſt or deſtroyed. It is certain that *la Sale*, who, with all his good qualities, was opinionated and overbearing, did not conſult the true rules of policy in launching ſo large a veſſel upon the lakes of *Canada.* The barbarians conſidered it as big with their deſtruction, and his attempts as tending to engroſs the whole fur trade, and to bring them into a ſtate of entire dependence upon the *French.* It is thought, not without great probability, that this induced a party of the *Iroquois* to ſurpriſe the bark when it lay at anchor, and had no more than five men on board, and, after plundering it of all its cargo, to ſet it on fire. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that the ſavages, in general, were, at this time, extremely averſe to the *French* intereſt; and the *Iroquois* defeated the *Illinois*, whom *la Sale* chiefly depended on, while *Tonti* was amongſt them. The *Algonquin* nations, the *Outaouais* particularly, were now ſhaken in their allegiance to the *French*; and even the *French* themſelves at *Catarocouy*, where *la Sale* then was, entered into practices againſt his life, and gave his ſavage allies very bad impreſſions of his deſigns.

Diſtreſs of la Sale.

IT required all *la Sale's* firmneſs and vivacity to withſtand ſo many ſhocks. He immediately repaired to the country of the *Illinois*, who, he perceived, received him with a coldneſs very different from the ſentiments in which he had left them. But this, far from diſcouraging him, determined him to act with an impolitic vigour, that might overawe the barbarians. All he gained, was, that the more ſome of them admired, the more they hated, him. His *French* attendants, ſeeing matters in this ſituation, conſpired to poiſon him; but, being diſcovered, they fled. All he could then do, was, to replace the fugitives by an equal number of young *Illinois*, who were charmed with his intrepidity under his ſufferings. He then diſpatched father *Hennepin* with one *Dacan*, to ſail up the *Miſſiſſippi*, if poſſible, to its ſource. The miſſionary and his companion accordingly embarked at fort *Crevecoeur* (which had been built by *la Sale)* on the 28th of *February*, and advanced up the *Miſſiſſippi* as far as the 46th degree of north latitude. Here they were ſtopt all of a ſudden by a fall extending the whole breadth of the river, which prevented their going farther, and which *Hennepin* called the fall of *St. Anthony* of *Padua*. According to *Hennepin*, they found means to be delivered by ſome *French Canadians* from the hands of the *Sioux*, who had made them priſoners; and afterwards they went down the river as far as the ſea, from whence they returned to fort *Crevecoeur*. *Charlevoix*, however, treats all the remaining part of this voyage, which is related by that recollect, as a mere fiction, and tells us, that he returned to *Crevecoeur* by the ſame courſe he held when he went up to *St. Anthony*'s fall.

at fort Creve-coeur.

THIS fort *Crevecoeur*, or heart-break, had been built by monſ. *la Sale* in a very uncomfortable country, and under a very miſerable ſituation. After the departure of *Hennepin* and his companion, he was obliged, by various accidents, to remain at this fort to the month of *November*. In journeying from thence to *Catarocouy*, he perceived, upon the river of the *Illinois*, a ſpot very proper for a fort. He accordingly planned one there, and leaving the care of building it to his friend *Tonti*, he proceeded in his journey, or rather voyage; for moſt travels in *North America* are performed, partly by land, and partly by water. While *Tonti* was intent upon building this fort, he received intelligence that the *French*, whom *la Sale* had left at fort *Crevecoeur*, had mutinied, and run off. *Tonti* repaired, with great diſpatch, thither, and found the news to be true; all of them, excepting ſeven or eight, having abandoned the fort, and taken with them whatever they could carry. Soon after, the *Iroquois*, to the number of ſix hundred warriors, appeared in ſight of the *Illinois* villages; and this encreaſed the ſuſpicions of the *Illinois* againſt the *French*. All that *Tonti* could do in ſo diſagreeable a ſituation, was, to employ two miſſionaries, who mediated a peace between the two nations; but in ſuch a manner, that it gave the *Iroquois* very high ideas of their own power and ſuperiority, ſo that the peace was of very ſhort duration, and hoſtilities ſoon recommenced.

His imprudence,

THE court of *France* appears at this time to have given too much into the romantic projects of *la Sale*, who had made himſelf a great number of enemies in *New France*, by obtaining excluſive privileges of trade; but the *Engliſh* are chiefly blamed by *Frontenac* for this irruption of the *Iroquois*. The flouriſhing ſtate of the colonies of *New England* and *New York* enabled them to be very troubleſome neighbours to the *French*, after they had obtained the reſtitution of *Acadia* by the treaty of *Breda*; and the *French* had neglected that country ſo much, that it again fell into the hands of the *Engliſh*, whoſe diſtance from *London* encouraged them to pay no great regard to the negotiations of that court. As the acquiſition of *Acadia* and the intermediate country was of the utmoſt conſequence to both nations, the *American Engliſh*, more than 1680. probably, had encouraged the *Iroquois* in invading the *Illinois*. *Tonti*, who was then at fort *Crevecoeur*, with no more than five men, and two recollect fathers, ſaw it was in vain to reſiſt the *Iroquois*, who were determined to drive the *French* from all their poſts on the river *Illinois*; and abandoning the fort, made the beſt retreat he could (B), but not without loſing one of the recollects, who was murdered by the ſavages. *La Sale* had heard nothing of this retreat, and was ſurpriſed when, in the ſpring of the following year, on his return to fort *Crevecoeur*, he found it abandoned. He ſoon reinforced it with a new garriſon, and ſent workmen to complete the fort he had marked out the year before, and which he named fort *St. Lewis*. He then marched to *Michillimakinac*, where he joined *Tonti*; and about the end of *Auguſt*, after rambling backwards and forwards for three months, they, once more, ſet out for *Catarocouy*, to procure freſh ſupplies of adventurers and proviſions. In his way thither he viſited his two forts in the county of the *Illinois*. Every thing was now prepared for *la Sale*'s grand expedition to the *Miſſiſſippi*; which he entered the 2d of *February*, 1682-3, by the river *Illinois*. On the 4th of *March* he formally took poſſeſſion of the country of the *Akanſas*, and, according to the *French* accounts, on the 9th of *April* he came to the mouth of the river, where he took poſſeſſion anew; and this, according to *Charlevoix* himſelf, is all we know of certainty with regard to this famous voyage; he giving no credit to the accounts publiſhed of it by *Tonti*. It is certain, however, that not only *la Sale*, but the whole *French* nation, looked upon the diſcovery and poſſeſſion of the *Miſſiſſippi* as very great acquiſitions, though it is evident that it was known long before by

---

(B) *Charlevoix* ſays, that *Tonti* was not wounded on this occaſion. *Hennepin* ſays that he was; *Frontenac*, in his diſpatch to the *French* court, ſays the ſame.

the name of *Cucagua* by *Ferdinand de Soto*, whoſe body was thrown into it after his death, and had even been ſettled by ſome *Engliſh* adventurers.

and adventures.

On the 11th of *April*, *la Sale* reimbarked on his return; but falling ill on the 15th of *May*, he diſpatched the chevalier *de Tonti* before him, to *Michillimakinac*. Notwithſtanding all that is here related, the honour of diſcovering the *Miſſiſſippi* is vigorouſly conteſted with *la Sale* by *Hennepin*; who ſays, that his being the firſt diſcoverer, excited *la Sale*'s hatred towards him ſo much, that he was very ill treated by the *French* court, and obliged to throw himſelf on the protection of *England*. As to *la Sale* himſelf, after wintering in the bay of *Puantes*, he arrived at *Quebec* in the ſpring of the year 1683, from whence he ſet ſail for *France*, carrying with him *de la Foreſt*, the major of his fort at *Catarocouy*.

Numbers of French *in* Canada.

In the mean while, the government of *New France* had undergone ſome revolutions; for the miſunderſtanding between *Frontenac* and the intendant grew to ſuch a height, that the *French* court recalled them both. *Le Fevre de la Barre* ſucceeded as governor-general of *New France*, and *de Meules* as intendant. By their inſtructions, which are dated in *May* 1682, they were ordered to correſpond in the moſt cordial manner with *Blenac*, the governor of the *French American* iſlands, as the opening a commerce between them and *New France*, would be productive of the greateſt advantages to both. They were likewiſe inſtructed to live in the greateſt harmony with one another, but the intendant was alway to ſubmit to the governor. It appears that, for ſome years, *New France* had been in a declining ſtate; for in 1697 all the *French* in the colony, excluſive of thoſe in *Acadia*, whoſe numbers were very inconſiderable, amounted to no more than 8515 perſons. The *Iroquois*, notwithſtanding their barbarity, were now almoſt as good ſoldiers as the *French Canadians* themſelves, and well knew the weakneſs of the colony: they therefore inceſſantly applied themſelves to bring off the other ſavages from their connections with the *French*. In this they were greatly aſſiſted by colonel *Dongan*, the *Engliſh* governor of *New York*, who gave to the *Iroquois* much greater prices for their furs and commodities than the *French Canadians* could afford, on account of the exactions of the new *French* company. Other accidents contributed to the miſunderſtanding. *Du Luth*, a *French* trader and officer, had put to death ſome ſavages, who had murdered two *Frenchmen* near the upper lake, which exaſperated their countrymen to the higheſt degree. In the month of *September* 1681, while *Frontenac* was yet governor of *New France*, a *Tſonnon-*

Practices of the Engliſh,

thouan chief had been killed by an *Illinois* at *Michillimakinac*, which belonged to the *Kiſkacons*, from whom the *Tſonnonthouan Iroquois* demanded ſatisfaction for the murder. As the *Kiſkacons* were part of the *Illinois*, and lived in good correſpondence with *France*, the *French* governor ſent a meſſage to perſuade the *Tſonnonthouans* to ſuſpend their reſentment till he could have a meeting with them at *Catarocouy*, to which he invited them, that all differences might be ſettled between the two nations. The *Tſonnonthouans*, inſtigated, probably, by colonel *Dongan*, required the governor to give them the meeting in their own country, at the mouth of the river *Onnontague*. The haughty *Frenchman* ridiculouſly looked upon this demand as an inſult upon his own and his maſter's dignity; but though he received it with the utmoſt indignation, he knew not how to better himſelf. In vain he practiſed all arts to retrieve his authority amongſt thoſe ſavages; and he even received intimations, that if he went to their place of rendezvous, he would be murdered. The governor, however, abated nothing of his haughty behaviour towards the ſavages; and not only took all the *Illinois* under his protection, but permitted the *Kiſkacons* to build forts for their defence.

and of the miſſionaries.

THE miſſionaries, in the mean while, were not idle for they had credit enough to bring ſome of the *Iroquois*, to conſent to meet the governor-general at *Catarocouy*. The governor imagining this condeſcenſion to be the effect of fear in the ſavages, anſwered, that he would come no farther than *Montreal*, and that if they did not meet him there by *June*, he would return to *Quebec*. This haughtineſs exaſperated the *Iroquois* ſo much, that they returned to their firſt propoſition of meeting him at the mouth of the river *Onnontague*. The intendant endeavoured to perſuade him to go thither, and propoſed a method by which he could do it without derogating from his dignity; but it was obſtinately rejected by *Frontenac*, who declared that he would not quit his government to his ſucceſſor, till he had reduced the ſavages to a ſenſe of their duty. Soon after, in the neighbourhood of *Montreal*, he met *la Foreſt*, who had not yet ſet out for *France*, and five *Iroquis* deputies from the five cantons, headed by an *Onnontagueſe* captain, one *Teganiſſorens*, a great partizan of the *French*. Their purpoſe was to profeſs a great friendſhip to the governor and his allies. On the 11th of *September*, *Frontenac* gave them audience, but underſtanding that the *Illinois* were to be excepted out of the number of the *French* allies, he loaded *Teganeſſorens* with preſents, to induce him, which he promiſed to do, to prevent the war between the *Iroquois* and the *Illinois*. It appeared, however, afterwards that *Teganiſſorens* was not in the ſecret of his countrymen's real deſigns.

Freſh negotiations.

UPON the governor's leaving *Montreal*, other deputies arrived from the *Kiſkacons*, the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*, and the *Miamis*. The governor took this opportunity of preſſing the *Kiſkacons* to give the *Iroquois* the ſatisfaction they demanded on account of the abovementioned murder, but all in vain. The *Kiſkacons* alledged, that they had ſent *Hurons* with belts of wampum to the *Iroquois*, which was all the atonement the cuſtom of the country required for a murder that was not committed by themſelves; nor could *Frontenac*'s authority or perſuaſions bring them to any farther conceſſion, though they ſaid they would act only upon the defenſive. While matters were in this ſituation, the new governor and intendant of *Canada* arrived; and it was diſcovered, that all the negotiation of *Teganiſſorens* was intended only as a blind to the *French*, till the *Iroquois* could make diſpoſitions for a vigorous war, which had actually begun.

Difference between le Barre *and* de Sale.

LA BARRE arrived in *New France* with great prepoſſeſſions againſt the friends of *Frontenac*, and *la Sale* in particular, whom he accuſed as being the author of the war that was ready to break out between the *Iroquois* and the *French*, before the latter were prepared. He likewiſe complained of father *Zenobe*, who had accompanied *la Sale* in his diſcoveries, which he treated as impoſtures, or matters of very little conſequence. He alledged, that all had been tranſacted by a dozen or two of vagabond *French* and ſavages, who had proſtituted his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's authority, and endeavoured to engroſs to themſelves the commerce of *New France*. Notwithſtanding the evident partiality of *Charlevoix* in favour of *la Sale*, *La Barre*'s allegations were far from being groundleſs. It ſeems pretty certain, from the teſtimonies of *Tonti* and *Clerqz*, a *Frenchman* in *Canada*, that in all either he or *Hennepin* had done, they[f] had been directed by the *Engliſh*, who were no ſtrangers to the countries which they pretended to have diſcovered. Add to this, that *la Sale*, in the proſecution of his project, had already run himſelf 30,000 crowns in debt, which he had no other means of diſcharging than by feeding his creditors up with great expectations from his diſcoveries.

THE vanity of the *French*, however, took the part of *la Sale*. He had, by his letters, prepoſſeſſed that miniſtry, particularly M. *de Seignelay*, greatly in favour of his diſcoveries, which he had magnified above thoſe of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and when he came to be heard at court he met with a very ſmall reprimand, but great encouragement. *La Barre* was all this while ſtruggling under infinite difficulties. He ſaw the poverty of the colony, and the impending war with the *Iroquois*, without knowing how to remedy the one, or to prevent the other. He followed the wiſeſt courſe. Being a ſtranger, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of all the principal inhabitants, eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military, and demanded their advice. Here we have an opportunity of reflecting on the miſtaken policy of the *French* court, which was the true reaſon why they availed themſelves ſo little as they did of their poſſeſſion of *Canada*, and the other fine countries comprehended in *New France*.

---

[f] See conteſt in *America* between *Great Britain* and *France*, p. 90.

Bad policy of the French *court.*

In the firſt place, intoxicated with the glory of their monarch in *Europe*, they too much deſpiſed the ſavages, and appointed none for their governors in *North America*, but men of haughty behaviour and arbitrary principles, who wanted to rule with a rod of iron. This manner might have ſucceeded; but they did not ſufficiently reflect, that the ſavages were better inſtructed by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, who taught them to deſpiſe the aſſuming airs of the *French* and their governors; while the latter, depending upon the connexions formed between *France* and *England*, every day expected that the *Engliſh Americans* would be checked by their government; but in this they were deceived. In the next place, though the court of *France* was zealous for the proſperity of *New France*, yet the whole of its government was a ſyſtem of rapacity. Above one-fourth of the clear product of the fur trade went from the native into the pockets of the *New France* company; ſo that the former were under inexpreſſible diſadvantages, of which the *Engliſh Americans* were entirely rid.

Aſſembly of New France.

The aſſembly of *New France* was ſenſible of all this, and laid before their governor a full ſtate of the province. They repreſented that the colony could not arm above a thouſand men; that, even to do that, they muſt neglect their agriculture; that they were deſtitute of proviſions; in ſhort, that it was impoſſible to enter, with any proſpect of ſucceſs, upon the war, without aſſiſtance from *France*. That two or three hundred men, at leaſt, ſent from thence would be neceſſary for their frontier garriſons, particularly that of *Cataracouy*; that the cultivation of their lands, during the abſence of the inhabitants in the war, would require 1000 or 1500 additional hands; that they muſt be furniſhed with funds to raiſe magazines, and to build veſſels. All thoſe heads, with reaſons, ſhewing that, if they were not complied with, the colony muſt be utterly ruined, were tranſmitted to *France* in a memorial from *la Barre*, and were highly approved of by his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. Orders were given for the immediate embarkation of two hundred regulars for *Canada*, and letters were ſent to the governor, informing him that *Dongan* (whoſe character we have already given) had received expreſs orders from the court of *England* to alter his conduct with regard to the government of *New France*. The ſame letters enjoined *la Barre* to do all he could to prevent the *Engliſh* from ſettling in *Hudſon's Bay*, the hiſtory of which will be found in another part of this work.

Negotiation with the ſavages.

THOSE letters from *Europe* ſerved only to encreaſe the preſumption and deluſion of the *French* at *Canada*. In 1683, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that no fewer than 1500 *Iroquois* were aſſembled at the chief village of the *Onnontagueſe*, and that they intended to march from thence againſt the *Miamis*, the *Outaouais*, and the other allies of the *French*. *La Barre* had, as uſual, recourſe in this danger to the arts of negotiation. He diſpatched a meſſenger, who arrived at the place of rendezvous, to diſſuade the ſavages from entering upon their expedition, and to prevail with them to ſend deputies to *Montreal* to treat of an accommodation. They ſeemed to agree to both propoſitions; but before the end of *June*, *la Barre* had advice that ſeven or eight hundred of the cantons of *Onnontagué*, *Goyogouin*, and *Onneyouth*, had marched to attack the ſavage allies of *France*, while the *Tſonnonthouans*, and another body of the *Goyogouins*, were to fall upon the colony itſelf. *Le Barre*, upon this, diſpatched another expreſs to the *French* miniſtry, with heavy complaints of the practices of the *Engliſh*, in exciting this cruel war; and requeſting that the duke of *York* ſhould be applied to, to ſend orders to his governor of *New York* not to ſupport the *Iroquois* againſt the *French*.

LA BARRE, while he waited for the reſult of thoſe diſpatches, ſent a freſh meſſage to the *Iroquois*, in hopes of amuſing them, deſiring to know how ſoon they would fulfil their promiſe in ſending deputies to *Montreal* to treat of a peace. The ſavages anſwered the meſſenger with great contempt, that they did not remember their having made any ſuch promiſe; and that if the governor had any thing to propoſe, he muſt repair to them. It appeared, however, that the ſavages, 'tho' reſolved upon a war with the *French Indians*, were not ſo forward, as they pretended, in coming to a rupture with the colony; for in *Auguſt*, the five cantons ſent deputies to *Montreal*. The *French* miſſionaries and traders, who were

Inſolence of the ſavages,

beſt acquainted with the character of thoſe nations, endeavoured to put *la Barre* upon his guard againſt their practices, which they ſaid were only to gain time, that they might be more ſure of their blow. *La Barre*, preſt perhaps by neceſſity, received the deputies with great civility, and accepted of all their proteſtations; at the ſame time, he took poſſeſſion of fort *Cataracouy*, which in fact was the private property of *la Sale*, or his creditors, and likewiſe of fort *Lewis*, in the country of the *Illinois*; all which proceedings created great diſſatisfaction in the colony, where he was treated as an old credulous dotard. In the mean while, the *Iroquois* were making diſpoſitions for poſſeſſing themſelves of both thoſe forts. While a body of them was on their march, they met fourteen *French* traders, whom they robbed of goods to the value of 15,000 francs. The ſavages afterwards excuſed themſelves for this robbery, by pretending that they thought the traders belonged to *la Sale*, whom they were at liberty, by permiſſion of the governor, to plunder.

who are repulſed.

DE BAUGY, an officer under *la Barre*, was then commandant at fort *Lewis*, where *Tonti* likewiſe ſerved; and having intelligence of the approach of the barbarians, they were ſo well prepared to receive them, that they killed a conſiderable number of them at the firſt onſet, after which they raiſed the ſiege. Upon this attempt of the ſavages, and another againſt the fort *Cataracouy*, which likewiſe failed, *la Barre* reſolved in good earneſt upon an offenſive war. This being ſettled, *la Durantaye*, a captain of the regiment of *Carignan*, who commanded at *Michillimakinac*, and *Du Luth*, who acted as his lieutenant, received orders to raiſe all the *French Indians* in thoſe parts to arms, and to invite them to meet him at *Niagara*, where he was to be with all the force of *New France*, on the 15th of *Auguſt*; and from thence to proceed to make a vigorous war upon all the *Iroquois* nations, particularly the *Tſonnonthouans*. This ſummons, however, had very little effect, though theſe ſavages were more intereſted, than the *French* were, in oppoſing the *Iroquois*, ſo low was the reputation of that government ſunk in their eyes. Thoſe about the bay of *St. Lewis* were the moſt backward, on account of ſome diſcouragements they met with in their trade, by order from the governor, who wanted to engroſs it to himſelf. *Du Luth*, before he could ſucceed in his commiſſion, was obliged to call to his aſſiſtance *Perrot*, whom we have already mentioned, who managed the barbarians ſo dexterouſly, that *la Durantaye* was ſoon at the head of five hundred *French Indians*, beſides two hundred *Canadians*. His chief difficulty ſtill remained, which was how to march them to *Niagara*.

While he was deliberating on ſurmounting this obſtacle, and when the ſavages had actually begun their march, they were filled with unaccountable prepoſſeſſions, ſuggeſted by their ſuperſtitious notions, that their expedition would be unſucceſsful; and after *Durantaye* and his officers had, with infinite difficulty, brought them to *Niagara*, their worſt ſuſpicions were confirmed by their not finding the governor there, and their afterwards underſtanding that a peace had been made between him and the *Iroquois*. The three *French* officers expected to be ſacrificed to their reſentment; but the ſavages contented themſelves with coolly reproaching them and the governor for having deceived them, and promiſing that they never ſhould be again at *Onnonthio*'s call. The officers, however, found means to appeaſe them, by pretending that their intereſt had been conſulted in the peace, which the dread of them had prevailed upon the *Iroquois* to ſue for; and thus the ſavages departed peaceably home.

Expedition of La Barre.

In the mean while, *la Barre* had ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be held at *Montreal*. Before he put them in motion, he ſent a meſſage to colonel *Dongan*, requiring him, according to the promiſe he had made in conſequence of the duke of *York*'s orders, not to oppoſe his expedition againſt a bloody perfidious nation, who would maſſacre the *Engliſh* if they had nothing to fear from the *French*, and inviting him to join him in revenging the death of twenty-ſix *Engliſh* ſubjects, who had the preceding winter been murdered by the *Tſonnonthouans*. After this, *la Barre* applied to the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Agniers*, and *Onneyouth*, to all whom he ſent belts of wampum, informing them that his expedition was only deſigned againſt the *Tſonnonthouans*. He then detached *du Taſt*, one of his captains, at the head of fifty-ſix picked men, with a grand convoy of proviſions, to *Cataracouy*, and to reinforce the garriſon of that fort, where M. *D'Orvilliers*, a very able officer, was commandant. He had, by *la Sale*'s orders, in the ſpring reconnoitered the enemy's country upon lake *Ontario*, and marked out the ſpot moſt proper for making the deſcent. The army then begun its march. It conſiſted of ſeven hundred *Canadians*, a hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred ſavages. It was the 9th of *July* when this army ſet out in three diviſions from *Quebec*, and on the 21ſt it reached *Montreal*, where they were joined by ſome other troops under *D'Orvilliers*. The whole body embarked the 26th and 27th; and on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Onneyouth*, and *Goyogouin*; had obliged the *Tſonnonthouans* to accept of their mediation between the *French* and them, and

that they required *Le Moyne* to manage the negotiation. At the ſame time, the general received other intelligence, that in the war he was about to wage with the *Tſonnonthouans*, he could do them very little damage, as they had already retired with all their effects and proviſions into their faſtneſſes, and that the proſecution of the war would ſerve only to unite all the different tribes of the nation againſt the *French*. It was added, that the heads of the *Tſonnonthouans* had given aſſurances, that all they required was an indemnity for what had paſſed; in which caſe they would perform even more than was required of them, and abſtain from all hoſtilities againſt the allies of *France*; but that, if thoſe offers were rejected, colonel *Dongan*, the governor of *New York*, had offered to ſupport them in the war with four hundred horſe, and as many men. *Charlevoix* himſelf is of opinion, that had *Dongan*'s offer been accepted, *la Barre* muſt have been in a very indifferent ſituation; but he ſeems to think that *Dongan*'s zeal for the duke of *York*, and his hatred of the *French*, got the better of his prudence on this occaſion. He treated the *Iroquois* as the ſubjects of his maſter the duke of *York*, and even ordered them to ſet up his arms throughout all their cantons. He likewiſe, at the ſame time, required them not to treat with the *French* without his participation, and ſent a meſſenger to the five cantons, exhorting them to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance he offered them, and all at once to get rid of the *French*. One *Arnold* was his meſſenger on this occaſion, and went in the quality of his envoy to the *Onnontagueſe*, who, in the quarrel, conſidered themſelves only as mediators, but, as ſuch, in an independent capacity.

Bad policy of an Engliſh *envoy.*

ARNOLD, ſeeing them ſtartled on delivering his commiſſion, very fooliſhly aſked them, whether they refuſed to obey their lawful prince, the duke of *York?* This diſcourſe ſhocked the *Onnontagueſe*, who called Heaven to witneſs, that *Arnold* came only to trouble their land. One of their chiefs then addreſſed the envoy in the following remarkable ſtrain of ſavage, yet powerful and rational, eloquence. "Know, ſaid he, that the *Onnontague* places himſelf between his father *Onontbio*, and his brother *Tſonnonthauan* to keep them from fighting with each other. I thought that *Corlar* (for ſo the ſavages called the governor of *New York)* would have ſtood behind me, and cried, Well done, *Onnontague*, let not the father and the ſon come to blows together! I am greatly ſurprized that his envoy ſhould ſpeak a very different language, and oppoſe my diſarming both of them. *Arnold*, I cannot think *Corlar*'s diſpoſition to be ſo bad as thou repreſenteſt it. *Onontbio* did me great honour in being willing to treat of peace in

While he was deliberating on ſurmounting this obſtacle, and when the ſavages had actually begun their march, they were filled with unaccountable prepoſſeſſions, ſuggeſted by their ſuperſtitious notions, that their expedition would be unſucceſsful; and after *Durantaye* and his officers had, with infinite difficulty, brought them to *Niagara*, their worſt ſuſpicions were confirmed by their not finding the governor there, and their afterwards underſtanding that a peace had been made between him and the *Iroquois*. The three *French* officers expected to be ſacrificed to their reſentment; but the ſavages contented themſelves with coolly reproaching them and the governor for having deceived them, and promiſing that they never ſhould be again at *Onnonthio*'s call. The officers, however, found means to appeaſe them, by pretending that their intereſt had been conſulted in the peace, which the dread of them had prevailed upon the *Iroquois* to ſue for; and thus the ſavages departed peaceably home.

Expedition of La Barre.

In the mean while, *la Barre* had ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be held at *Montreal*. Before he put them in motion, he ſent a meſſage to colonel *Dongan*, requiring him, according to the promiſe he had made in conſequence of the duke of *York*'s orders, not to oppoſe his expedition againſt a bloody perfidious nation, who would maſſacre the *Engliſh* if they had nothing to fear from the *French*, and inviting him to join him in revenging the death of twenty-ſix *Engliſh* ſubjects, who had the preceding winter been murdered by the *Tſonnonthouans*. After this, *la Barre* applied to the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Agniers*, and *Onneyouth*, to all whom he ſent belts of wampum, informing them that his expedition was only deſigned againſt the *Tſonnonthouans*. He then detached *du Taſt*, one of his captains, at the head of fifty-ſix picked men, with a grand convoy of proviſions, to *Cataracouy*, and to reinforce the garriſon of that fort, where M. *D'Orvilliers*, a very able officer, was commandant. He had, by *la Sale*'s orders, in the ſpring reconnoitered the enemy's country upon lake *Ontario*, and marked out the ſpot moſt proper for making the deſcent. The army then begun its march. It conſiſted of ſeven hundred *Canadians*, a hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred ſavages. It was the 9th of *July* when this army ſet out in three diviſions from *Quebec*, and on the 21ſt it reached *Montreal*, where they were joined by ſome other troops under *D'Orvilliers*. The whole body embarked the 26th and 27th; and on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Onneyouth*, and *Goyogouin*; had obliged the *Tſonnonthouans* to accept of their mediation between the *French* and them, and

that they required *Le Moyne* to manage the negotiation. At the ſame time, the general received other intelligence, that in the war he was about to wage with the *Tſonnonthouans*, he could do them very little damage, as they had already retired with all their effects and proviſions into their faſtneſſes, and that the proſecution of the war would ſerve only to unite all the different tribes of the nation againſt the *French*. It was added, that the heads of the *Tſonnonthouans* had given aſſurances, that all they required was an indemnity for what had paſſed; in which caſe they would perform even more than was required of them, and abſtain from all hoſtilities againſt the allies of *France*; but that, if thoſe offers were rejected, colonel *Dongan*, the governor of *New York*, had offered to ſupport them in the war with four hundred horſe, and as many men. *Charlevoix* himſelf is of opinion, that had *Dongan*'s offer been accepted, *la Barre* muſt have been in a very indifferent ſituation; but he ſeems to think that *Dongan*'s zeal for the duke of *York*, and his hatred of the *French*, got the better of his prudence on this occaſion. He treated the *Iroquois* as the ſubjects of his maſter the duke of *York*, and even ordered them to ſet up his arms throughout all their cantons. He likewiſe, at the ſame time, required them not to treat with the *French* without his participation, and ſent a meſſenger to the five cantons, exhorting them to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance he offered them, and all at once to get rid of the *French*. One *Arnold* was his meſſenger on this occaſion, and went in the quality of his envoy to the *Onnontagueſe*, who, in the quarrel, conſidered themſelves only as mediators, but, as ſuch, in an independent capacity.

Bad policy of an Engliſh envoy.

ARNOLD, ſeeing them ſtartled on delivering his commiſſion, very fooliſhly aſked them, whether they refuſed to obey their lawful prince, the duke of *York*? This diſcourſe ſhocked the *Onnontagueſe*, who called Heaven to witneſs, that *Arnold* came only to trouble their land. One of their chiefs then addreſſed the envoy in the following remarkable ſtrain of ſavage, yet powerful and rational, eloquence. "Know, ſaid he, that the *Onnontague* places himſelf between his father *Onontbio*, and his brother *Tſonnonthauan* to keep them from fighting with each other. I thought that *Corlar* (for ſo the ſavages called the governor of *New York*) would have ſtood behind me, and cried, Well done, *Onnontague*, let not the father and the ſon come to blows together! I am greatly ſurprized that his envoy ſhould ſpeak a very different language, and oppoſe my diſarming both of them. *Arnold*, I cannot think *Corlar*'s diſpoſition to be ſo bad as thou repreſenteſt it. *Onontbio* did me great honour in being willing to treat of peace

While he was deliberating on ſurmounting this obſtacle, and when the ſavages had actually begun their march, they were filled with unaccountable prepoſſeſſions, ſuggeſted by their ſuperſtitious notions, that their expedition would be unſucceſsful; and after *Durantaye* and his officers had, with infinite difficulty, brought them to *Niagara*, their worſt ſuſpicions were confirmed by their not finding the governor there, and their afterwards underſtanding that a peace had been made between him and the *Iroquois*. The three *French* officers expected to be ſacrificed to their reſentment; but the ſavages contented themſelves with coolly reproaching them and the governor for having deceived them, and promiſing that they never ſhould be again at *Onnonthio*'s call. The officers, however, found means to appeaſe them, by pretending that their intereſt had been conſulted in the peace, which the dread of them had prevailed upon the *Iroquois* to ſue for; and thus the ſavages departed peaceably home.

Expedition of La Barre.

In the mean while, *la Barre* had ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be held at *Montreal*. Before he put them in motion, he ſent a meſſage to colonel *Dongan*, requiring him, according to the promiſe he had made in conſequence of the duke of *York*'s orders, not to oppoſe his expedition againſt a bloody perfidious nation, who would maſſacre the *Engliſh* if they had nothing to fear from the *French*, and inviting him to join him in revenging the death of twenty-ſix *Engliſh* ſubjects, who had the preceding winter been murdered by the *Tſonnonthouans*. After this, *la Barre* applied to the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Agniers*, and *Onneyouth*, to all whom he ſent belts of wampum, informing them that his expedition was only deſigned againſt the *Tſonnonthouans*. He then detached *du Taſt*, one of his captains, at the head of fifty-ſix picked men, with a grand convoy of proviſions, to *Cataracouy*, and to reinforce the garriſon of that fort, where M. *D'Orvilliers*, a very able officer, was commandant. He had, by *la Sale*'s orders, in the ſpring reconnoitered the enemy's country upon lake *Ontario*, and marked out the ſpot moſt proper for making the deſcent. The army then begun its march. It conſiſted of ſeven hundred *Canadians*, a hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred ſavages. It was the 9th of *July* when this army ſet out in three diviſions from *Quebec*, and on the 21ſt it reached *Montreal*, where they were joined by ſome other troops under *D'Orvilliers*. The whole body embarked the 26th and 27th; and on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Onneyouth*, and *Goyogouin*; had obliged the *Tſonnonthouans* to accept of their mediation between the *French* and them, and

that they required *Le Moyne* to manage the negotiation. At the ſame time, the general received other intelligence, that in the war he was about to wage with the *Tſonnonthouans*, he could do them very little damage, as they had already retired with all their effects and proviſions into their faſtneſſes, and that the proſecution of the war would ſerve only to unite all the different tribes of the nation againſt the *French*. It was added, that the heads of the *Tſonnonthouans* had given aſſurances, that all they required was an indemnity for what had paſſed; in which caſe they would perform even more than was required of them, and abſtain from all hoſtilities againſt the allies of *France*; but that, if thoſe offers were rejected, colonel *Dongan*, the governor of *New York*, had offered to ſupport them in the war with four hundred horſe, and as many men. *Charlevoix* himſelf is of opinion, that had *Dongan*'s offer been accepted, *la Barre* muſt have been in a very indifferent ſituation; but he ſeems to think that *Dongan*'s zeal for the duke of *York*, and his hatred of the *French*, got the better of his prudence on this occaſion. He treated the *Iroquois* as the ſubjects of his maſter the duke of *York*, and even ordered them to ſet up his arms throughout all their cantons. He likewiſe, at the ſame time, required them not to treat with the *French* without his participation, and ſent a meſſenger to the five cantons, exhorting them to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance he offered them, and all at once to get rid of the *French*. One *Arnold* was his meſſenger on this occaſion, and went in the quality of his envoy to the *Onnontagueſe*, who, in the quarrel, conſidered themſelves only as mediators, but, as ſuch, in an independent capacity.

Bad policy of an English *envoy.*

ARNOLD, ſeeing them ſtartled on delivering his commiſſion, very fooliſhly aſked them, whether they refuſed to obey their lawful prince, the duke of *York?* This diſcourſe ſhocked the *Onnontagueſe*, who called Heaven to witneſs, that *Arnold* came only to trouble their land. One of their chiefs then addreſſed the envoy in the following remarkable ſtrain of ſavage, yet powerful and rational, eloquence. "Know, ſaid he, that the *Onnontague* places himſelf between his father *Ononthio*, and his brother *Tſonnonthauan* to keep them from fighting with each other. I thought that *Corlar* (for ſo the ſavages called the governor of *New York)* would have ſtood behind me, and cried, Well done, *Onnontague*, let not the father and the ſon come to blows together! I am greatly ſurprized that his envoy ſhould ſpeak a very different language, and oppoſe my diſarming both of them. *Arnold*, I cannot think *Corlar*'s diſpoſition to be ſo bad as thou repreſenteſt it. *Ononthio* did me great honour in being willing to treat of peace in

While he was deliberating on ſurmounting this obſtacle, and when the ſavages had actually begun their march, they were filled with unaccountable prepoſſeſſions, ſuggeſted by their ſuperſtitious notions, that their expedition would be unſucceſsful; and after *Durantaye* and his officers had, with infinite difficulty, brought them to *Niagara*, their worſt ſuſpicions were confirmed by their not finding the governor there, and their afterwards underſtanding that a peace had been made between him and the *Iroquois*. The three *French* officers expected to be ſacrificed to their reſentment; but the ſavages contented themſelves with coolly reproaching them and the governor for having deceived them, and promiſing that they never ſhould be again at *Onnonthio*'s call. The officers, however, found means to appeaſe them, by pretending that their intereſt had been conſulted in the peace, which the dread of them had prevailed upon the *Iroquois* to ſue for; and thus the ſavages departed peaceably home.

Expedition of La Barre.

In the mean while, *la Barre* had ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be held at *Montreal*. Before he put them in motion, he ſent a meſſage to colonel *Dongan*, requiring him, according to the promiſe he had made in conſequence of the duke of *York*'s orders, not to oppoſe his expedition againſt a bloody perfidious nation, who would maſſacre the *Engliſh* if they had nothing to fear from the *French*, and inviting him to join him in revenging the death of twenty-ſix *Engliſh* ſubjects, who had the preceding winter been murdered by the *Tſonnonthouans*. After this, *la Barre* applied to the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Agniers*, and *Onneyouth*, to all whom he ſent belts of wampum, informing them that his expedition was only deſigned againſt the *Tſonnonthouans*. He then detached *du Taſt*, one of his captains, at the head of fifty-ſix picked men, with a grand convoy of proviſions, to *Cataracouy*, and to reinforce the garriſon of that fort, where M. *D'Orvilliers*, a very able officer, was commandant. He had, by *la Sale*'s orders, in the ſpring reconnoitered the enemy's country upon lake *Ontario*, and marked out the ſpot moſt proper for making the deſcent. The army then begun its march. It conſiſted of ſeven hundred *Canadians*, a hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred ſavages. It was the 9th of *July* when this army ſet out in three diviſions from *Quebec*, and on the 21ſt it reached *Montreal*, where they were joined by ſome other troops under *D'Orvilliers*. The whole body embarked the 26th and 27th; and on the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, *la Barre* had undoubted intelligence, that the cantons of *Onnontague*, *Onneyouth*, and *Goyogouin*, had obliged the *Tſonnonthouans* to accept of their mediation between the *French* and them, and

that they required *Le Moyne* to manage the negotiation. At the ſame time, the general received other intelligence, that in the war he was about to wage with the *Tſonnonthouans*, he could do them very little damage, as they had already retired with all their effects and proviſions into their faſtneſſes, and that the proſecution of the war would ſerve only to unite all the different tribes of the nation againſt the *French*. It was added, that the heads of the *Tſonnonthouans* had given aſſurances, that all they required was an indemnity for what had paſſed; in which caſe they would perform even more than was required of them, and abſtain from all hoſtilities againſt the allies of *France*; but that, if thoſe offers were rejected, colonel *Dongan*, the governor of *New York*, had offered to ſupport them in the war with four hundred horſe, and as many men. *Charlevoix* himſelf is of opinion, that had *Dongan*'s offer been accepted, *la Barre* muſt have been in a very indifferent ſituation; but he ſeems to think that *Dongan*'s zeal for the duke of *York*, and his hatred of the *French*, got the better of his prudence on this occaſion. He treated the *Iroquois* as the ſubjects of his maſter the duke of *York*, and even ordered them to ſet up his arms throughout all their cantons. He likewiſe, at the ſame time, required them not to treat with the *French* without his participation, and ſent a meſſenger to the five cantons, exhorting them to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance he offered them, and all at once to get rid of the *French*. One *Arnold* was his meſſenger on this occaſion, and went in the quality of his envoy to the *Onnontagueſe*, who, in the quarrel, conſidered themſelves only as mediators, but, as ſuch, in an independent capacity.

Bad policy of an Engliſh *envoy.*

ARNOLD, ſeeing them ſtartled on delivering his commiſſion, very fooliſhly aſked them, whether they refuſed to obey their lawful prince, the duke of *York?* This diſcourſe ſhocked the *Onnontagueſe*, who called Heaven to witneſs, that *Arnold* came only to trouble their land. One of their chiefs then addreſſed the envoy in the following remarkable ſtrain of ſavage, yet powerful and rational, eloquence. "Know, ſaid he, that the *Onnontague* places himſelf between his father *Ononthio*, and his brother *Tſonnonthauan* to keep them from fighting with each other. I thought that *Corlar* (for ſo the ſavages called the governor of *New York)* would have ſtood behind me, and cried, Well done, *Onnontague*, let not the father and the ſon come to blows together! I am greatly ſurprized that his envoy ſhould ſpeak a very different language, and oppoſe my diſarming both of them. *Arnold*, I cannot think *Corlar*'s diſpoſition to be ſo bad as thou repreſenteſt it. *Ononthio* did me great honour in being willing to treat of peace in my cabin. Should the ſon diſhonour the father? *Corlar* attend to my voice, *Onontbio* has adopted me for a ſon; he treated and apparelled me, as ſuch, at *Montreal*. There have we planted the tree of peace. We have likewiſe planted it at *Onnontague*, whither my father commonly ſends his embaſſadors, becauſe the *Tſonnonthouans* are dull of apprehenſion; his predeceſſors did the ſame, and both parties found their account in it. I have two arms; I extend the one towards *Montreal*, there to ſupport the tree of peace, and the other towards *Corlar*, who has been long my brother. *Onontbio* has been for theſe ten years my father, *Corlar* has been long my brother, with my own good will; but neither the one nor the other is my maſter. He who made the world gave me the land I poſſeſs. I am free; I reſpect them both, but no man has a right to command me; and none ought to take amiſs my endeavouring, all that I can, that this land ſhall not be troubled. To conclude, I can no longer delay repairing to my father, who has taken the pains to come to my very gate, and who has no terms to propoſe, but what are reaſonable."

The ſavages treat with Le Barre.

THIS diſcourſe probably was dictated by *le Moyne*, who had got the ſtart of *Arnold* in that canton, and who had the merit of conducting thither a *Tſonnonthouan*, who had been long a priſoner, and had been put into his hands by *la Barre*. This interview was followed by a letter ſent from the ſavages to the governor of *New York*, repreſenting *Arnold*'s behaviour, and that they did not believe he had faithfully executed his commiſſion. It is certain, that the good fortune of the *French Canadians*, and the imprudence of the *Engliſh* governor, ſaved *New France* on this occaſion. *La Barre*'s army, which was now on its march, during this negotiation had been reduced to the moſt deplorable condition; and, through the miſmanagement of their general, the troops were ſo deſtitute of proviſions, and ſo ſickly at the ſame time, that they were preparing to return, when the welcome news of the treaty arrived. *La Barre*'s joy at this was ſo great, that the ſavages eaſily perceived to what difficulties he had been reduced; and the deputies of their cantons, who came to mediate, treated him with an air of ſuperiority. They found him encamped upon a tongue of land near lake *Ontario*, but in ſuch diſtreſs for proviſions, that the ſpot has ſince been called *Famine*. *Garakonthie* and *Ourecuati*, the two chiefs ſo friendly to the *French*, were two of the deputies; but the *Tſonnonthouan* deputy behaved with as great inſolence as *la Barre* did with meanneſs; for, upon the *Tſonnonthouan*'s declaring that his nation would hear of no peace with the *Illinois*, *la Barre* ſaid, that he hoped the hatchet lifted up againſt the *Illinois* would not fall upon the *French* in their country. When the *Tſonnonthouan* had agreed to this, the peace was made. The *Onnontague* deputies engaged that the *Tſonnontbouans* ſhould make good the loſſes of the *Frenchmen* who had been robbed; but *la Barre*, at the ſame time, was obliged to decamp next day.

The ſavages deſpiſe the **French,**

THIS diſhonourable peace, though better by far than the governor had a right to expect, ſunk the credit of the *French* lower than ever in the eyes of the *Iroquois*. The court of *France* appears all this time to have continued under its deluſion; as if the affairs of *Canada* would in the end terminate in the glory of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, provided his governor there was ſupplied with as many ſoldiers as he could afford to throw away in a morning ſkirmiſh in *Germany* or *Flanders*. Scarcely was *la Barre* returned to *Quebec* from his inglorious expedition, when he received a reinforcement of troops under two officers, *Montortier* and *Deſnos*. Together with this reinforcement, he received a royal mandate, giving thoſe gentlemen a kind of power independent of himſelf, and appointing them to command in the moſt advanced and important poſts in the colony; a ſufficient intimation that the *French* court thought that *la Barre*'s great age diſqualified him from, at leaſt, the more active parts of his government. Another letter arrived about the ſame time, which ſhews the haughty unchriſtian ſpirit of the *French* court, in that age; for *la Barre* was there ordered to make as many of the *Iroquois* as he could priſoners; becauſe, being ſtrong and robuſt, they were very proper to ſerve on board the *French* gallies.

and prepare for war.

ABOUT this time, *Perrot*, who was now governor of *Montreal*, having ſome differences with the fraternity of *St. Sulpice*, who were his ſuperiors, as being proprietors of the iſland, the *French* king gave him the government of *Acadia*, and he was ſucceeded in that of *Montreal* by the chevalier *de Callieres*, the boundary of whoſe government was marked at lake *St. Peter*, in the river *St. Laurence*. All this while, the *Iroquois*, probably over-awed by the reinforcement lately come from *France*, remained quiet: though it was apprehended they would not long continue ſo. They never had agreed to comprehend the *French* ſavage allies, eſpecially the *Illinois*, in the peace; and it was of the utmoſt importance for the *French* to protect thoſe people. Towards the end of *July*, 1685. 1685, *la Barre* received letters from *Lamberville*, miſſionary at *Onnontague*, informing him that the *Tſonnonthouans* had, during all the preceding winter, abſtained from hunting, fearing leſt the *French* ſhould invade their canton in their abſence; that they complained of the *Maſcontins* and the *Miamis*, who, encouraged by the protection of *Ononthio*, had taken and killed, and even burnt, ſome of their nation; and that the *Maſcontins* alledged in their juſtification, the inſtructions they had received from the governor of *New France*. It was added, that the five cantons of the *Iroquois* had lately renewed their confederacy; that the *Mahingans* were to aſſiſt them with 1200 men, and the *Engliſh* with more arms and ammunition of all kinds; that the *Iroquois* were actually in motion againſt the *Miamis*; and the *Tſonnonthouans*, though they were known lately to have carried 10,000 beaver ſkins to *New York*, refuſed, on pretence of poverty, to pay the thouſand beaver ſkins they had promiſed for indemnifying the *Frenchmen* who had been robbed. As to their not repairing to *Quebec* to conſult with the governor-general, they excuſed themſelves on account of the badneſs of the roads, and becauſe a young *Iroquois*, on his return from *Quebec*, had, for fear of his life, run into the woods, where he died of famine; but the *French*, who were the occaſion of his death, had neither mourned for him, nor covered him; that is, they had made no preſents to his family upon his death.

A new governor of **New France.**

It appears that the *Onnontagues* were, at this time, ſo well diſpoſed towards the *French*, as to do all they could to prevent a rupture; but could receive no other anſwer from the *Iroquois*, than that they were at liberty to do as they pleaſed. The news of the late diſhonourable peace being carried to *France*, it was eaſily foreſeen there, that it could be of no long continuance; and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty named *Denonville* to be governor of *New France*. He arrived with a freſh reinforcement of troops at *Quebec*, ſoon after *la Barre* had received *Lamberville*'s letter, after a very fatiguing paſſage, and his firſt ſtep was to viſit *Catarocouy*. *La Foreſt* had, by order from the court, been replaced in the command of that fort; but underſtanding that his principal, M. *la Sale*, was amongſt the *Illinois*, he repaired thither, and *D'Orvilliers* commanded in his abſence. During *Denonville*'s reſidence at *Catarocouy*, he eaſily ſaw the neceſſity of checking the *Iroquois*; but he found the affairs of the colony in general in a deplorable ſituation, and that the government of *Old France* had formed very falſe ideas with regard to *New France*. They had, above all things, recommended to their governors, that they ſhould frenchify (for that was the term) the ſavages; but *Denonville* found that their ſavages continued ſavages ſtill, and that the *French* affected to be ſavages; tho' he owned that it was not ſo with the ſavages, who held townſhips

ſhips in the heart of the colony, which he complained was quite open. By this he meant, that the inhabitants continued for their private purpoſes to build their houſes at ſuch a diſtance from one another, that they could not, upon any ſudden attack from the *Indians*, aſſemble in a body to defend themſelves. The more the governor knew of the ſtate of the colony, and the nature of the *Iroquois*, he was the more convinced, that thoſe ſavages never could be reconciled to the colony; and that, let the conſequence be what it would, it was neceſſary to attempt their reduction by force of arms. *Denonville* was perhaps not a little encouraged in this reſolution by his being a bigot to popery; the progreſs of which, amongſt the *Indians*, he attributed entirely to the oppoſition it met with from the *Iroquois*. All *Acadia* and its neighbourhood were expoſed to the incurſions of the *Engliſh*, and the northern commerce was, in a manner, ſhut up from the *French*. In the weſt, the *Tſonnonthouans* had drawn the *Engliſh* towards *Niagara*, from whence they were enabled through the lakes, the communication of which they ſecured, to make inroads to *Michillimakinac*. They had even eſtabliſhed there an intereſt amongſt the *Indians*, and had greatly prejudiced the fur trade of the *French*.

State of the colony.

IN this ſituation of affairs, it was eaſy to perceive there could be no ſafety for the *French*, but by cutting off from the *Engliſh* all communication by the lakes, and particularly to ſecure that of *Ontario* on the weſt, as well as the eaſt, by building a ſtrong fort of ſtone, capable to contain five or ſix hundred men at *Niagara*. This the *French* government thought was a certain and infallible method to prevent the *Iroquois* from trading with the *Engliſh*, who, they computed, gained above 30,000 l. a year by furs. All this was repreſented to the *French* court by *Denonville*, who preſſed the building ſuch a fort with the greateſt aſſiduity, in which he was ſeconded by the merchants of *New France*; and he even laid down the proper funds to defray the expences, by eſtabliſhing an excluſive commerce at that poſt, in which it was eaſy to foreſee all the trade of *Canada* muſt ſoon center. For this privilege the *Quebec* traders offered 30,000 livres a year. This project was not ſo ſecretly carried on as not to come to the knowledge of colonel *Dongan*, who remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt the building any fort at *Niagara*, which, he ſaid, was the duke of *York*'s property, and likewiſe againſt the vaſt magazines of proviſions and arms that were amaſſing at *Catarocouy*, and gave great umbrage to the *Iroquois*. *Denonville* anſwered *Dongan*'s remonſtrances, by recriminating upon the *Iroquois*; and endeavoured to ſhew, that there was no real ground for their ſuſpicions, and that *Niagara* and its neighbourhood had been taken poſſeſſion of by the *French*, long before the *Engliſh* were ſettled in *New York*.

As the *Engliſh* had ſucceeded to all the rights of the *Dutch* in thoſe parts of *North America*, *Dongan*'s reaſoning was certainly juſt, though, at this time, a diſcuſſion of it is immaterial. All his attachment by religion and principle to his maſter, who was now on the throne of *England*, did not divert him from acting the part of a vigilant and honeſt governor. He ſaw that *James* was, in a manner, the ſlave of *France*, and he treated all the orders he received in favour of the *French* in *North America*, and which generally were communicated to him by the governor-general of *New France*, as having been extorted from his maſter, and therefore he paid them very little, or no, regard. He even ſummoned a meeting of the *Iroquois* cantons, and laid before them their danger from the *French*, and that their beſt courſe would be to prevent the blow meditated againſt them, by being the aggreſſors. This aſſembly, and the purpoſe of it, came to the knowledge of *Lamberville*, the *French* miſſionary, by means of certain *Iroquois* papiſts, with whom he had great intereſt; and he prevailed with the chief heads of the *Onnontaguese* to promiſe that they would take no ſtep in the war, till he ſhould return from *Quebec*, and report the opinion of the *French* governor-general. *Dongan* had ſome ſuſpicion of *Lamberville*'s intention, and demanded that *James Lamberville*, brother to the miſſionary, who had been left at *Onnontague* by way of hoſtage, ſhould be put into his hands. He then applied to the popiſh *Iroquois*, who had been ſeated near the fall of *St. Lewis*, and in the high lands, to whom he offered a far more deſirable ſituation than what they enjoyed under the *French* government, together with full liberty of conſcience in the profeſſion of the *Roman* catholic religion; his maſter, the king of *England*, as he told them, being of the ſame faith. All he could do made no impreſſion either upon the converted or unconverted *Iroquois*, and the *Onnontague* canton refuſed to deliver up *Lamberville*.

DONGAN then addreſſed himſelf to the ſavages of *Michillimakinac*, by means of certain traders, who convinced them of the ſuperior advantages they might have by dealing with the *Engliſh*, inſtead of the *French*; and, in this he had all the ſucceſs he could deſire. *Durantaye* was then abſent from *Michillimakinac*; but returning thither juſt as the *Engliſh* traders had left it, he ſet out in purſuit of them. The *Engliſh*, however, had foreſeen this, and had prevailed with the *Hurons* ſettled at *St. Mary*'s fall, to give them a large eſcort, who convoyed them to the country of the *Tſonnonthouans*. *Denonville* ſaw the danger of the *Tſonnonthouans* joining with the *Engliſh*, and was confirmed in his reſolution to make war upon them. For that purpoſe, he found it neceſſary to throw a ſtrong garriſon into fort *Cataracouy*, and to ſend a conſiderable detachment by *Sorel* river, to overawe the *Agniers*, and to alarm colonel *Dongan*. He likewiſe erected large magazines of proviſions all over the country. Upon a review of the forces of the province, he found he could muſter no more than eight hundred men, and that he could have very little dependence on the regulars, who were entire ſtrangers to the *Indian* way of making war. All he could do was to gain time by amuſing the *Engliſh*, and their allies, till he could receive the reinforcements which he daily expected from *France*; but, in the mean time, he found it abſolutely neceſſary to ſend back the miſſionary *Lamberville* to the *Onnontague* canton. *Dongan*, during the abſence of that father, had ſucceeded in perſuading the ſavages that the *French* were ready to fall upon them; for which reaſon *Lamberville* never would again truſt himſelf in their hands, and ſome of their warriors, had in that belief, taken the field. The appearance of *Lamberville* with a number of valuable preſents, ſent by him from *Denonville*, to the chief of the *Onnontagueſe*, entirely altered the ſituation of affairs. The warriors, who had taken the field, were recalled; negotiations were entered into for an exchange of priſoners, and the *Hurons*, with the *Outaouais* of *Michillimakinac*, were prevailed on to give the *French* governor-general a meeting at *Cataracouy*. Towards the end of *September*, *Lamberville* returned to *Quebec* to inform *Denonville* of his proceedings with the *Iroquois*, particularly with the canton of the *Onnontagueſe*, who had returned their priſoners; but the *Tſonnonthouans* had refuſed to follow their example, pretending that their captives choſe to continue where they were. *Lamberville* was ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed in favour of the ſavages of all denominations, whom he thought to be reclaimable by humouring and uſing them well; which made *Denonville*, who ſaw his weak ſide, reſolve to conceal from him his intention of taking the firſt opportunity to puſh the war againſt the *Tſonnonthouans*, who had actually entered into hoſtilities againſt the *Illinois*, and a very briſk war was carried on between the two people.

Hoſtilities upon Hudſon's Bay.

In the mean while, colonel *Dongan*, who acted as governor-general of *New England* as well as *New York*, had found means to diſpoſſeſs the *French* of their ſettlement at *St. Thereſe*, upon *Hudſon's Bay*. The court of *Verſailles* ordered *Barrillon*, their ambaſſador at *London*, to make a ſtrong remonſtrance upon this diſpoſſeſſion; but it is remarkable that neither *Charles* II. nor *James* II. had authority enough over their *American* ſubjects to oblige them to make reſtitution, which they were moſt ſincerely diſpoſed to do. The *French* were amazed to the laſt degree that ſubjects ſhould diſpute the will of their ſovereign; but the northern company, who were the proprietors of fort *St. Thereſe*, perceiving they could not ſucceed by applying to the court, reſolved to do themſelves juſtice, and demanded aſſiſtance from *Denonville* to repoſſeſs themſelves of the fort. He granted eighty ſoldiers, with the chevalier *de Troye* at their head, and on the 20th of *June*, 1686, they arrived at the bottom of *Hudſon's Bay*. They firſt ſtormed the fort *Monſipi* upon the river *Monſoni*, and made the garriſon, conſiſting of ſixty men, priſoners of war, ſeizing at the ſame time a conſiderable quantity of ammunition and proviſions. *Iberville*, one of the *French* officers, then took a ſmall veſſel, in which was the governor of the bay; and at laſt fort *Rupert* upon the river *Nemiſcau*, which had been lately rebuilt, but remained ſtill unfortified, fell into their hands. They then, with the prizes they had made, proceeded againſt *Quitchitchouen*, where the *Engliſh* had their principal magazines, which they likewiſe made themſelves maſters of. Here they found furs to the value only of 50,000 crowns, which made the *French* conclude that the *Engliſh* did not carry on a great traffic with the ſavages of thoſe parts, and the garriſon was ſent in a veſſel to *Port Nelſon*. This invaſion of the *Engliſh* ſettlements in *Hudſon's Bay* was certainly a moſt infamous proceeding, and was far from being juſtified by the *Engliſh* having diſpoſſeſſed the *French* of fort *St. Thereſe*, which was built on ground belonging to *Britiſh* ſubjects. Such, however, was the influence of *French* counſels at the court of *England*, that it was agreed *Port Nelſon* ſhould be common for both nations to trade at. But the ſpirit of the *Engliſh* could not ſubmit to the meanneſs of their court; and *Denonville* ſent ſtrong remonſtrances upon the danger of ſuffering the *French* malecontents to have an aſylum at *Port Nelſon*, where they could carry on a trade not only independent of their mother-country, but prejudicial to her intereſts. He repreſented that the *Engliſh*, by giving much greater prices than the *French* could afford, were maſters of the fur trade; and that *Port Nelſon* was of more conſequence to the *French* than all the forts they had taken from the *Engliſh* upon that bay.

1687. In the beginning of the year 1687, the *French* court, by the aſcendency they had over that of *England*, aimed a blow that bade fair to deſtroy all the *Britiſh* intereſt in *North*

Treaty to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh.

America. *Barrillon* had prevailed with king *James* to agree to a neutrality between the ſubjects of *France* and *England* in *North America*, which left the *French* in poſſeſſion of all their uſurped claims. The fourteenth and fifteenth articles of the treaty impowered the governors of both nations to treat as pirates all privateers who were not commiſſioned by proper authority. This had a direct tendency to the ruin of the *Engliſh* ſubjects, as their court agreed to every claim which the *French* were pleaſed to ſet up. The unſettled ſtate of affairs in *England*, and the manifeſt ſtrides which her court was then making towards popery, defeated the intention of this treaty. The *Engliſh* paid ſo little regard to it, that they attacked fort *Quitchitchouen* in *Hudſon's Bay*; but they were repulſed with ſome loſs by *Iberville*; and in *September Denonville* declared war againſt the *Iroquois*, or rather againſt the *Engliſh*. This was in the year 1686, but the warlike operations did not commence till *June*, 1687, when *Denonville*, having received all the reinforcements he expected from *France*, took the field with 2000 *French* and 600 ſavages. He was, however, on this occaſion guilty of a treachery, at which barbarians themſelves would have bluſhed; for, under pretext of the orders his predeceſſor had received to ſend all the *Iroquois* he could make priſoners to the *French* gallies, before he declared war, he decoyed their chiefs to a conference at *Cataracouy*, where he moſt perfidiouſly put them in irons, and ſent them to *Quebec* to be tranſported from thence to *Europe*. This infamous ſtep did no ſervice to the *French* intereſt. It ſunk the credit of *Lamberville* and *Milet*, the two miſſionaries, in the eyes of the ſavages. Many of the natives, who had repaired to *Cataracouy*, were the beſt friends the *French* had upon that continent, but were now rendered their irreconcileable enemies; as indeed was the whole nation of the *Iroquois*. *Denonville* perceived the injuſtice of the ſtep he had taken, and diſavowed it, which only ſerved to render him more odious and deſpicable to the natives, and to unite them more cloſely with the *Engliſh*.

A miſſionary ſaved.

MILET fell into the hands of the *Onneyouthi*, who immediately condemned him to the flames, and obliged him to ſuffer all the preliminary torments of that fiery trial; but when he was on the point of being executed, an *Indian* matron adopted him, and ſaved his life by carrying him into her cabin. As to *Lamberville*, who remained in the canton of *Onnontague*, no ſooner had *Denonville*'s treachery appeared, than the chiefs of the canton, with a moderation that would have done honour to the moſt poliſhed people, ſent for him to their aſſembly, and expoſtulated with him in the warmeſt terms upon what had happened. He had, however, the good fortune to be greatly in the graces of the ſavages, who acquitted him entirely of having any ſhare in the perfidious proceedings of *Denonville*, but acquainted him that it was utterly improper he ſhould remain any longer amongſt them; not on their, but his own account; becauſe if the war-ſong was once begun, he might be ſacrificed by their young warriors without their elders having it in their power to ſave him.

The war continues.

IT is reaſonable, with *Charlevoix*, to ſuppoſe, that the favour ſhewn on this occaſion to *Lamberville* was, in a great meaſure, owing to *Garakonthie*, who ſtill preſerved his credit in his nation. Notwithſtanding the ſentence of this miſſionary, the ſavages were generous enough to aſſign him a guard, who eſcorted him out of all danger; and the father himſelf always afterwards acknowledged *Garakonthie* to be his deliverer. *Denonville* was more a barbarian, than the ſavages he was about to fight with. Knowing that matters were now brought to extremities between him and the *Indians*, he omitted nothing that could make the campaign proſperous on his ſide. *De Tonti*, who had travelled as far as the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi* to obtain ſome tidings of *la Sale*, and who had returned to *Montreal*, was ordered to repair to the country of the *Illinois*, there to publiſh the war; and, after aſſembling them in a body, as ſoon as poſſible, to conduct them towards the *Tſonnonthouans*, lying on the *Ohio* river; from whence he was to detach parties, to cut off the retreat of their women and children; a circumſtance of great importance in a war with the ſavages. Thoſe in the neighbourhood of the bay of *St. Louis* were irreconcileably exaſperated againſt the *Iroquois*, who had the preceding ſummer carried off ſome of their women. *Denonville* improved this circumſtance to his own advantage, by deſiring them to join *du Luth*, who was intrenched at the ſtraits of lake *Huron*; a ſpot that was pitched on by him as moſt proper for the general rendezvous of his troops. *Perrot* and another officer, *Boiſguillot*, were ordered to repair to *Michillimakinac* with all the *French* they could aſſemble conſiſtently with the ſafety of their effects, and to ſignify to the *Sioux*, that they ſhould have cauſe to repent, if they ſhould diſturb the *French* allies during the war. *Durantaye*, who ſtill commanded at *Michillimakinac*, and, on account of his good qualities, was highly acceptable to the ſavages, was ordered, at the ſame time, to collect all the force he could, and to proceed to *Niagara*; but in his march, to harraſs the *Indians* who were enemies to the *French*, only taking care to make priſoners of as many of the *Onnontaguiſe* as he could, not only becauſe they were the moſt harmleſs of all the *Indian* ſavages at war with the *French*, but that the governor-general ſhould have captives in his hands to exchange (if there was occaſion) for the miſſionaries.

DE TONTI could bring to the field no more than eighty *Illinois*, though he had reckoned upon five or ſix hundred. Having intelligence that the *Tſonnonthouans* were preparing to fall upon their villages, they had put themſelves in motion to invade them; but underſtanding from colonel *Dongan*, that the *French* were about to make themſelves maſters of the *Illinois* canton, they returned home to defend their own country, and *de Tonti* joined *du Luth* at the entry of the ſtrait of lake *Huron*. The miſſionaries, on this occaſion, ſaved the *French* in *New France* from deſtruction. The natives, ſavage as they were, perceived that the *French* intended to enſlave them; and all the authority of *Durantaye* and *du Luth* could not bring the *Hurons* and the *Outaouais* to join them. They even entered into a treaty with the *Iroquois*, when the miſſionaries found means to gain over their two chiefs, and ſent them to treat with *Denonville*, who, on this occaſion, acknowledged to his court the important ſervice of the miſſionaries, and engaged the chiefs in his intereſt. The *Iroquois* all this while, notwithſtanding the advices they had from colonel *Dongan*, did not dream that they were on the eve of a war with *Denonville*. They continued quite indifferent as to the preparations of the *French*, and the rather as *Lamberville* ſtill remained amongſt them, and exerciſed the office of his miſſion. The deſigns of *Denonville* were no ſecrets to *Dongan*, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he, at laſt, prevailed with the *Iroquois* to ſuſpect the truth. All the effect even that had was only to induce them to ſend deputies to fort *Cataracouy*, where *Denonville* was, and to talk to him in a menacing manner.

1687. Denonville *begins his operations.*

BUT by this time *Denonville* was in readineſs to enter upon action. He was encamped at the little iſle of *St. Helen* oppoſite *Montreal*, where on the 7th of *June*, 1687, he was joined by *de Champigni Noroi*, who had ſucceeded *de Meules* as intendant of *New France*, and by *Vaudreuil*, who was appointed to command the troops. On the 11th of the ſame month, the army embarked on board two hundred boats and as many canoes of the ſavages. The whole conſiſted of 832 regulars, 1000 *Canadians*, and about 300 ſavages. The good underſtanding between the governor-general and the new intendant, not only ſupplied this army with abundance of proviſions, but inſpired them with confidence in their leaders. After three days ſail, *Champigni*, with thirty men, detached himſelf from the main body to diſpoſe every thing at

Catarocuy for forwarding the expedition: There *Denonville* received a letter from colonel *Dongan*, reproaching him with his intention of making war upon the ſubjects of *Great Britain*, (for ſo he called the *Iroquois)* and putting him in mind of a concert that had been entered between his predeceſſor *de Barre*, and himſelf, *Dongan*; by which it was ſtipulated, that neither party ſhould attack the *Indians* without communicating his intention to the other. *Denonville*, ſeeing himſelf at the head of an army anſwered this letter, in a very haughty ſtile; and *Durantaye* attacked and plundered, upon lake *Huron*, ſixty *Engliſh* traders, who were bound to *Michillimakinac*, under pretence that ſuch a trade was contraband, and contrary to the orders of the two courts.

Marches into the country of the Tſonnonthouans,

DURANTAYE, having diſtributed the ſpoils acquired from the *Engliſh* by this robbery amongſt the ſavages, joined *du Luth* and *de Tonti* at the entry of the ſtrait, and marched directly to *Niagara*, where they received an order from the governor-general to repair to the river *Sable*, in the country of the *Tſonnonthouans*, by the 10th of the month; which they accordingly did, and there they found *Denonville* and his whole army. Their firſt meaſure was to throw up an intrenchment, in which they lodged their magazines; and which, being finiſhed in two days, *D'Orvilliers* was left to guard with four hundred men. The main body of the *French* army then marched into the country of the *Tſonnonthouans*, where they were attacked, and muſt have been defeated by eight hundred of thoſe ſavages, had not their own ſavages made head againſt them. Here they loſt father *Aniebran*, a jeſuit, one of the moſt active miſſionaries, as he was fighting againſt the ſavages in the foremoſt ranks. The loſs of the *Tſonnonthouans* amounted to forty-five killed, and ſixty wounded. *Denonville*, in his account of this action, which he ſent to court, acknowledged that his *Outaouais* immediately cut the dead bodies of the former in pieces, and devoured them. It is however acknowledged by *Charlevoix*[g], that not only the *Canadians*, but the ſavages behaved in this expedition better than the regulars. On the 14th, the *French* army encamped in one of the four great villages that compoſed the canton of the *Tſonnonthouans*, and which they burnt to the ground; but it is highly remarkable, that during ten days, which they ſpent in ravaging and traverſing the country, they did not find in it a living ſoul; one part of the natives having fled to the country of the *Goyogouins*, and the others to *New York*, where they were kindly received, and furniſhed with arms and ammunition by colonel *Dongan*. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, that gentleman was ſo ſenſible of the practices of the *French*, that he even ſent back to *England* a perſon who had arrived at *New York*, with a commiſſion from his court to ſee an exact neutrality obſerved between the *Engliſh* and the *French*.

---

[g] Vol. II. p. 355.

which he ravages.

THE latter, while their army remained in the country of the *Tſonnonthouans*, were guilty of the moſt horrible ravages, deſtroying all the proviſions and corn wherever they came; particularly a vaſt number of pigs, the eating of which introduced peſtilential diſorders amongſt their troops. This, with the dreadful fatigues of their marches, and the hourly mutinyings of the ſavages, who appear to have been the moſt uſeful body in this expedition, obliged the *French* general to leave the country of the *Tſonnonthouans*, and to march towards *Niagara*, which he did after a moſt diſgraceful and unmanly expedition, in which he met with little or no oppoſition, and employed his arms entirely on the defenceleſs houſes and ſtores of the inhabitants. Notwithſtanding the inutility of this campaign, *Denonville* thought he could cloſe it by an important ſervice in building a fort at *Niagara*, where the chevalier *de la Troye* was left with a garriſon of a hundred men; but being ſoon after attacked by epidemical diſeaſes, they all died. This misfortune was attributed to the badneſs of the air; but it was more probably owing to that of their proviſions; becauſe another fort was built almoſt in the ſame place ſoon after, where the garriſon lived very healthy. The governor of *New York*, notwithſtanding the orders he received to the contrary from his court, continued the irreconcileable enemy of the *French*. He prevailed with the *Iroquois* cantons to reſolve to give over all communication with *Catarocouy*, and even to ſend back the priſoners which they had taken from the *Hurons*, and the *Outaouais* of *Michillimakinac*, that he might ingratiate himſelf with thoſe ſavages. After this, he acquainted the *Iroquois* highlanders, and thoſe of the fall of *St. Lewis*, that if they would join him, he would furniſh them with *Engliſh* miſſionaries, and give them a much more agreeable ſpot than that which they poſſeſſed, to ſettle in. Thoſe proceedings on the part of *Dongan* gave *Denonville* infinite diſquiet, and he ſent an *Agnier* chief from the fall of *St. Lewis* to the country of the *Agniers*, to know in what diſpoſition they ſtood with regard to the *French*. The chief, in paſſing lake *Champlain*, met with ſixty *Agniers*, who had been ſent out by colonel *Dongan* on an expedition, and he had the addreſs to bring them all over to the *French* intereſt, and to perſuade four of them to follow him to the fall of *St. Lewis*. The ſame ſavage, who was in vaſt credit with his countrymen, afterwards ſent his nephew and another *Indian* to the cantons of *Onneyouth* and *Onnontagué*; where being powerfully ſeconded by *Garakonthie*'s intereſt, they broke off their connexions with the governor of *New York*, and preſerved them in friendſhip with the *French*.

The French neglect Acadia.

All thoſe little advantages, though magnified by the *French* writers, were in the main very inconſiderable. The miſtaken notions of the court of *France* continued ſtill to favour the *Engliſh* in the *Canadian* fur trade; the only commerce by which their government could poſſibly indemnify itſelf for its expence in ſupporting the colony. *De Meules* had endeavoured to open the eyes of that government with reſpect to *Acadia*, which, he ſaid, was the only ſettlement that could ſupport *Canada*; but all his ſuggeſtions were in vain, and the fiſheries, as well as the fur trade, of that province, remained neglected; inſomuch that all the *French* ſettled in that profitable country did not this year amount to above nine hundred men. The *Engliſh* knew the weakneſs of the *French* in that quarter, and not only carried on an open war with them there, but encouraged the *Tſonnonthouans*, notwithſtanding their late chaſtiſement, to reſume all their hoſtile intentions againſt the *French*. This determined *Denonville* to make another expedition againſt the *Tſonnonthouans*, who, by this time, had formed a ſecret intelligence with the *Indians* of *Michillimakinack*, the moſt uſeful allies the *French* had amongſt the ſavages. *Denonville*, however, was ſomewhat embarraſſed in executing his reſolution, by the orders he received from his court to give no umbrage to the *Engliſh*. The truth is, whatever private virtues, or whatever good intentions, he might have towards his ſovereign and his country, he appears even by the report of his panegyriſt *Charlevoix*, to have been a very improper governor for *New France*. His having built a fort at *Niagara*, and ſuffering all the garriſon with their commander to periſh through the badneſs of their proviſions, gave the ſavages, as well as the *French*, no high opinion of his reſolution; nor did any part of his conduct ſerve to increaſe it. The mortality at *Catarocouy*, as well as in other parts of *Canada*, fell little ſhort of that at *Niagara*; while the averſion which *Denonville* had at treating with the ſavages, or even bearing the ſight of them, encreaſed the miſeries of the colony. But his preſumption led him to deſpiſe the *Indians* he could not conquer. He ſtill depended on the pacific orders *Dongan* received from the court of *England*, and on the terror with which the ſavages were ſtruck by his late expedition againſt the *Tſonnonthouans*. He was deceived, for on the 3d of *November*, fort *Chambly* was all of a ſudden beſieged by a large detachment of *Agniers* and *Mahingans*; who, tho' they were obliged next day to abandon their enterprize, ſucceeded ſo far as to burn ſeveral plantations, and to carry off a number of priſoners. The *French* did not fail to attribute this attempt to *Dongan*, and raiſed him ſo many enemies amongſt their ſavages, that he was obliged to keep in pay a body of 1200 *Iroquois* during all the winter, to cover his government.

Miſconduct of their government.

THE reflections thrown out on occaſion of thoſe hoſtilities againſt the *Engliſh*, are highly abſurd, when we conſider the infamous conduct of the *French* governor in arreſting the *Iroquois* chiefs at fort *Catarocouy*, and ſending them in chains to ſerve as ſlaves in his maſter's gallies. This baſe conduct well accounted, without the intervention of the *Engliſh*, for all the hoſtilities of the ſavages. Forty of the *Onnontagueſe* had taken a *French* lady and three *French* ſoldiers near fort *Catarocouy*, and the miſſionary *Lamberville* undertook to recover them. They accordingly gave him the meeting, and upon his reproaching them with their proceeding, while there was no war between the *French* and any other *Indian* nation but the *Tſonnonthouans*; they frankly acknowledged, that what they had done was by way of reprizal for *Ononthio*'s having ſurpriſed their countrymen. *Lamberville* made a very weak apology for *Denonville*'s conduct, but preſented them with two belts of wampum, the one to induce them to treat their priſoners well, and the other to prevail with them not to take part with the *Tſonnonthouans* in the war; but both thoſe belts were immediately ſent to colonel *Dongan*, who ſoon after diſpatched a meſſenger to know the meaning of their having been preſented by *Lamberville* to the *Onnontagueſe* (C). *Denonville* ſent father *Vaillant du Gueſlis* with his anſwer, but, in fact, to be a ſpy upon *Dongan*; who, after ſome converſation, told him in plain terms, that the *French* in *Canada* could never hope to be at peace with the *Iroquois*, but upon four conditions. The firſt was, the returning their countrymen whom they had ſent to the gallies; the ſecond, that they ſhould oblige the *Iroquois* Chriſtians, who had been ſettled at the fall of *St. Lewis* and in the highlands, to return to their native cantons; the third, that the forts at *Catarocouy* and *Niagara* ſhould be demoliſhed; and the fourth, that

---

(C) *Charlevoix* ſeems to acknowledge the infamy of *Denonville*'s proceeding in this affair; and that even *Lamberville* was kept in the dark; for he aſſured the *Onnontagueſe*, that their countrymen were ſtill at *Quebec*, though, in fact, they had been ſent to *Europe*.

that the *Tſonnonthouans* ſhould be indemnified for all their loſſes during the late expedition. *Dongan*, after this plain declaration, diſmiſſed the miſſionary, without ſuffering him to have any communication with the ſavages.

Dongan *gains over the ſavages.*

SOON after *Dongan* had a meeting with the chiefs of the five *Iroquois* cantons, whom he ſummoned to meet him at *New Orange*. He acquainted them with the terms he had propoſed to the *French* miſſionary; but told them, at the ſame time, that though he counſelled them to hide their hatchets for a while, he was far from deſiring them to bury them; and that though the king his maſter had ordered him not to furniſh them with arms or ammunition againſt the *French*, yet if the latter ſhould reject his terms, he would ſupply them with both at his own expence. He concluded by adviſing them, at all events, to keep themſelves in readineſs, if they ſaw occaſion, to fall upon the *French* by fort *Cataracouy* and lake *Champlain*. The ſavages took *Dongan*'s advice, by remaining quiet all the remainder of the winter; but early in the ſpring of 1688, a party of them ſurpriſed and killed ſome of a *French* convoy in their return from fort *Cataracouy* to *Montreal*. This was a ſufficient intimation that the ſavages were determined on a war with the *French*; but the colony of *New France* was ſo weak, that *Denonville* knew not how to check them. All he could do was to employ *Lamberville*, if poſſible, to bring off the *Onnontagueſe* from their union with the other *Iroquois* cantons. By this time, the miſſionary *Vaillant* was returned to fort *Cataracouy*, attended by two ſavages, whom colonel *Dongan* had appointed as his guard, to prevent his converſing with the *Agniers*. *Lamberville* had the addreſs to gain over one of thoſe ſavages, and to perſuade him to repair to the country of the *Onnontagueſe*, where he was to lay before them the intereſted views of colonel *Dongan* in bringing them to break with the *French*. The ſavage found all the cantons aſſembled, and an army of 1000 men ready to take the field againſt the *French*, at whom they were greatly exaſperated. He ſucceeded, however, ſo far as to induce them to ſend deputies to treat with *Denonville*; but he could not prevent a reſolution which five hundred of their warriors took, to attend thoſe deputies as ſafeguards. When they arrived near *Cataracouy*, *Haaskouaun*, one of the deputies, attended by ſix ſavages, left the main body; and entering the fort, he required *D'Orvilliers*, the commandant, to ſend one of his officers to conduct them to *Montreal*. A lieutenant, one *la Perelle*, was by *D'Orvilliers* ordered to this diſagreeable office; for he was both ſurpriſed and terrified at ſeeing himſelf received in the nature of a priſoner by ſix hundred well-armed ſavages, who, when they arrived at lake *St. Francis*, were joined by as many more. There, the whole body ſtopt, while the deputies alone went forward to *Montreal*, where they found *Denonville*.

Their haughty embaſſy to the French

HAASKOUAUN was the mouth of the deputation, and treated the *Frenchman* with an indifferent, if not an imperious, air. He laid before him the miſerable ſtate of the colony, with the ſtrength of the *Iroquois*, and endeavoured to make him ſenſible with what eaſe the latter could drive all the *French* out of *Canada*. He then, in a deriding manner, made a merit of his having perſuaded his countrymen to advertiſe *Onnonthio* of his danger, and to give him four days time to deliberate whether he would or would not accept of the terms propoſed to him by *Corlar*, (meaning colonel *Dongan*). Nothing could be more mortifying than the ſituation of the *French* colony at this time. Twelve hundred ſavages were ready to attack *Montreal*. The *French* inhabitants between *Sorel* river and *Magdalen* meadow durſt not ſtir abroad for fear of being ſurpriſed by the ſavages; an account had come of the extinction of the garriſon of fort *Niagara*, and there was danger leſt the laſt reſource of the colony, the negotiation with the *Onnontagueſe*, ſhould be cut off by the governor's entering into hoſtilities with the ſavages. This negotiation was ſo far advanced, that *Denonville* had releaſed all the *Onnontagueſe* priſoners, and had intimated to them the conditions on which he was willing to enter into an alliance with them. By this time, eight hundred of the ſavages had beſieged the fort of *Catarocouy*; lake *Ontario* was covered with their canoes; and they deſtroyed all the *French* ſettlements on its borders. Fortunately for the *French*, the *Onnontagueſe* captives, whom *Denonville* had freed, arrived on their return to their own country at *Catarocouy*, almoſt at the inſtant when the fort was about to be ſurrendered. One of the priſoners happening to be nephew to the chief who commanded the ſiege, his kinſman's deliverance made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that he immediately drew off his troops; and, on the 8th of *June* following, deputies from the *Onnontagueſe*, the *Onneyouths*, and the *Goyogouins*, arrived at *Montreal* to treat of peace. Thoſe two events, ſo favourable to the colony, were conſidered by the *French* as little leſs than miraculous; and, after ſome treating, peace was concluded upon the following terms: Firſt, that all the *French* allies ſhould be comprehended in the treaty; ſecondly, that the cantons of *Agnier* and *Tſonnonthouan* ſhould ſend their deputies for the ſame purpoſe; thirdly, that all hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe on both parts; and fourthly, that the *French* ſhould have

who narrowly eſcape being ruined.

have liberty to revictual fort *Catarocouy*. There appears, however, to have been ſome ſeparate articles in this treaty, not greatly to the honour of the *French*. *Denonville* agreed that the fort at *Niagara* ſhould be demoliſhed; and he diſpatched a meſſenger to the *French* court, requeſting that the *Iroquois* who had been ſent to the gallies, might be delivered up to one *Serigny*, a young gentleman who was perfectly well acquainted with the language of the ſavages, and entirely agreeable to them. Such were the terms on which this peace was concluded, and it was confirmed by colonel *Dongan* ſending to the governor the *French* lady who had been made priſoner at *Catarocouy*, with twelve other *French* priſoners. *Dongan* acquainted *Denonville*, at the ſame time, that he had received freſh orders from the king his maſter to obſerve the neutrality that had been concluded between him and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and that he had actually given orders for delivering all the *French* priſoners who ſhould be found amongſt the *Iroquois*.

Hoſtilities again break out.

THOSE fair appearances were not followed by proportionable effects. A convoy of proviſions was ordered for fort *Catarocouy*; but the *Iroquois* plundered one of the canoes, tho' they had left five hoſtages for the ſecurity of the convoy. Soon after, the *Iroquois* appeared in arms in ſeveral of the moſt defenceleſs poſſeſſions of the *French*. The governor-general, that he might early check thoſe proceedings, took the field with all the force he could raiſe; and coming up with the ſavages at lake *Sacrament*, he killed ſeveral of the *Mahingans*, and took priſoners ſome *Agniers*, who, according to *Charlevoix*, had been prevailed upon by colonel *Dongan*, who had furniſhed them with arms and ammunition, to commit thoſe infractions of the late treaty. This vigorous proceeding procured ſome reſpite to the colony from the incurſions of the *Iroquois*; but *Denonville* attributed his deliverance, and that of the colony, to the ſuperior wiſdom and addreſs of the jeſuits, particularly father *Lamberville*. It is, however, probable, that the management of thoſe fathers muſt have been but a poor reſource to the colony, had not colonel *Dongan* been recalled from his government of *New York*, and ſucceeded by *Andros*, who was a proteſtant, and then trod in his predeceſſor's footſteps.

Diſorders of the French *colony.*

BY the letters of *Denonville* to *Seignelay*, the *French* miniſter at this time, he appears to have had great abuſes to ſtruggle with. He complained of a total neglect of authority and diſcipline in the colony; that the rangers, or travelling chapmen, had by their behaviour ſunk the price of *French* commodities, and raiſed that of furs; and that they were guilty of ſuch meanneſſes towards the ſavages, as rendered the latter intolerably haughty. He complained, at the ſame time, of the conſequences of the miſunderſtanding that had happened between *la Barre* and *la Sale*; and that the ſavages laid hold of *la Barre*'s orders againſt *la Sale* as a pretext for pillaging the *French* in general. He concluded with adviſing the miniſtry to give orders for building more forts, and informed them that it was impoſſible to preſerve the colony without having 4000 ſoldiers on foot, and 4 or 500 boats on the lakes. Above all things, he enforced the neceſſity of ſuppreſſing the rangers, who, he ſaid, were ſo numerous, that the principal ſettlements of the country were almoſt unpeopled. Though the court of *France* paid very little regard to *Denonville*'s remonſtrances, and though many of the *Canadians* themſelves were of opinion that he aggravated matters too much, yet the continuance of the evils ſoon juſtified his complaints. The ſavages, even thoſe who were otherwiſe attached to the *French*, every day more and more deſpiſed them, for having had a peace, in a manner, forced upon them by the *Iroquois*.

Fidelity of the Abenaquis *to them.*

THE *Abenaquis*, however, are to be excepted from this number, as were the *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis* and the highlands, with the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*. The *Abenaquais*, while *Denonville* was treating with the other ſavages, took the field, and marching towards the river *Sorel*, there ſurpriſed and killed ſome of the *Mahingans* and *Iroquois*; and then advancing towards the *Engliſh* ſettlements, they brought from thence a number of ſcalps, while the *Iroquois* of the fall and the highlands, did the ſame in their parts of the country. The *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac* were ſtill more averſe to the peace, and the diſlike both of them and the other ſavages we have mentioned towards the treaty between *Denonville* and the *Iroquois*, undoubtedly aroſe from their believing that the *Iroquois* wanted only to amuſe the *French* governor into a treaty, that they might with the greater eaſe fall upon his allies. One *Kondiaronk*, ſurnamed the *Rat*, was at the head of the *Michillimakinac Hurons* and he is repreſented as having been a ſavage of more than common reſolution and accompliſhments. Putting himſelf at the head of a choſen band, he marched from *Michillimakinac* towards *Cataracouy*, where the *French* governor informed him of the treaty depending between *Denonville* and the *Iroquois*, which he ſaid was ſo far advanced, that the governor-general was waiting at *Montreal* for the ambaſſadors and hoſtages of that nation; adding, that he could not do more acceptable ſervice to the *French*, than by returning home without offering the ſmalleſt violence to the *Iroquois*.

Conduct of the Rat *chief.*

THE *Rat* heard this diſcourſe without diſcovering the ſmalleſt emotion or diſlike; but leaving the fort, he ambuſhed his company at a place by which he knew the ambaſſadors and the hoſtages muſt paſs; and watching his opportunity, he killed ſome of them, and took others priſoners, of which laſt number was *Teganiſſorens*, whom we have already mentioned, and who was one of the ambaſſadors. The *Rat* after this, is ſaid to have returned to *Cataroceuy*, and to have boaſted, that he "had killed the peace." He, however, diſcovered no particulars, till the arrival of a wounded *Onnontague*, who had eſcaped from the *Hurons*, and who related the whole of the *Rat*'s conduct. When the latter returned to his company, which he had left at *Point Famine*, he was upbraided by *Teganiſſorens*, for having violated his good faith, by making captive an ambaſſador. The *Rat* ſeemed to be greatly ſurpriſed, and pretending that he had been put upon the exploit by the *French* themſelves, which perhaps was not greatly wide of the truth, he immediately releaſed the ambaſſador, and all his companions, excepting one, whom he pretended to keep to replace one of his own men, who had been killed. He then returned to *Michillimakinac*, where, to render the breach ſtill more irreparable, he impoſed ſo far upon *Durantaye* the *French* commandant, as to put the miſerable priſoner immediately to death, without any regard to his plea of the *Rat*'s treachery, and himſelf being an ambaſſador. After this, the *Rat* ſet at liberty an old *Iroquois*, who had been for ſome time priſoner at *Michillimakinac*, enjoining him to return to his own canton; and to acquaint his countrymen, that while the *French* were amuſing the natives with ſham negotiations, they were daily putting them to death. This maſter-piece of diſſimulation had all the effect the *Rat* could deſire, by furniſhing the turbulent *Iroquois* with a plauſible pretext for breaking off the negotiations. The more moderate amongſt them, however, prevailed with their countrymen to name freſh deputies to treat with *Denonville*, when there came letters from *Andros*, the governor of *New York*, enjoining them to break off all treaty with the *French* but with the participation of his *Britannic* majeſty, who, conſidering them as his own children, would ſuffer them to want for nothing. He, at the ſame time, informed *Denonville* by writing, that he was not to expect any peace with the *Iroquois*, but upon the terms that had been propoſed by his predeceſſor; though, at the ſame time, he acquainted him that he was ſo well diſpoſed towards a good underſtanding with the *French*, that he had ordered all the *Engliſh* ſubjects within his governments not to moleſt the inhabitants of *New France*.

IT

and of Andros *the* Engliſh *governor.*

IT is more than probable that *Andros*, when he wrote in this ſtrain, followed the dictates of his own avarice. The *French* alledge, that he plundered their ſettlements in *Acadia* and *Chedabouctou*, on pretence that they did not lie within the limits of *New France*; and that the whole of his conduct till the revolution took place in *England*, was one continued ſcene of perfidy. The *Engliſh* ſubjects, on the other hand, with great juſtice pleaded that they had the ſame right, as the *French* had, to trade with the northern ſavages, who furniſhed the beſt furs. As to the ſavages themſelves, they found great advantages in dealing with the *Engliſh* preferably to the *French*, who could not afford them the ſame prices, nor indeed the ſame commodities. The numbers of *French*, towards the end of the year 1688, ſettled in *New France*, amounted to 1688. 11,249 perſons; but ſo ignorant was the *French* government of the true intereſts of *Canada*, that the coloniſts, about this time, gave over almoſt all thoughts of the fur trade, and applied themſelves entirely to their fiſheries; eſpecially on the ſouth-ſide of the river *St. Lawrence*, where appeared great quantities of whales, as well as white fiſh. We underſtand, however, from *Charlevoix*, that the volatile diſpoſitions of his countrymen prevented their improving their fiſheries either on the river *St. Lawrence*, or upon the coaſts of *Nova Scotia*, where they were ſtill more promiſing. The *Abenaquis*, in this deplorable ſtate of trade, were the only natives whom the *French* could depend upon. The *Engliſh* had again and again endeavoured to bring them over; but the jeſuit miſſionaries had laboured ſo effectually, that all their attempts were to no purpoſe; and the *Abenaquis* remained ſtill the barrier between *New England* and *New France*.

1689. *The conqueſt of* New York *reſolved on.*

DESPAIR, at laſt, ſuggeſted to the *French* the project of conquering *New York* from the *Engliſh*; and *Callieres*, with *Denonville*'s conſent, took ſhipping for *France*, to propoſe it to that court. He accordingly preſented a memorial to the miniſtry, ſetting forth the neceſſity of ſuch an enterprize, as it was impoſſible for the *French* colony to ſubſiſt while the *Iroquois* were ſo much attached, as they were, to the *Engliſh*. He then diſcloſed the means which he propoſed for effecting this perfidious meaſure; which, he ſaid, was juſtified by neceſſity. He demanded to be put at the head of 1300 regulars, and 300 *Canadians*. With this force he was to go up the river *Sorel* to lake *Champlain*, under pretence of making war upon the *Iroquois*, but in reality to fall upon *New York*, the conqueſt of which he thought was very practicable. He then repreſented, that the revolution having taken place in *England*, the inhabitants of *New York*, who moſt of them

were

ſetting fire to the houſes, the remaining wretched inhabitants fell into their hands. The cruelties exerciſed on the priſoners are inexpreſſible. They ript up the bellies of women with child, and obliged mothers to roaſt their own infants before fires. In ſhort, two hundred perſons expired in leſs than an hour, under thoſe dreadful torments. They then proceeded towards *Montreal*, committing the like ravages and cruelties all the way, and carried off two hundred priſoners, whom they burnt. *Denonville*, being then at *Montreal*, ordered an officer to take poſſeſſion of a fort, which he was afraid the ſavages might ſeize. The fort was immediately inveſted, and its garriſon being every man of them, but the officer who was deſperately wounded, killed in defending it, the fort fell into the hands of the ſavages, who thereby became maſters of all the open part of the iſland, which they continued to ravage in a moſt inhuman manner, without oppoſition. They remained there, till the middle of *October*, and then, by their retreat to their own country, gave the harraſſed garriſon ſome time to breathe. *Du Luth*, and another officer, *Mantet*, having been ſent out to reconnoitre, fell in with a party of twenty-two *Iroquois*, of whom they killed eighteen, and took three, who were reſigned to the flames of the *French* ſavages.

Farther deſigns againſt the French *colony.*

SUCH was the condition of *Montreal*, at the arrival of *Frontenac* on the 22d of *November*, 1689. A *French* ſavage, who had been made priſoner, and, after being cruelly tormented, had eſcaped to *Montreal*, gave intelligence that the enemy intended to return in the winter, and, being joined by a body of *Engliſh* and *Mahingans*, to make themſelves maſters of the town of *Montreal*, in the ſpring; from thence to paſs by *Trois Rivieres* to *Quebec*, where they expected to be joined by an *Engliſh* ſquadron, and that they were in hopes by the end of the campaign, no *Frenchman* ſhould be left alive in *Canada*. *Frontenac* was ſenſible that all thoſe calamities were owing to his not being able to arrive three months ſooner at *Montreal*. The conſternation of the whole colony had been ſuch, that *Denonville* ſent orders to *Valrenes*, who commanded at *Cataracouy*, to abandon that poſt, to blow up the fortifications, and to deſtroy all the proviſions he could not carry off, in caſe he received no reinforcement before *November*. *Frontenac* hearing of thoſe orders, oppoſed them ſtrongly; but *Denonville* juſtified them from the inutility of the fort in anſwering the purpoſes for which it was built, and the vaſt expences it occaſioned both of men and money to maintain it. *Frontenac*, beſides his having been the founder and father of the fort, alledged many reaſons for preſerving it;

and, particularly, the vaſt conveniency of its ſituation for the *French* traders. But this laſt happened, in fact, to be one of the ſtrongeſt motives, which *Denonville* and the intendant *Champigny* had for its demolition; becauſe they ſaid it had encouraged ſmuggling to the prejudice of the public revenue. *Frontenac* had no regard to their repreſentations, and, notwithſtanding *Denonville* was in ſo high credit at the *French* court, that he had been nominated ſub-governor to the princes of *France*, he did all he could to expedite a ſtrong reinforcement both of *French* and ſavages, which might arrive time enough to prevent the demolition of the fort. But it was the 6th of *November* before he arrived with this reinforcement at *la Chine*, where *Valrenes* joined him in two hours after with the remains of his garriſon, conſiſting of forty-five men, ſix having been drowned on their march. *Frontenac* underſtood from *Valrenes*, that he punctually obeyed the orders he had received from *Denonville*; that he had undermined the baſtions and walls of the fort, and had left them with lighted matches fixed to them, adding that he did not doubt, from the noiſe he heard while he was upon his march of their having taken effect, and blown up the place. This news afflicted *Frontenac* beyond expreſſion; but the neceſſity of conquering *New York* became every day more apparent though it could not be attempted that ſeaſon. For this purpoſe, *Callieres* propoſed two new plans of operations; the firſt and moſt preferable was to attack the city of *New York* with 1200 men, on board ſix veſſels, while the *Canadians* ſhould attack *New Orange* by land. The other plan was for proceeding by land entirely. It is probable, that one or other of thoſe plans would have been executed, had not *Frontenac* received intelligence that the *Engliſh* were before-hand with him, and were actually in motion to attempt the conqueſt of *Canada*. When *Callieres* ſent thoſe plans to the *French* court, they were deemed to be impracticable, in the then ſituation f affairs. *De Seignelay* ſignified to *Frontenac* and *Champigny*, hat his maſter being engaged in a war againſt all the greateſt owers in *Europe*, he could ſpare neither ſhips nor troops to end to *Canada*, however important, or even neceſſary, the onqueſt of *New York* was. The miniſter, therefore, recom- ended it to *Frontenac* to act upon the defenſive; and re- ewed his inſtructions for obliging the *French* inhabitants to uild their houſes more contiguous to one another, and to for- fy their ſettlements.

Fort Catarocouy *demoliſhed.*

Proceeding of Frontenac *with the* Iroquois *cantons.*

FRONTENAC had brought with him from *France* the roquois ſavages who had been ſent to the gallies, and had ttered himſelf with the hopes of being able, by ſetting them free, and other meaſures which he knew were agreeable to the ſavages, to gain the *Iroquois* to his ſide. Above all, he had a great reliance upon the high eſteem, which they had expreſſed for his perſon during his firſt government. The chief of the releaſed ſavages was *Ourcouharé*, a *Goyogouin*, and *Frontenac* had, during his voyage, been at great pains to bring him over to his views. When he arrived at *Montreal*, he there found *Gagniegaton*, an *Iroquois* deputy, offering ſome mortifying propoſals to *Denonville*. *Oureouharé*, upon this, perſuaded *Frontenac* to ſend back with the deputy four of the releaſed ſavages, that they might proclaim to all the nation the deliverance of their brethren. *Oureouharé* inſtructed the ſavages, at the ſame time, to magnify the great goodneſs of their ancient father (meaning *Frontenac)* to their brethren, which they could not but acknowledge, in point of gratitude, by ſending deputies to return him thanks. They were likewiſe to aſſure their countrymen, as from himſelf, that the governor had ſo great a tenderneſs for all of his nation, that he would not even return to his own country, if they did not ſend to demand him. The deputies punctually executed all they had in charge. Their cantons met, and ſent back an ambaſſador with their anſwer, which reached *Montreal* the 9th of *March*, 1690. By that time *Frontenac* and *Oureouharé* had returned to *Quebec*, and *Callieres*, who received the ambaſſador, though he treated him with great condeſcenſions, could not for ſeveral days draw from him the ſubject of his embaſſy. At laſt, however, the ſavage preſented him with ſix belts. The firſt was by way of apology for the embaſſy coming ſo late, on account of the arrival of the *Outeouais* at *Tſonnonthouan*. *Gagniegaton*, who had been ſent back on this occaſion, intimated that a negotiation was on foot between thoſe two people, which was to be concluded next *June* at an appointed place, excluſive of all ſtrangers; and that the governor-general ought to have, as he was invited, treated in perſon at *Onnontague*, in which caſe, an accommodation long before had been concluded. The ſecond belt ſignified the pleaſure with which the *Engliſh* ſubjects of *Orange*, as well as the *Iroquois*, heard of their chief *Oureouharé*'s return. The third belt demanded, by the canton of *Onnontague*, in the name of the other cantons, all the *Iroquois* who had returned from *France*; and the ambaſſador added, that all the *French* priſoners throughout their cantons had been aſſembled where the governor was expected, that meaſures might be taken according as *Outeouharé* ſhould adviſe. The fourth and fifth belts related to the invaſion of the *Tſonnonthouan* canton by *Denonville*, and to the demolition of fort *Catarocouy*; and that when ſatisfaction was made for thoſe matters, *Teganiſſerens* would come and treat of peace with *Ononthio*. By the ſixth belt, *Gagniegaton* ſignified that ever ſince the preceding *October*, a body of *Iroquois* had been in the field, but that they would not enter upon action, till the melting of the ſnows; and that then, if they made any priſoners, they ſhould be well treated; deſiring that the *French* might do the ſame by their priſoners. "In your defeat at *la Chine*, continued he, I had eight priſoners; I ate one half of them, and I ſaved the other. You are more cruel than me; for when you ſhot twelve *Tſonnonthouans* dead, you ought to have at leaſt ſpared one or two. I ate my four priſoners by way of repriſal for your barbarity."

Remarkable ſpeech of a ſavage.

DE CALLIERES endeavoured to learn ſomething farther of the ambaſſador with regard to the diſpoſitions of the other ſavages; but received only untrue or evaſive anſwers. This determined him to ſend the ambaſſador and his retinue to the governor, who refuſed to admit *Gagniegaton* to his preſence, on account of his former inſolent behaviour; but was civil to thoſe of his retinue, and treated with them through *Oureouharé*, who appear'd always to act in his own name. When the rivers were navigable, they had leave to depart, and *Oureouharé* preſented them with eight belts, telling them at the ſame time how pleaſed *Ononthio* was at the treaty between the *Outaouais* and the *Tſonnonthouans*; and at the reſolution, the *Iroquois* had come to not to put their *French* priſoners to death; and that *Ononthio* would act in the ſame manner, till he received an anſwer from the five cantons to the propoſitions he was to make. As to himſelf, he repeated that he was reſolved not to leave *Ononthio*, till his countrymen ſhould ſend an honourable deputation to reclaim him. He then exhorted them to ſhake off the yoke of the *Flemings*, (meaning the *Engliſh* of *New York*,) to take no concern in the quarrel between *Ononthio* and them, as they had dethroned their lawful ſovereign, whom the *French* king protected; and that they might go, with the officer ordered to attend them, with the greateſt ſafety to *Montreal*. This officer was the chevalier *D'Eau*, a reformed captain, who was to act by way of ſpy upon the conduct of the *Onnontagueſe*. During the dependence of this negotiation, an account came of ſome advanvantages, which a party of *French* and *Indians* had obtained over the *Engliſh* upon the frontiers of *New York*. The news of this ſucceſs, though trifling in itſelf, was the true inducement of *Frontenac* to act as he did by the *Iroquois* ambaſſador.

Proceedings of the French *with the natives.*

Negotiations between the Outaouais *and the* Iroquois.

THIS agreeable account, however, was qualified by the negotiation between the *Outaouais* and the *Iroquois*, without the governor's intervention. This, in fact, was occaſioned chiefly by the natural propenſity thoſe two people had to trade with the *Engliſh* rather than the *French*, and it had been the conſtant endeavours of the *French* governors to ſet thoſe ſavages at variance with one another. But the puſillanimous conduct of ſome of thoſe governors, the low condition of *Canada*, and the loſſes that colony had lately ſuſtained, had determined the *Outaouais*, whom the *French* had always conſidered as their moſt faithful allies, to treat of an accommodation with the *Iroquois*, from whom they had little to hope, but every thing to fear. Nothing had prevented the execution of this before, but the activity of *Durantaye*, who ſtill continued to command at *Michillimakinac*, and the zeal of the miſſionaries there. But ſome of the *Outaouais* happening to be at *la Chine* during the maſſacre there, returned to their own country with ſo contemptible a report of the *French* power, that the canton finally reſolved upon the accommodation without the leaſt participation of the *French*. To ſucceed the better, they ſent back all the *Tſonnonthouan* priſoners they had, as a preliminary to the intended conference in *June*. Their reſolutions, however ſecret, could not eſcape the vigilance of *Durantaye* and the miſſionaries, who were informed of every thing; but, the winter being far advanced, it was found difficult to procure a meſſenger who would undertake to travel near 1200 miles through almoſt impaſſable roads, till the ſieur *Joliet* offered himſelf, and arrived at *Quebec*, with a letter from the miſſionary *Carheil* to *Frontenac*, in the end of the year 1689. This letter very freely laid open to the count the deſperate ſtate of the *French* intereſt amongſt the *Outaouais*, and the contemptible figure his nation made in the eyes of thoſe ſavages [h].

Frontenac's *ſentiments of their coalition.*

FRONTENAC was far from being diſpleaſed with the contents of this letter, becauſe they reflected diſhonour upon ſome of his predeceſſors, particularly in the affair of demoliſhing fort *Catarocouy*, and evinced the neceſſity of building a new one there; and likewiſe of executing his great plan of detaching the *Iroquois* from the intereſt of the *Engliſh* to facilitate the conqueſt of *New York*. In anſwer to *Carheil*'s letter, he ordered *Durantaye* to aſſure the *Hurons* and *Outaouais* at *Michillimakinac*, that they ſhould ſoon ſee an alteration of affairs. He then laid down his diſpoſitions for attacking the *Engliſh*. A company of a hundred and ten men, *French* and ſavages, was raiſed at *Montreal*, under the command of two lieutenants, who had their choice of the poſts which they were to attack, and they determined on that of *Orange*. In this reſolution they were vigorouſly oppoſed by the ſavages, and they marched, without coming to any reſolution, till they arrived at a place, where the road ſeparated into two; one leading to *Orange*, and the other to *Corlar*, which the ſavages agreed to attack. This reſolution being fixed, they proceeded in a moſt fatiguing march for nine days to *Corlar*. Being arrived within two leagues of it, the chief of the *Iroquois* ſettlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*, who was commonly called the *Grand Agnier*, in a formal harangue, which he made to the whole party in a ſtrain of frantic enthuſiaſm, inveighed againſt the *Engliſh*, as being enemies to God. Soon after they were inform'd by four ſavage women, whom they met, in all they wanted to know about the ſtrength and ſituation of the place, which, upon their arrival at it, they found open, even its gates not being ſhut; and they entered it in the night. The accounts given of this boaſted expedition by *Charlevoix*, and other *French* authors repreſent it as a maſterpiece of courage in warlike operations; whereas, in fact, it was as cowardly as it was inhuman. The party entering the place without reſiſtance, butchered men, women, and children, till, tired with murder, they gave quarter to forty of the *Engliſh*, whom they carried into ſlavery. One *Coudray*, the governor, who, very poſſibly, was in concert with them, was ſaved, and all his property; as was the houſe of a woman, to which one of the wounded lieutenants was carried. All the reſt of the town was burnt down. It is not unreaſonable, however, to ſuppoſe, with *Charlevoix*, that the ſucceſs and barbarity of the expedition was of ſervice to the *French* in the eyes of the ſavages.

---

[h] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. II. p. 432.

Inhuman expedition of the French *againſt* Corlar.

Upon the return of this inhuman party to *Montreal*, two *French* officers, one of whom had been preſent at the butchery of *Corlar*, raiſed a party of popiſh *Iroquois*, and gave the command of it to the *Grand Agnier*, to make excurſions againſt the *Iroquois*. In this expedition, they took forty-two priſoners, among whom were eight *Engliſh*. Hearing that a hundred *Mahingans* were waiting for them, and their number being far inferior to that, they marched towards the *Salmon* river, which they reached upon the 4th of *June*; and here they began to make new canoes; they having left their own at a great diſtance. While they were buſy at this employment, they were diſcovered by a party of *Algonquins* and *Abenaquis*, who, taking them for *Engliſh*, with whom they likewiſe were at war, attacked them before day, and the *Grand Agnier* was killed the firſt onſet, as were ſix other *Iroquois*. The miſtake

Death of the Grand Agnier *and occa-ſion of it*.

was ſoon diſcovered by the priſoners each party made ; but the *French Iroquois*, in reſentment of their chief's death, refuſed to deliver up their captives. This produced a difference between the two parties, though both of them were popiſh, which all the art and authority of *Frontenac* could not, for ſome time, compoſe. At laſt, it was agreed that the aggreſſors ſhould ſend deputies with a belt to the fall of *St. Lewis*, expreſſing their ſorrow for what had happened. As to the *Grand Agnier*, though he was capitally concerned in the maſſacre at *Corlar*, yet he is by *Charlevoix*[1] celebrated as being a living ſaint, and his converſion to popery as the immediate and miraculous work of God. He even thought, that, if he had ſurvived, he would have converted his whole canton to popery.

Two expeditions againſt the Engliſh.

Besides the irruption of the *French* and their ſavages into *New York*, by the way of *Corlar*, *Frontenac* had planned two other expeditions ; one from *Trois Rivieres*, and the other from *Quebec*, that a ſpirit of emulation might be raiſed all over the colony. *Trois Rivieres* could raiſe no more than fifty-five men ; of whom twenty-five were *Algonquins* and *Sokokis*, and the command of the whole was given to an officer named *Hertel*. After a long and fatiguing march, he came to an *Engliſh* ſettlement, which *Charlevoix* names *Sementel*, at ſix leagues diſtance from *Piſcataqua* in *New England*. The *French* ſurprized this ſettlement, and cut in pieces all they found in it, excepting fifty-four perſons, whom they carried off captives ; and, after burning all the houſes, and ſheep and cattle in the ſtables, they were preparing to make their retreat, for fear it ſhould be cut off by the inhabitants of *Piſcataqua*. It was accordingly attempted ; but *Hertel*, by the advantage of his ſituation, repulſed the aſſailants. After which he retreated, though with ſome loſs, but was obliged to leave his eldeſt ſon, who was wounded in the knee, to the care of the ſavages.

Caſco Bay *taken*.

By this time, the *Quebec* party had taken the field under one *Portneuf* ; and *Hertel*, upon his return, underſtanding that he was within two days march of them, diſpatched his nephew with an account of his ſucceſs to the governor-general, and ſet out to join the *Quebec* party, within four leagues of *Caſco Bay*, which they were determined to attack ; though, according to *Charlevoix*, the place mounted eight cannon, and was well provided with every thing neceſſary for a defence. Four ſavages, and two *French*, were employed to alarm the fort, which they did by raiſing the *Indian* cry ; and having killed an *Engliſhman*, fifty of the garriſon marched out, and received the fire of the *French*, who lay in ambuſh, and who afterwards attacking the *Engliſh* party with ſwords and hatchets, killed them all but four, who regained the fort, but all of them wounded. Towards the evening, *Portneuf* ſummoned the governor of *Caſco Bay* to ſurrender; but was anſwered by the latter, that he would defend his fort to the laſt. This ſtartled *Portneuf*, whoſe commiſſion from *Frontenac* only bore that he ſhould ravage the open country; but, determining to equal *Hertel*'s exploit at *Sementel*, and his men demanding to be led to the aſſault, he reſolved to riſk every thing. The *French* writers ſay, that beſides the main fort at *Caſco Bay*, four others had been raiſed, but all of them were evacuated, in order to reinforce the principal garriſon. Thoſe forts, however, appear to have been only the defenceleſs houſes of the inhabitants; and the main fort, notwithſtanding all the *French* writers, who had their information only from thoſe who had an intereſt in magnifying their own exploits, was little better than defenceleſs. The reply the *French* commandant made to the anſwer of the *Engliſh* governor, was, that he muſt ſurrender the fort, with all the proviſions and ammunition within it: and, tho' the *Engliſh* demanded ſix days to conſider, they were allowed only one night. The defenceleſs ſtate of the fort obliged the garriſon to capitulate; but *Portneuf* would give the governor no other terms, but thoſe of ſurrendering himſelf and his garriſon priſoners of war, which they accordingly did, being reduced to the laſt extremity. The *Engliſh* accounts ſay, that the number of effective men in the fort did not amount to above twenty-ſix; the *French* make them double the number, excluſive of women and children. Scarcely was the place evacuated, when an *Engliſh* ſquadron appeared to relieve it; but its commander, not ſeeing the *Engliſh* colours flying, concluded that the fort had been taken, and being confirmed in his opinion, by none of his ſignals being anſwered, he returned back; while *Portneuf* not only plundered and demoliſhed the fort, but all the houſes in its neighbourhood. The priſoners, amongſt whom was the governor, whoſe name was *Dennis*, and ſome of his relations were carried to *Quebec*. This inconſiderable conqueſt, tho' magnified by the *French*, was not, however, thought ſufficient to anſwer their main purpoſe; which was that of bringing their ſavage allies into a ſtate of independence upon the *Engliſh*. To effect this, *Frontenac*, about a month after *Portneuf*'s return to *Quebec*, ſent *de la Porte Louvigny*, a reformed captain, and *Perrot*, with

---

[1] Ibid. Vol III. p. 71.

Durantaye *ſuperſeded in his command.*

with a ſtrong convoy from *Montreal* to *Michillimakinac*, charged with preſents from the governor-general to the ſavages, and a commiſſion to ſuperſede *Durantaye* in that ſtation. This removal of an officer, whoſe ſervices had been ſo eminent as thoſe of *Durantaye* were, was attributed to the jealouſy of *Frontenac*, who had a ſecret diſlike to the jeſuits, with whom he thought *Durantaye* was too cloſely connected. Envy of his great merits, perhaps, did not a little contribute to *Durantaye*'s removal; and this envy ſeems to have purſued him through life, for, being obliged to quit the profeſſion of arms for that of the law, he died in indigence at *Quebec*.

The Iroquois *defeated.*

LOUVIGNY was attended, in going to take poſſeſſion of his new command, by a hundred and forty-three *French*; many of whom had large quantities of fur at *Michillimakinac*, which they could not before carry off for fear of the ſavages. They were eſcorted by two *French* officers, and ſix ſavages; but on the 23d of *May*, being the day after they embarked, they diſcovered two *Iroquois* canoes. Upon this, *Lonvigny* detached thirty of his retinue in canoes, and ſixty by land, to ſurround the enemy, who were ſuſpected to be very numerous, though they did not appear. The canoe men fell into an ambuſcade of the *Iroquois*, who killed by far the greateſt part of them. At firſt, *Perrot*, under whoſe command *Louvigny* was during the journey, would not ſuffer the latter to march againſt the ſavages; but, at laſt, he gave him leave, and *Louvigny* at the head of fifty or ſixty *French*, killed about thirty of the *Iroquois*, wounded a greater number, and made ſome priſoners, the remainder of the ſavages eſcaping with great difficulty to their canoes.

Conſequence of their defeat.

THE two officers, who headed the convoy, returning ſoon after to *Montreal*, ſent one of the priſoners they had made to *Frontenac*, who put him into the hands of *Oureouharé*, another was carried to *Michillimakinac*, and given up to the *Outaouais*, who beginning to conceive now a better opinion of the *French* courage than they had entertained before, committed him to the flames as an evidence, that they had no intention to make peace with the *Iroquois*. At this time the *Outaouais* ambaſſadors were on the point of ſetting out from *Michillimakinac* to conclude a definitive treaty with the *Iroquois*; but the ſight of the *French*, the news of their victories, and the magnificent preſents they brought, gave a new turn to their ſentiments; which *Perrot* improved with ſo much addreſs, that they entered with more zeal than ever into the *French* intereſt. A hundred and ten canoes loaded with furs and ſkins to the value of 100,000 crowns, under the convoy of three hundred northern ſavages, immediately ſet out for *Montreal*, where they found the count *de Frontenac*.

Hoſtilities of the Iroquois.

THE chevalier *D'Eau*, who had been ſent as ambaſſador and ſpy to *Onnontague*, and all the *French* in his retinue, had been put in confinement by the ſavages, notwithſtanding all the fair profeſſions of *Frontenac*, that he had ſent that officer to evince the great confidence he had in their nation, and to do them honour. Not contented with this, they ſent him priſoner to *Manhatta*, to prove their averſion to any peace with the *French*, and went ſo far, according to *Charlevoix*, who probably in many reſpects exaggerates matters againſt the *Engliſh*, as even to burn two *Frenchmen* of his retinue. *Frontenac*, upon this, ordered two detachments of his beſt troops, one under the command of the chevalier *de Clermont*, to guard the ſouthern parts of the colony from *Montreal*, to the river *Sorel*; and the other, under the command of the chevalier *de la Motte*, was to ſecure it from *Montreal* to *Quebec*. Many actions, which, though attended with bloodſhed, and barbarity, are too inconſiderable to be tranſmitted to hiſtory, followed upon this; and the *French* pretend, that the *Iroquois* maſſacred without diſtinction all the captives who fell into their hands.

Arrival of the Michillimakinac *convoy.*

THOSE hoſtilities produced very diſagreeable effects, as the coloniſts of *Canada* durſt not venture abroad, either to cultivate their lands, or cut down their harveſts; ſo that the colony itſelf was threatened with famine. On the 18th of *Auguſt*, *de la Chaſſaigne* commandant at fort *la Chine* was informed, that a great number of canoes were ſeen upon lake *St. Lewis*. *Frontenac*, who was then at *Montreal*, immediately concluding that they were filled with *Iroquois*, gave orders for a vigorous defence, but he ſoon underſtood that they were no other than the grand convoy from *Michillimakinac*, which we have already mentioned. The joy of the *French* at underſtanding this, exceeded, if poſſible, their conſternation before; and the convoy was received under peals of acclamations from the inhabitants. On the 22d of the ſame month, *Frontenac* gave audience to all the chiefs of the convoy, who appeared to be well diſpoſed, on the part of their nation, to continue firm in the *French* intereſt. Mean while, an *Iroquois*, who was nephew to the grand *Agnier*, and who had been ſent out to reconnoitre towards *Orange*, had, in his return, diſcovered, that a large body of men were employed in making canoes upon lake *Sacrament*. This *Iroquois* was ſo much attached to the *French*, that the truth of his report, with many circumſtances attending it, to do honour to himſelf, was ſo far from being queſtioned by *Frontenac*, that he immediately gave orders for putting the town and iſland of *Montreal* in a proper poſture of defence. He called together all his ſavage allies who were upon the ſpot, and after feaſting them with great profuſion, he informed them, that he was reſolved never to make peace with the *Iroquois*, till he ſhould reduce them to beg it upon terms as advantageous to his allies as to the *French*, and that he conſidered both as being equally his children. He then very artfully exhorted them to fidelity, and, without loſing the leaſt of his dignity, he chanted a war ſong in their own manner, to ſhew them, that he intended to head them in perſon, and to ſhare with them in all their dangers. *Frontenac*'s behaviour charmed the ſavages to a degree of enthuſiaſm for his perſon, and he was anſwered with peals of univerſal acclamation. Next day, upon advice that great numbers of canoes were ſeen on lake *Champlain*, ſignals were given for aſſembling the regulars and the militia; and on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, *Frontenac* upon *Magdalen Mead* reviewed the ſavages, who were ſo eager for the ſervice, that all of them appeared under arms, without their leaving a man to take care of their merchandizes. Next day, the army was found to conſiſt of 1200 men.

Tranſactions with the ſavages.

SOME of the ſavages of the fall of *St. Lewis* took this opportunity to invite all the chiefs of the other cantons to go to *Onontbio*'s quarters. There being aſſembled, one *Lewis Atheribata*, a popiſh chief of *Lewis*'s fall, very artfully addreſſed himſelf to the company, but more particularly to the *Outaouais*, whom he adviſed to lay before their father *Onontbio*, their inmoſt ſentiments, and to diſcloſe the true reaſons of their late treaty with the *Iroquois*. The ſpokeſman of the *Outaouais*, upon this, apologized in the beſt manner he could for his countrymen, and gave the reaſons for their conduct, which we have already ſeen; but promiſed an inviolable fidelity to *Onontbio* in time to come, in which he was ſeconded by all the other chiefs preſent. *Frontenac* very properly thought, that ſome altercations might ariſe if the company continued longer together, and after thanking *Lewis Atheribata* for ſo ſeaſonable an interview, he promiſed him another meeting as ſoon as the enemy ſhould be repulſed.

The French *ſurpriſed by the ſavages.*

NEXT day, the ſcouts reported, that they could diſcover no enemy, nor any footſteps of one; upon which, the army was diſmiſſed till farther orders, and the inhabitants fell to their harveſt work, which was the main object of their concern. Two days after, a party of *Iroquois* ſurpriſed a defenceleſs number of the *French* inhabitants and ſoldiers, careleſly at work in the field, and killed or took priſoners ſix ſoldiers, eleven inhabitants, and four women, beſides putting to death a number of horned cattle, and burning the neighbouring houſes and ſtorehouſes; but upon an appearance of ſome troops approaching, the ſavages retired to the woods. *Frontenac* was vexed that this check had happened while the ſavage chiefs were with him. They had already earneſtly deſired him to diſmiſs them, which, at laſt, he did in a very gracious manner, after exhorting them to follow his example in carrying on perpetual war with the *Engliſh*, and the *Iroquois*, till they were humbled. A few days after their departure the *Iroquois* again ſurpriſed the *French*, who thought them at a great diſtance, in many places of the colony; and killed the commandant of fort *de Chateaugue*, above the fall of *St. Lewis*, with ſeveral other officers and perſons. *Frontenac*, incenſed with thoſe frequent ſurpriſals, reproached *Oureouharé* with the inſenſibility of his countrymen, as to all the kindneſſes he had done to him and them. The ſavage made the beſt apology he could for their behaviour; and ſo entirely diſarmed *Frontenac* of all reſentment towards himſelf, that that governor reſolved to truſt and employ him, more than ever, in compaſſing his favourite views.

Canada *invaded by the* Engliſh.

On the 10th of *October*, while *Frontenac* was preparing to return to *Quebec*, an officer from thence brought him two letters from *Prevot*, who commanded there during the governor's abſence. The firſt, dated the 5th, gave him advice, that he had been informed by an *Abenaquis* of thirty ſhips having left *Boſton*, in order to beſiege *Quebec*. The ſavage, who brought this intelligence, had travelled in twelve days from *Piſcataqua* to *Quebec*, and aſſured *Prevot*, that the *Engliſh* fleet had been for ſix weeks at ſea. The ſecond letter gave advice of twenty-four *Engliſh* ſhips, ſome of which were large, having appeared off *Tadouſſac*. Upon this alarming account *Frontenac* and *Champigny* immediately embarked on board a ſmall veſſel for *Quebec*; and ſoon after another courier came from *Perrot*, with advice that two *French* ladies had been taken by a fleet of thirty-four ſail, which, at the time of his writing, might be at the iſle of *Condres* or *Hazels*. This intelligence, which now appeared certain, was the more aſtoniſhing to the governor, not only becauſe he never had the ſmalleſt intimation of any ſhips being fitting out at *Boſton*, but becauſe he imagined, that the *Engliſh* were ſufficiently humbled by their late checks; which brings us to the events that happened in other parts of his government.

We have already mentioned, that an *Engliſh* ſquadron appeared off *Caſco* bay, but did not come time enough to pre-

vent

Succeſs of Sir William Phipps *who reduces* Acadia.

vent its falling into the hands of the *French*; upon which they ſailed to *Port Royal*, and appeared before the harbour of that place the 20th of *May* 1690. This fleet was commanded by Sir *William Phipps*, and conſiſted of a frigate of forty guns, a ſloop of ſixteen, one of eight, and four ketches; the fort being commanded by *Manneval*, a *Frenchman* of ſome abilities and experience. The *Engliſh* commodore immediately ſummoned the fort to ſurrender at diſcretion, which *Manneval*, who was deſtitute of all the means of defence, refuſed to do, but ſent out one *Petit*, an eccleſiaſtic, to treat with *Phipps*. After ſome altercation it was agreed, that the fort ſhould be ſurrendered, on condition, that the governor and the garriſon, which is ſaid to have been very weak, ſhould be carried to *Quebec*; that the inhabitants ſhould be ſecured in their effects, and the exerciſe of the *Roman* catholic religion. The *Frenchman* inſiſted upon this capitulation being put into writing, which *Phipps* abſolutely refuſed to comply with, on pretence that his word, as a general, was to be depended on more than all the writings in the world. The capitulation, however, if we are to believe *Charlevoix*, was afterwards verbally confirmed with *Manneval* himſelf; but broken by *Phipps* on pretence that the ſoldiers and inhabitants had pillaged a magazine, that by the capitulation ought to have belonged to the king of *England*. Upon this, he diſarmed the ſoldiers, put *Manneval* under arreſt, and gave up the place, and even the churches, to be plundered. Such is the relation the *French* give us of this expedition; but it ought to be read with great caution, becauſe *Phipps* could have no good reaſon for refuſing to ſign a capitulation, but the weak ſtate of the place, and the ſame pretext, if it was one, that is ſaid to have induced him to break, would have ſerved his turn equally well, had the capitulation been written, as it was verbal. Be this as it will, it is certain that *Phipps* carried off with him *Manneval*, a ſerjeant, and thirty-eight ſoldiers; that he obliged the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity to king *William* and queen *Mary*, and that he had left his firſt ſerjeant to command *Port Royal*, appointing ſix of the principal inhabitants to be of his council for adminiſtering juſtice. From *Port Royal*, *Phipps* ſailed to *Chedabouctou*, where he ſummoned *Montorgeuil* to ſurrender it. Though that officer had [k] no more than fourteen men in garriſon, he made ſo brave a defence, that *Phipps* was obliged to ſet fire to the place before he would liſten to a capitulation, which was at laſt granted him upon honourable terms; and he and his garriſon were conducted in ſafety to *Placentia*; which gives us a freſh preſumption, that the *French* have miſrepreſented the conduct of *Phipps* at *Port Royal*.

---

[k] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 103.

Vanity of the French

UPON the whole, there is a ridiculous, and, indeed, improbable vein of amplifying every thing for the glory of their own nation, and depreciating the *Engliſh*, that runs through all *French* relations of *America*; witneſs what *Charlevoix* himſelf tells us of ſixty *French Abenaquais* having attacked and defeated ſix hundred *Engliſh*, with the loſs of no more than three men. In the mean while, the chevalier *de Villebon* arrived from *France* to take upon him the command in *Acadia*; but finding how matters ſtood at *Port Royal*, he reſolved to retire to the fort of *St. John*; which he propoſed to make the rendezvous of all the *French* forces and *Indians* in *Acadia*; but he was purſued ſo cloſe by two *Engliſh* pirates, that he was obliged to take to a canoe, in which he and his officers eſcaped, while his ſhip the *Union*, which had brought him from *Europe*, was taken by the enemy. By this time *Villebon* had reached the fort of *Gemſec*, but ſoon underſtood the pirates had not only taken the *Union*, but two ketches, into which her cargo had been put. *Villebon* aſſembled a body of *Abenaqnais*, and marched with them to the ſea-coaſt, where they endeavoured, but in vain, to ſurpriſe the pirates, who fell upon *Port Royal*, where they committed great inhumanities. *Villebon* upon this, returned to *Gemſec*, where he diſmiſſed, in the winter, all his faithful *Abenaquais*. He then went to *Quebec*, from whence he returned in a *French* veſſel to *Port Royal*, and from thence he failed to *France*, where, after repreſenting to that miniſtry the ſtate of *Canada*, he undertook to drive the *Engliſh* out of it, even without the aſſiſtance of the *French*, if he was ſuffered to put himſelf at the head of the *Abenaquais*.

Villebon *governor of* Acadia.

IT would be amazing, that the *Engliſh* court ſhould all this while expreſs little or no concern for ſo fine and ſo well ſituated a country as that part of *Canada* is, did we not conſider that king *William*, and the *Engliſh* government had at this time on their hands, two great wars in *Europe*, one in *Ireland*, and one in *Flanders*, and that whatever had been done againſt the *French* in *New France*, was effected by the *New England* forces, without any aſſiſtance from *Old England*, farther than that the king and miniſtry there ſigned commiſſions, and ſometimes lent their names to what was going on. In fact, *Acadia*, at this time, was equally the property of the *French* as the *Engliſh*; the latter being ſtrongeſt by ſea; but the former was favoured by the natives. *Villebon*'s requeſt was granted; and he was ſent back to *Quebec* with all poſſible encouragement, and a commiſſion to command the *Abenaquais*, who, in the mean while, were promiſed all kind of ſupplies, and encouragement from the *French*, till ſuch time as the latter were in a condition to eſtabliſh their affairs at *Port Royal*. At the ſame time, commiſſions were made out for ſome of the *French Canadians* to act as officers under *Villebon*. He returned to *Quebec* in the beginning of *July* 1691.

Preparations to defend Quebec.

ALL thoſe events, ſo prejudicial to the *French* intereſt in *Canada* ſeem either to have been unknown to *Frontenac* before his arrival at *Quebec*, or ſlighted by him; and indeed caution and miſtruſt did not enter into his character. He had remained ſo long at *Montreal*, that had not the *Engliſh* fleet under *Phipps* been very ſeverely treated by the weather in its approach to *Quebec*, that capital muſt have been loſt before its governor could have heard of its being attacked. The firſt meaſure *Frontenac* took, after receiving *Perrot*'s ſecond diſpatch, was to ſend *Ramezay*, the governor of *Trois Rivieres*, to *Callieres*, with orders for him to leave only a ſmall garriſon at *Montreal*, and to come directly down to *Quebec* with all the force he could raiſe, either there or elſewhere in the colony. It was the evening of the 14th of *October* before *Frontenac* entered *Quebec*, where he found his deputy had put every thing in excellent order for defence, and that the *Engliſh* fleet was advanced as far as the iſle of *Orleans*. The place was defended, not only by its ordinary garriſon, but by a great number of the neighbouring inhabitants, whom the commandant had ordered into the city, and who worked with ſo much alacrity at the fortifications, that in five days they repaired them, ſo as to be ſecure againſt any ſudden attack. *Frontenac*, however, gave directions for ſome new intrenchments to be thrown up, and ſend orders to the militia commanders of *Beaupre*, *Beauport*, the iſle of *Orleans*, and on the ſide of *Lauſon*, not to quit their poſts till they ſaw the enemy land, and actually attack the place; and then they were to march as he ſhould direct. At the ſame time, *Longueville*, a *French* partizan, at the head of a body of *Hurons* and *Abenaquis*, watched the motions of the fleet, and the lower poſts, on both ſides the river, were ſo well guarded, that the *Engliſh* could not ſend even a long boat aſhore. All this time, militia men were arriving daily at *Quebec*, and ſhewed as much alacrity as its inhabitants themſelves did for its defence. On the 15th the chevalier *de Vaudreuil* went out at the head of one hundred regulars to reconnoitre the enemy, and to oppoſe them if they ſhould attempt to land. About the ſame time, *Frontenac*, who expected ſome ſhips from *France*, fearing they might fall into the enemy's hands, ſent off by the little canal of the iſle of *Orleans*, two canoes, with orders to ſail down the river as far as they could, and to inform the ſhips of the ſtate of affairs. At the ſame time, he erected a battery of eight pieces of cannon upon an eminence adjoining to the fort, which completed the fortifications of the city. In ſhort, he omitted nothing that could contribute to a vigorous and an effectual defence. On the 16th, *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, and that morning the *Engliſh* fleet was diſcovered off the heights of that place, conſiſting of thirty-four ſhips of different burthens, and carrying, as was ſaid, 3000 land forces. In advancing, the largeſt ſhips kept the middle channel, and at 10 o'clock came to an anchor. The admiral then ſent out a long-boat with a flag of truce.

which is beſieged by the Engliſh.

THE reader is here to obſerve, that *Phipps* had taken priſoner one *Grandville*, a *French* officer, who had been diſpatched by *Prevot* to obſerve the motions of the *Engliſh*, and who, on his examination, frankly owned what he thought was the truth, that *Quebec* had neither fortifications, troops, ior a general to defend it. This account encouraged *Phipps* o much, that he boaſted he ſhould lie in the governor of *Quebec's* palace that very night. *Frontenac* ſeeing the longoat, with the meſſenger, who was a trumpet, put off from he fleet, ſent an officer, who met him half way, and muffling his eyes, carried him round all the fortifications, where he ſoldiers and inhabitants purpoſely encreaſed the noiſes of nilitary hurry all round him, and, at laſt, carried him to the reat-hall. He was aſtoniſhed, when unblinded, to find himſelf efore the governor-general, the biſhop, the intendant, and large body of officers, all of them with looks of defiance nd reſolution. This was ſo much the reverſe of what he xpected, that he trembled when he preſented the manifeſto f the *Engliſh* admiral. It reproached the *French* and their vages with the cruelties which they had committed upon the bjects of *England*; demanded all the priſoners that they ad ſhould be delivered up; that the governor, garriſon, nd inhabitants ſhould ſurrender themſelves at diſcretion, and oncluded, by giving the governor-general only one hour to onſider of his anſwer. This ſummons being read aloud, reated great indignation in the *Frenchmen*, which was reoubled, when the trumpet, pulling out a watch, ſaid he ould not ſtay after 11 o'clock.

Frontenac's *anſwer to the* Engliſh ſummons.

VALRENES immediately called out, that the trumpet ught to be treated as belonging to a pirate, who was in arms ainſt his lawful ſovereign, and who had acted as a true pirate, by breaking the capitulation he had made at *Port Royal* with *Manneval. Frontenac* anſwered the trumpet, by reproaching *Phipps*, and the *Engliſh*, for their rebellion againſt their lawful ſovereign, in whoſe right he ſaid he acted. He likewiſe mentioned the affair of *Manneval* with great indignation, and concluded, by ſaying, that he would give no other anſwer to the inſolent ſummons, but by the mouth of his cannon. He then ordered the trumpet to be again blindfolded, and reconducted to the place where he was taken up. We have, in the hiſtory of *New England,* given ſome account of Sir *William Phipps*, who muſt be acknowledged to have been utterly incapable of commanding in an expedition of this importance; being a man neither of education nor abilities. His aſtoniſhment, at the report of the meſſenger, was inexpreſſible; but he was quite diſmayed, when the *French*, beginning to play from their batteries, gave him to underſtand, that, in order to reduce the place, he muſt form a regular ſiege; for which he was no way prepared (D). It muſt be acknowledged, that never did *Engliſh* ſubjects make a worſe figure than they did in this expedition. A long boat attempted to land, but, through the unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, could not. On the 18th, about noon, almoſt all the long boats of the fleet, filled with ſoldiers, made good their landing at *Beauport*, where they drew up in order of battle, to the number of 1500. As the ground was utterly improper for a regular engagement, the *French* and their *Indians* harraſſed them by buſh fighting, in which they had vaſt advantages; ſo that three hundred *Canadians*, by ſkipping from rock to rock, and firing from trees and buſhes, not only concealed their numbers, but gave their enemy no opportunity of attacking them, ſo as to do much execution. In ſhort, the *Engliſh*, having, according to the *French*, loſt [1] one hundred and fifty men, were obliged to retire before a ſmall handful of the enemy, whom they took for *Indians*; being heard to ſay in their retreat, that they believed there was an *Indian* behind every tree. The loſs of the *French* conſiſted of three gentlemen volunteers, and of eight or ten common men, who were wounded. *Frontenac*, to conceal his numbers, ordered a battalion of regulars to ſecure the retreat of the *Canadians*.

---

[1] Charlevoix, Vol. III. Page 121.

(D) The *French* fire carried away his flag, which ſome of the *Canadians* brought on ſhore; and it was hung up in the great church, where it remained, as a trophy, till the *Engliſh* took the place in the late war.

Miſmanagement of the Engliſh *in the ſiege of* Quebec.

On the afternoon of this defeat four of the largeſt *Engliſh* ſhips, laying their ſides to the place, began to cannonade the upper town; and a very hot fire enſued on both ſides. The *Engliſh* are ſaid to have directed their guns particularly againſt the college of the jeſuits, whom they conſidered as being the authors of all their countrymen's ſufferings; but whatever may be in this, it is certain that their cannonading did little or no damage to the city; and that they only killed one man, and wounded two. About eight in the evening the firing ceaſed on both ſides; but next day it was renewed, and with ſuch ſucceſs from the battery, called the mariner's gate, that both the admiral and rear-admiral of the *Engliſh* were obliged, not greatly to the reputation either of their courage, or their ſkill, to draw off, after receiving vaſt damage in their ſhips, and loſing a great number of their ſoldiers and ſailors. The other two ſhips continued their cannonading for ſome time, but were at laſt obliged to draw off likewiſe. This day produced no operations by land; but the *Engliſh*, who continued to be encamped near *Beauport*, early next morning drew out in line of battle, and about two in the afternoon they marched in good order towards *Quebec*. They had not gone far when they were attacked by *St. Helene*, one of the beſt *Canadian* officers, at the head of two hundred men, in the buſh-fighting manner, who obliged the *Engliſh* to take ſhelter in a ſmall wood; from whence they made ſo vigorous a fire, that they forced the enemy to retreat, and mortally wounded *St. Helene*. In the mean while, *Frontenac* advanced in perſon at the head of three battalions to ſupport his *Canadians*; but the action by that time was over, and the *Engliſh* ſuffered their enemies, whoſe loſs, according to their own accounts, was very inconſiderable, only two of their men being killed, and four wounded, to retreat to the city, while the loſs of the *Engliſh* is repreſented to have been greater than in the former engagement. The truth ſeems to have been, that this day's action was little more than a forraging adventure; for upon the retreat of the *French* into the city, they carried off all their cattle to revictual their ſhips, which were in vaſt diſtreſs for freſh proviſions. This circumſtance, which is admitted by the *French* themſelves, is ſufficient evidence of their partiality as to all they relate concerning this expedition, ſince we cannot ſuppoſe, that a victorious army would, before their own eyes, have ſuffered ſuch a depredation. The following night the admiral having ſent to the land troops, unknown to the beſieged, five ſix pounders, the *Engliſh* began their march, intending to batter the town in breach. The *French* officers were ſo vigilant, that they diſpoſed themſelves into ſmall ambuſh-parties, ſo as not to be diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, all over the ground through which the latter were to paſs. Thus the *Engliſh* in their march fell into one ambuſh, while they were thinking to eſcape another, three or four ſeveral times, and though they every where repulſed the *French*, yet the latter had ſo much the advantage over them in the buſh-fighting manner, that they could do little execution, while the *Engliſh* fell in numbers. The *French* at laſt, as had been concerted, diſpoſed their retreat ſo, that their ſeveral parties united behind a palliſadoed entrenchment, from which they made ſo dreadful a fire, that they ſtopt the march of the whole *Engliſh* army. The latter now brought up their field pieces, (for their cannon, with which they were to batter in breach, appeared to be no better,) but they were ſoon ſilenced by a battery on the bank of the little river, which killed them ſo many men, that they began firſt to retreat, and then to fly. According to the *French* accounts, all the execution they did at the palliſadoed entrenchments, was to kill one ranger, and wound a ſavage; ſo very ill was the fire, both of their cannon and muſketry, ſupplied. We are told, likewiſe, that the reaſon why they betook themſelves to flight, was, becauſe hearing the ſound of the great bell of *Quebec*, they imagined that the governor, and all his horſe was coming upon them (E).

They are defeated.

DURING this engagement, the two *Engliſh* veſſels that had not been diſabled by the cannonade, renewed it, but with no effect, while the *Engliſh* troops at *Beauport* took the opportunity of a dark wet night to break up their camp, and to return to their long boats, moſt ſcandalouſly leaving behind them all their cannon, powder, and bullets. Their retreat was known early, by means of ſome ſavages, and the *Canadians* ſeizing the ſpoils, defended them againſt thirty-three long boats, who came to carry them off; but their crews durſt not land, ſo terrible was the fire of the *French*. The honour of this action was due to a private gentleman, one *Carré*, who commanded the militia of *Beauport*, *Beaupré*, and the iſle of *Orleans*; and, who behaved, on this occaſion, as well as veteran regulars could have done. *Frontenac*, as a

---

(E) This is another inconſiſtency, which goes far to deſtroy the credit of the *French* relations of this ſiege in many circumſtances, though they undoubtedly are but too true in the main, for if the very apprehenſion of being attacked by the governor-general produced ſuch an effect, why did not the thing really happen?

reward for their valour, preſented them with two pieces of the cannon they had taken.

We have already mentioned, that *Frontenac* had, by a ſavage, received intelligence, that a body of *Indians* was encamped upon lake *St. Sacrament*. According to *Charlevoix* [a] this was a body of 3000 *Engliſh*, *Iroquois*, and *Mahingans*, who were deſtined for the conqueſt of *Montreal*, while that of *Quebec* was attempting. As to the credibility of this expedition, it reſts principally, if not wholly, upon the faith of the *French* themſelves; for little or no mention of it is made in the *Engliſh* accounts. It is not, however, at all improbable, that ſuch an expedition was planned, becauſe it was evidently conducive to the main deſign of the *Engliſh*, and even according to the *French* themſelves, the diſappointment of it was owing not to them, but to natural cauſes. While the *Engliſh* and the *Mahingans* were marching to join the *Iroquois*, they were ſeized with the infection of the ſmall-pox, a diſeaſe peculiarly dreadful to the ſavages; and they who recovered of it carried the marks of it upon their faces and bodies, when they came to the place of rendezvous. The loathſome appearance they made rendered the *Iroquois*, who were before impatient, quite intolerable; and they reproached their allies with coming to poiſon them. In fact, about eight hundred of the *Iroquois* died of that diſtemper; upon which the army immediately ſeparated.

PHIPPS, or rather the *Engliſh* colonies, was greatly diſconcerted at the miſcarriage of ſo promiſing a plan of operations, by which *Frontenac* had, unexpectedly even to himſelf, been enabled to draw the whole force of *New France* to the defence of *Quebec*. We ſhall not here enter upon the ridiculous accounts and reflexions of *French* memorialiſts, as if the *Engliſh* had carried along with them poiſoned ſhirts, which they intended ſhould become the prey of the *French*, and as if the ſeparation of the army had been owing to the policy of the *Iroquois*, leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould become too powerful. The manner in which it is accounted for, is natural; becauſe it is well known that the plague in other countries does not do more ſpeedy and dreadful execution, than the ſmall-pox does upon the natives of *North America*. *Phipps* receiving the certainty of this event, gave over all thoughts of any farther attempt upon *Quebec*, and reſolved entirely to raiſe the ſiege. The *French* are perhaps very moderate, when they ſay that the laſt three actions coſt their enemies ſix hundred men; for the *Engliſh* themſelves allow, that they loſt

The ſiege is raiſed.

---

[a] Charlevoix, Vol. III. Page 128.

upon the whole above 1000 of their braveſt fellow-ſubjects, during the expedition. It is certain, that when they came to a reſolution to raiſe the ſiege they had not a ſingle cannon ball left, and that they were for ſome days before obliged to charge with pieces of old iron and ſuch materials. On the 23d two *French* captains *D'Orvillieres* and *Subercaſe* threw themſelves, with about one hundred men, into the iſle of *Orleans*, as did another officer, one *Vilieu*, to prevent any deſcent from the *Engliſh* in the retreat of their fleet. On the 24th it came to an anchor, and mademoiſelle *de la Lande*, who, with ſeveral other *French* perſons of conſideration of both ſexes, remained priſoners in the hands of the *Engliſh*, propoſed an exchange of priſoners; to which *Phipps* readily agreeing, ſhe was ſent for that purpoſe to *Quebec*, and the number of priſoners on both ſides being pretty equal, the cartel was eaſily ſettled.

Retreat of the Engliſh.

THUS ended this ill concerted expedition, to the loſs of national honour on the part of the *Engliſh*; nor indeed can it eaſily be pronounced, how far the people of *New England* were authorized by their government at home in the undertaking. It is at leaſt certain, that the greateſt part, if not the whole of the expence, fell upon the province of *New England*. The capital failure of the *Engliſh* ſeems to have conſiſted in their not being provided with proper pilots to ſupply their ignorance of the navigation of *St. Laurence* river, and with a ſufficient ſtore of cannon and ammunition. The *Engliſh* fleet in its return, in paſſing by the iſle of *Orleans*, loſt no fewer than nine ſhips for want of hands to navigate them; moſt of their crews being dead, and the whole fleet was, at the ſame time, in the moſt imminent danger of periſhing. This miſcarriage produced ſome advantageous propoſitions on the part of the government of *New England* to the *Abenaquis*, and the other *French* ſavages, which were rejected on their part, and ſerved to encreaſe their contempt and hatred for the *Engliſh*. In the mean while, the meſſengers, which *Frontenac* had ſent out to apprize the ſhips he expected from *Old France* of the deſcent of the *Engliſh*, had been ſo fortunate as to meet with them, and they had concealed themſelves in the river *Saguenay*, till the *Engliſh* fleet paſſed them on its return homewards. When they appeared before *Quebec*, the joy of the inhabitants at ſeeing them was greatly damped, by their being unprovided of every thing; nor could they be ſupplied in a country, which was itſelf equally diſtreſt, as the fear of the ſavages had prevented the colony from either ſowing or reaping. The governor-general knew no other way to remedy this evil, but by quartering the ſoldiers, who were newly arrived, upon the moſt wealthy inhabitants of the province, who received and entertained them with a chearfulneſs, which perhaps none but *Frenchmen* could expreſs after the prodigious fatigues and dangers they had undergone during the preceding courſe of the campaign. This event of the deliverance of *Quebec* was thought to be of ſuch moment at the *French* court, that a medal was ſtruck on the occaſion by order of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty.

In *March* 1691 new deputies arrived at *Quebec* from the 1691. *Abenaquis* nations, who brought intelligence, that no more than four ſhips of all the *Engliſh* fleet, that had laid ſiege to that capital, had returned to *Boſton*; many of them having gone in purſuit of the *French* fiſhing veſſels on the banks of *Newfoundland*. They likewiſe informed the governor-general of ſeveral freſh cruelties committed by the *Onnontagues* againſt the *French*, and that their countrymen, with the *Canibas*, had ſo greatly harraſſed the province of *New England*, that it was in as much diſtreſs for want of proviſion as that of *New France* was. Great part of this information was afterwards found to be falſe, and *Frontenac* pretended, that the whole was a contrivance of the *Engliſh* to amuſe him, while the *Iroquois*, the *Agniers* eſpecially, were executing new barbarities againſt the *French*. In fact, a hundred and forty *Agniers*, together with ſome *Dutch* ſubjects of *England*, had invaded the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall; many of whom they killed, and carried others into captivity. Soon after, three deputies of the *Agniers* came to the ſame fall with thoſe priſoners, but without arms, declaring that they came to beg peace from their father *Ononthio*; and to petition him for a piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the fall of *St. Lewis*, where they might ſettle near their brethren. They added that eight hundred *Iroquois* had taken the field, and were ready to enter *New France* between *Montreal* and *Trois Rivieres*, and that the *Engliſh* had been the principal inſtigators and directors of all the barbarities committed by the ſavages upon the *French*. *Frontenac* did not fail to give advice of all this intelligence to *Pontchartrain*, who had ſucceeded *Seignelay* in his department, and repreſented that he thought it improper abſolutely to reject the requeſt of the *Agniers*, but that it would be highly for the honour and intereſt of the colony, if ſome attempt was made upon the *Engliſh* ſettlements, eſpecially that of *New York*; which would take from the *Iroquois* all hopes of protection from the *Engliſh*. That *Acadia* ought immediately to be recovered, and three or four frigates ſent to cruize every year between *Cape Sable*, and the northermoſt parts of the iſland of *Newfoundland* to ſecure to the *French* the abſolute poſſeſſion of the great bank, which would be of more value to their mother country, than even the conqueſt of the *Indies*, as it would bring in a revenue of above twenty millions of livres a year.

Invaſion of Canada *by the ſavages.*

In the mean while, the great body of the *Iroquois*, that had been mentioned by the *Agnier* deputies, to the number of a thouſand, appeared, about the beginning of *May*, near *Montreal*, and fixed their head-quarters towards the mouth of the river *Outaouais*. From thence, they ſent two detachments, one of ſix ſcore men northwards, and another of two hundred towards the ſouth. The former attacked *Point Tremble*, in the iſle of *Montreal*, where they burnt about thirty houſes, and took ſome inhabitants, whom they treated with the greateſt inhumanity. The ſecond detachment had in it twenty *Engliſh* with ſome *Mahingans*; and ſurprized twelve ſavages at the fall of *St. Lewis*, between *Chambly* and *Magdalen's Meadow*. Next day, however, the *Agniers*, who were of the party, carried back the priſoners to their own habitations, and declared that their chief intention was to treat of peace. It was diſcovered, that their real deſign was to debauch the inhabitants of *St. Lewis* fall, in which they did not ſucceed. A party of eighty, at the ſame time, made an irruption upon the chriſtian *Iroquois* of the highlands; of whom they carried off about thirty-five women and children. The remaining ſavages ſpread themſelves in ſmall parties from *Repentigny* to the iſles of *Richelieu*, where they laid waſte all the open country, meeting with no reſiſtance; the *French* finding it impoſſible to keep the field for want of ſubſiſtence.

Differences between the French *governor and the jeſuits.*

At laſt, *Vaudreuil*, at the head of about a hundred or a hundred and twenty ſoldiers, went from houſe to houſe to collect proviſions; and, having got as much as was ſufficient to ſubſiſt them for ſome days, they joined *la Mine*, another officer, who had taken the field, and diſcovered a party of the *Onneyouths*, who lay at *St. Sulpice*. *Vaudreuil* immediately reſolved upon attacking them, and ſurprized fifteen, whom they cut in pieces; the ſavages not dreaming that the *French* were in the field. The natives, who were in a lone houſe, being alarmed with the cries of the dying and wounded, defended themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that they killed *Bienville*, a *French* officer of note; and they muſt have made their party good, though they were no more in number than twelve, had not *Vaudreuil* ſet fire to the houſe, which obliging the ſavages to quit it, all of whom were killed, or moſt inhumanly ſacrificed by the *French* in the flames. Amongſt the officers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion, was the chevalier *de Criſaſy*, who, with his brother the marquis of the ſame name, was a *Sicilian*, and having unſucceſsfully endeavoured to raiſe a rebellion in that iſland, againſt the king of of *Spain*, in favour of the *French* king, they were obliged to fly to his protection; but he gave them no other reward for their treaſon, than each of them a company in *Canada*, where they behaved with great courage and fidelity to the intereſt they eſpouſed. Before the action, in which *Bienville* loſt his life, he had, at the head of two hundred picked men, partly *French*, and partly *French Iroquois*, ſurprized a party, to the number of ſixty, of *Goyogouins* and *Agniers*. While the ſavages were on the point of ſurrendering, the *Agniers* demanded a conference with the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall, who obſtinately perſiſted in agreeing to the ſame. The *Agniers* profeſſed a great deſire of peace, and promiſed to ſend deputies to *Montreal*, to treat concerning it with *Callieres*. Their word was taken, and both they and the *Goyogouins* were ſuffered to eſcape. This complaiſance of the ſavages of *St. Lewis* fall towards their enemies gave great umbrage to *Frontenac*, who complained to the *French* miniſtry of an underhand management between the ſavages of the fall, and the *Agniers*, many of whom were relations to the others; not without ſome very ſevere reflexions againſt the jeſuit miſſionaries, who, he ſaid, were more employed in making the ſavages chriſtians, than in making them *Frenchmen*. The jeſuits, on the other hand, ſeem to have recriminated on the governor-general, for they inſiſted that to make a ſavage a *Frenchman*, was to loſe him to the community; a manner of arguing which none but intereſted jeſuits could have made uſe of.

Conſpiracy of the ſavages againſt the French.

THE *Onnontague* canton, on pretence of deploring the death of *St. Helene*, ſon to *le Moyne*, whoſe family they had adopted, ſent him a belt of wampum, together with two female mountaineers, who had been for ſome time priſoners in their canton. Thoſe women were intruſted with two belts of wampum, one of which they were ſecretly to give to one of the principal inhabitants of the villages of the mountain; and the other to *Lewis Atherihata*, who had the honour to be godſon to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and was the principal inhabitant of the fall of *St. Lewis*. The intention of thoſe belts was to invite them to return, with as many of their friends and relations as they could bring with them, to their mother country, that they might avoid being involved in the general maſſacre that was intended againſt all the *French*. The belts were accordingly delivered; but the ſavages, to whom they were entruſted, carried them directly to *Callieres*, the governor of *Montreal*, to whom they ſwore an inviolable fidelity. He underſtood, at the ſame time, from the two female ſavages, who had brought the belts, that a large body of the *Iroquois* had taken poſt upon the river *Outaouais*, at a place called the *Long Fall*; where they propoſed to murder all the *French* who were going to, or returning from *Michillimakinac*, and then to fall upon the out-ſettlements. By this time, *Vaudreuil*, having intelligence of this conſpiracy, had raiſed ſome troops to attack the ſavages at *Long Fall*; but the latter, either perceiving that their deſigns were diſcovered, or being in danger of having their own country deſtroyed by the *French* ſavages, broke up their camp. This was a lucky incident for the inhabitants of *New France*, and was greatly owing to the attachment of the *Outaouais* and *Hurons*, who remained in arms during the whole winter, and were perpetually harraſſing the *Onnontagueſe* and the other *Iroquois*. Early in the ſpring, two *French* officers, *Courtemanche* and *Repentigny*, after a moſt amazing journey through almoſt all the *Iroquois* who lay round *Montreal*, reached *Michillimakinac* with ten men, and carried to the ſavages of that poſt the news of the miſcarriage of the *Engliſh* fleet before *Quebec*. This account, which no doubt received ſome embelliſhments from the delivery, gave vaſt ſpirit to the *French* ſavages there, and *Courtemanche* was ordered to take upon him the command of the *Miamis*, and to make head againſt the incurſions of the *Iroquois*.

Reinforcements arrive at Quebec.

On the 1ſt of *July*, the inhabitants of *Quebec* were overjoyed at the accounts they received by a ſmall *French* ſhip of a large armament, conſiſting of fourteen veſſels of different burthens, bound to *Canada* from *Old France*, and which ſoon after arrived under the command of M. *du Taſt*. This fleet had been fitted out chiefly at the expence of the *French* northern company, and its real deſtination was to retake port *Nelſon* upon *Hudſon's Bay* from the *Engliſh*. Nothing followed the arrival of this great armament but a delay, under pretence that the ſeaſon was too far advanced to undertake any thing in thoſe ſeas. The true reaſon was, that the northern company was to reap almoſt the whole of the profits, and part of the glory of the expedition; which *Iberville*, who commanded for them, foreſaw would infallibly render it unſucceſsful. The royal orders were directed to *Frontenac*, who found them ſo peremptory, that he immediately called a meeting of all who had any intereſt in the northern company, or any knowledge of thoſe ſeas; and *du Taſt* gave his opinion againſt attempting any thing farther that ſeaſon; nor did *Frontenac* and *Champigny*, the intendant, think proper to contradict him. That *du Taſt* might not ſeem to decline the expedition through indolence, he undertook to clear the river

St. Laurence of a vaſt number of *Engliſh* privateers, who ruined the *French* trade there.

The war continues between the French *and* Engliſh.

In the mean while, *Phipps* was ſo earneſt in ſoliciting at the court of *England* to be put at the head of a new armament againſt *Quebec*, that the *French* government of *Canada* took the alarm; and the preparations amongſt the *Engliſh* coloniſts were ſo great, that, had not *Phipps* loſt all his credit by his late miſcarriage, they probably would have been ſucceſsful. In the province of *New York* alone, five hundred men were raiſed, of whom a hundred and eighty were *Engliſh*, and the reſt *Agniers* or *Mahingans*, and prepared to attack *Montreal*. *Callieres*, who ſtill commanded there, diſcovering their intention, aſſembled ſeven or eight hundred men at *Magdalen's Meadow*; and, by ſending out parties, he ſoon diſcovered that the true intention of the *Engliſh* was to attack fort *Chambly*, which *Callieres* immediately reinforced with two hundred men, under *Valrenes*. The orders of the latter were to watch the motions of the *Engliſh*, and actually to enter the fort, if it ſhould be attacked; but if the enemy ſhould paſs onwards, to follow them and to fall upon their rear, while he himſelf was to attack them in front. This party was followed by a large body of ſavages, and other inhabitants, who likewiſe took poſt near *Chambly*, under an officer called *Le Bert du Cheſne*. Amongſt the *French* ſavages were three chiefs of great reputation: the firſt was *Oureouharé*, whom we have already mentioned, and who commanded the *Hurons* of *Loretto*; the next was one *Paul*, who was at the head of the *Iroquois* of *St. Lewis* fall; and the third was one *la Routine*, an *Algonquin* leader. After encamping for three days on *Magdalen's Mead*, the badneſs of the weather forced them to take ſhelter in the fort, where *Callieres* was in perſon, but confined to his bed by a fever. This happened about the 11th of *Auguſt*; and, in a day or two after, the enemy ſurprized a *French* poſted at a mill, from which they drove the militia with ſome loſs, and took poſſeſſion of it. This alarmed *St. Cyrque*, who commanded there during the indiſpoſition of *Callieres*; and, ignorant that the poſt was in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, advancing too unguardedly, he and ſome other officers were killed; but another detachment of the *French* coming up, the *Engliſh* were obliged to retreat, which they did in good order, after performing conſiderable execution upon the *French* and their allies. The *Iroquois*, in their retreat towards the wood, were harraſſed by a *French* party under one *Domergue*, whom they drew on ſo artfully, that they fell into an ambuſcade, and were all cut in pieces. This ſucceſs gave ſuch encouragement to the *Iroquois*, that they returned to the charge, but were encountered by *Valrenes*, who was likewiſe on the point of being defeated, had he not entrenched himſelf behind ſome large trees that had been felled, which gave him time to make ſuch diſpoſitions, as to charge the *Engliſh* party, who fought with inconceivable reſolution, but could not maintain the advantages they had gained. Upon the whole, it appears by the relation of the *French* themſelves, that they had no cauſe to boaſt of any victory; for the *Engliſh* and their allies retreated without moleſtation, after killing ſixty *French*, and wounding as many. Amongſt the killed was *Le Bert du Cheſne*, and *Paul* the *Iroquois* chief of *St. Lewis* fall. The *French* accounts pretend that in this action, the *Engliſh* party had ſix ſcore killed, and as many wounded. It cannot, after all, be denied, that the *French* were the greateſt gainers, as the retreat of the *Engliſh* and their ſavages gave them an opportunity of getting in their harveſt, and thereby being relieved from a moſt diſmal ſituation.

Advantages of the French.

Actions of Oureouharé.

FRONTENAC, on the firſt news of the *Engliſh* invaſion, repaired to *Montreal*, where he heard of the enemy's being repulſed; upon which he returned to *Quebec*. Soon after, he received letters from the governor of *New England*, demanding the priſoners, which the *French* ſavages had made, to be reſtored; and propoſing a neutrality between the ſubjects of the two crowns in *North America*. While *Frontenac* was deliberating upon an anſwer to thoſe propoſitions, he received a memorial from the baron *St. Caſtin*, who was ſettled in the *Abenaquis* country, and had even married a woman of that nation, informing him that the propoſition made by the *Engliſh* for the exchange of priſoners was only made with a view to debauch the *Abenaquis* from the *French* intereſt, and to prevail with them to diſcontinue their inroads upon the *Engliſh*. *Frontenac*, on this, made anſwer to the *Engliſh* governor, that, as ſoon as the chevalier *d'Eau* and *Manneval* were releaſed from their captivity, he would enter into treaty, but not before. At the ſame time, he repreſented to *Pontchartrain*, how eaſy it was to make a conqueſt of *New York*, on account of the differences between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* inhabitants there. The anſwer to this repreſentation was, as uſual, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty could ſpare no troops out of *Europe*; and that all he propoſed was to preſerve *New France* from being conquered by the *Engliſh*, as the multiplicity of his wars in *Europe* did not admit of his acting upon the offenſive.

ALL this while, the *French* in *Canada* were ſo much haraſſed by the *Iroquois*, that they were obliged to get in their harveſt with arms in their hands. A body of thoſe ſavages ad made an inroad upon the river of the meadows, but were epulſed by *Oureouharé*, who was, at that time, the great hampion of the *French* amonſt the ſavages. Soon after, he aid a viſit to *Frontenac* at *Quebec*, where he was treated ith ſo great diſtinction and preſents, that he declared, tho' nany nations offered to chuſe him for their chief, that he as determined to dedicate the remaining part of his days to he ſervice of his father *Onontbio*. All that *Frontenac* had itherto been able to do was to act on the defenſive, and to efeat a few *Engliſh* and their ſavages in their attempts upon is government. According to *Charlevoix* [a], he now attempt-d to act upon the offenſive, and ſent five or ſix hundred men o invade the country of the *Agniers*, but without ſucceſs; wing partly to the advanced ſeaſon, and partly to the badeſs of the roads. At this time, *Iberville* arrived from *Iudſon's Bay*, with two ſhips loaded with between 80 and 0,000 franks worth of beaver and other furs, which was me conſolation to the colony under its late diſappointent.

The unſucceſsful expedition of the French

IBERVILLE, after ſtaying ſome time at *Quebec*, ſailed r *France* to quicken the peparations againſt *Port Nelſon*, hich he knew that court had greatly at heart. In the mean hile, the *Abenaquis* continued to be very active againſt the *ngliſh*; and the *French* had taken two *Engliſh* gentlemen riſoners, who had been ſent to *Quebec*, where they were ntertained with great civility by *Frontenac*. By the ſame ip which took them, the chevalier *Villebon* arrived in *ew France*, having been named governor of *Acadia*, the nqueſt of which from the *Engliſh* he ſtill repreſented as beg very practicable. *Pontchartrain*, upon this repreſentation, iſpatched him in *June*, 1691 to *New France*, there to reive orders from *Frontenac* for the re-conqueſt of *Port yal*, by means of the *Abenaquis*, whom he was to comand, and who were to be diſciplined by himſelf, and other *rench* officers ſent along with them, or to be named by the vernor-general. *Villebon* arrived at *Quebec* in a ſhip called e *African Sun*, eſteemed then to be the ſwifteſt ſailor of y in the world. The ſituation of *Canada*, with regard to e *Engliſh*, was ſuch at this time, that *Frontenac* reſolved to ail himſelf of the *African Sun*, which he detained till the h of *September*, when thinking he had nothing farther to

Port Royal *repoſſeſſed by the* French.

1691.

---

[a] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 159.

fear from the *Engliſh*, he ſuffered *Villebon* to depart for *Port Royal*, which he did not reach before the 26th of *November*. There going on board his long boat with fifty ſoldiers, and two engineers, he ſaw the *Engliſh* flag flying, but met with no *Engliſhmen* in the place, on which he pulled it down, and ordering the *French* flag to be hoiſted in its ſtead, he ſummoned the inhabitants, and once more took poſſeſſion of *Acadia* in the name of the king his maſter. One *des Goutins*, who acted as his commiſſary, took this opportunity of informing the aſſembly, that, when the place was taken by *Phipps*, he had buried 1300 livres in a certain ſpot, which being accordingly dug, the money, which belonged to the king, was found, and faithfully applied by the officer to the ſervice of the public; an act of integrity, the remembrance of which afterwards procured his acquital without trial, when a charge of malverſation was brought againſt him.

New intelligence arrives at Montreal.

ABOUT the beginning of *November*, two female ſavages, who had eſcaped from the *Iroquois*, informed the governor of *Montreal*, that two parties of thoſe ſavages, each conſiſting of three hundred and fifty, were in the field with an intent to ſurprize the fall of *St. Lewis*. The governor, upon this, reinforced that ſettlement with part of the troops he had at *Montreal*; and, with the remaining part, he ſtrengthened the forts of the neighbourhood, and entruſted the charge of the town itſelf to the inhabitants. Some days after, one of thoſe parties appeared, but, finding that the ſettlement was on its guard, they retired after ſome ſharp ſkirmiſhes had paſſed. The ſecond party, which was compoſed of *Agniers*, *Mahingans*, and *Onneyouths*, appeared near lake *Champlain*, but underſtanding the diſappointment of the firſt party, they advanced no farther; and all they did was to pick up ſome ſtragglers, which the precautions of the government could not keep from diſperſing themſelves in the fields. All the reſt of this year paſſed in perpetual ſkirmiſhes between the *French* and their ſavages near the fall of *St. Lewis* on the one part, and the *Iroquois* on the other, which coſt many lives, quarter being ſeldom given on either ſide. Early in the year 1692, *Frontenac* ſent orders to *Callieres* to aſſemble a body of men, whom he was to march to the peninſula where the river of the *Outaouais* joins that of *St. Laurence*, the common hunting place of the *Iroquois* nations in the winter-time. *Callieres* accordingly aſſembled three hundred *French* and ſavages, and gave the command of them to *d'Orvilliers*, who, meeting with an accident on the road, was obliged to return to *Montreal*, but was ſucceeded in his command by one captain *Beoucourt*. This officer marched his men to the iſle of *Toniatha*, 1692.

Inſtructions of Frontenac *to* Callieres.

niatha, where he met with fifty *Tſonnonthouans*, who had taken the field to ſurprize the *French* ſtraggling ſettlements in thoſe parts, and to prevent the ſettlers from ſowing their lands. He immediately attacked them, killed twenty five, took ſixteen, and delivered one *La Plante*, a *French* officer, who had been a priſoner for three years amongſt the ſavages, and who narrowly eſcaped being killed, his countrymen miſtaking him for a native *Iroquois*. From the priſoners *Beaucourt* learned that a hundred *Tſonnonthouans* were hunting at a place called the fall of the *Cauldron*, upon the river *Outaouais*, where they intended to ſettle as ſoon as the ſnow was melted, and where they were to be joined by two hundred *Onnontagueſe*, under the command of one of their braveſt leaders called the *Black Cauldron*. He farther underſtood that they were to continue there during a whole ſummer, in order to intercept all the *French* paſſengers travelling to or from *Michillimakinac*. *Callieres* ſent notice of this information to *Frontenac*, demanding his inſtructions how to behave, as he himſelf could ſpare no more men; and large cargoes of furs, which required eſcorts, were daily expected from the weſt and the north. *Frontenac* ordered him to ſend to *Michillimakinac* forty *Canadians*, under the command of an officer, one *Michel*, eſcorted by three well-armed canoes, who were to attend him above the fall of the *Cauldron*. This order was obeyed, and the eſcort that had convoyed the *Canadians* to the place of its deſtination returned. A few days after, *Michel* diſcovered ſome footſteps of ſavages, and two *Iroquois*, which made him apprehend that the *Black Cauldron* and his party could not be far off; upon which he returned to *Montreal*.

Michel *ſent to* Michillimakinac.

FRONTENAC happened to be there at this time, and commanded *Michel* immediately to reſume his march at the head of thirty *French* and thirty ſavages. At the ſame time, he diſpatched one *Tilly*, another officer, by the *Hare* river, which diſcharges itſelf into that of the *Outaouais*, five leagues below the fall of the *Cauldron*; and gave him a duplicate of the order which *Michel* was carrying to *Louvigny* at *Michillimakinac*. When *Michel* came to a place called the carrying-place of the *Cats*, he again ſaw the two *Iroquois* ſcouts, and a great number of canoes in the water; upon which he returned once more to *Montreal*, where ſixty *French* ſavages three days after arrived with their cargoes of furs, and brought word that they met *Tilly* paſt all danger. The ſavages, having diſpoſed of their furs, demanded an eſcort back to a certain place, where they were to ſeparate. *Michel* offered to accompany them, and an eſcort, conſiſting of thirty men, was accordingly appointed. When they arrived at the *Long Fall* on the river *St. Laurence*, where they met with a carrying-place, they received a ſmart diſcharge of muſketry, without perceiving from whom it came, which made all the ſavages diſappear, and killed and wounded a great many of the *French*; upon which the ſavages ruſhing from their ambuſcade fell with the utmoſt fury upon the few ſurvivors. *Michel, La Gemeraye*, and the *Hertels*, two enſigns, who were brothers, defended themſelves with great valour, and would have fought their way through the *Iroquois*, had they not been abandoned by their own ſavages, by which *Michel*, and the two *Hertels*, were taken priſoner; but *Gemeraye* and ſome ſoldiers eſcaped to *Montreal* in their canoes.

Exploits of the Black Cauldron.

After this, the *Iroquois* continued for ſome time quiet, and *Frontenac*, who every day expected a reinforcement of troops from *Old France* returned to *Quebec*. But on the 15th of *June*, the *Black Cauldron*, all of a ſudden, made a deſcent upon *Montreal* at *Cheſnaye*; from whence he carried off fourteen *French* and ſome ſavages. *Callieres* immediately ſent out againſt him a hundred ſoldiers, under the command of captain *Du Pleſſys Faber*, who was ſupported by *Vaudreuil*, at the head of two hundred more. The ſavages, perceiving themſelves attacked by ſo ſuperior a force, fired with precipitation into the woods, leaving their canoes and baggage in poſſeſſion of the *French*; who, not offering to purſue them, gave them an opportunity of making new canoes, in which they fell again down the river *St. Laurence*. But ſoon after, *Vaudreuil*, having called in all the ſcouting parties, followed them with ſo much quickneſs, that he came up with their rear, of whom he killed ſome, and retook ſeveral priſoners. Some days after, *Luſignan*, a *French* captain, was ſurprized and killed near the iſles of *Richelieu* by the ſavages; but the party he commanded was, with great difficulty, brought off by his lieutenant. All thoſe, and many other, tragical events convinced *Frontenac*, that the inhabitants of *Montreal* were to expect no ſafety againſt the ſavages, but by being ſupported with a ſuperior power. He, therefore, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, returned to *Montreal* with three hundred men, to protect the inhabitants in getting in their harveſt. He there found two hundred *Outaouais*, whom hunger had driven thither, notwithſtanding all the dangers they ran from the *Black Cauldron*, whom they underſtood to be ſtill in the river. Though thoſe *Outaouais* had not ventured to bring along with them any furs or ſkins, yet *Frontenac* treated them with great civilities, and propoſed to them an expedition againſt their common enemy the *Iroquois*. The *Outaouais* declined this expedition, either becauſe they thought it was langerous, or becauſe they had no opportunity of conſulting heir elders upon the propoſal. Soon after, *Frontenac*, underſtanding that the *French* ſhips were arrived at *Quebec*, returned hither, where the chevalier *d'Eau* arrived about the ſame time.

Affairs of New-found-land;

THE war was, all this while, going on between the *Engliſh* nd *French* in *Acadia*, and *Frontenac* had undoubted intelligence, that Sir *William Phipps* was again preparing to attack *New France*. Having imparted this advice, with the proofs n which it was founded, to his court, orders were given o ſend a ſquadron of ſhips into the river *St. Laurence*, which was to ſerve two purpoſes: the firſt, to fight the *Engliſh* leet, if they ſhould enter that river; and the next was to etake all the poſts that were held by the *Engliſh* in *Newondland*. The command of this ſquadron was given to the hevalier *du Palais*, who ſailed directly to *Spaniſh Bay*; from hence he diſpatched a veſſel to look into the mouth of the ver *St. Laurence*, and to return to him if any *Engliſh* ſhips ere diſcovered. This ſhip, after cruizing a long time in e gulph, and at the mouth of the river, without ſeeing any *ngliſh* veſſels, ſailed back for *Spaniſh Bay*; but by ſtreſs of eather was diſabled from rejoining the *French* ſquadron, and as obliged to return to *France*. *Du Palais*, all this time, mained in *Spaniſh Bay*, waiting for the return of his ſhip; t, being diſappointed, he loſt the ſeaſon of acting, and of ecuting the orders of his court; ſo that the *Engliſh* ſquaon, which was far inferior to his, eſcaped him.

where the Engliſh *are unſucceſsful,*

THE fleet of *French* merchant-men, who were fiſhing on banks of *Newfoundland*, being ready to return to *France*, ouillan, who was then the *French* governor of *Placentia*, ceived advice on the 14th of *September*, that ~~a French~~ an English adron was anchored within five miles of that port; and t morning the ſame ſquadron was ſeen at an anchor *Placentia* road, but without the reach of cannon. On the governor immediately diſpatched the baron *La ntan* (F), who was then a reformed captain, and had been t from *Quebec* to act as the *French* king's lieutenant at *centia*. He took poſt, with ſixty men, at the place where as moſt probable the *Engliſh* would attempt their landing, rder to get poſſeſſion of an eminence which commanded batteries of the fort. The latter, however, did nothing hat day but ſound in the road. On the 17th of *Septem*the *Engliſh* manned all their long boats in order to land; diſcovering *La Hontan*, they altered their courſe, and

---

) He is the author of the ges and memoirs under name, which are written with great freedom; and which *Charlevoix* treats with yet greater.

landed at another place, where they ſet fire to ſome wood, hoping to ſhelter themſelves by the ſmoke while they reconnoitred the fort. *Brouillan*, in the mean while, erected a battery of four pieces of cannon upon the eminence we have mentioned, and another at the entry of the baſon, a-croſs which a boom was drawn. About noon that ſame day, the governor diſcovered a boat with a flag of truce, and a ſerjeant was ſent out, who brought the officer who carried it blindfolded into the fort; where he informed the governor, that he came from Mr. *Williams*, who was the *Engliſh* commodore, with his compliments, and to beg he would ſend an officer on board his ſhip, to whom he would explain his intentions, and treat with him concerning the releaſe of certain *French* ſeamen, who were priſoners on board the *Engliſh* fleet. The governor agreed to this requeſt, and ſent *La Hontan*, and another officer, one *Paſtour*, to confer with the commodore; and, in the mean while, the officer, who carried the flag of truce, ſummoned the governor, in the names of king *William* and queen *Mary*, to ſurrender the place, and all that the *French* had in the bay; which was refuſed in reſolute terms.

When *La Hontan* and *Paſtour* returned, they reported that the *Engliſh* ſquadron conſiſted of the *St. Albans*, a ſixty gun ſhip; of two others, the *Plymouth*, and a galley of pretty much the ſame force; of a frigate, and a twenty gun ſhip; but their opinion was, by the manner of working this ſquadron, it was but indifferently furniſhed with men. Next day, the *Engliſh* found that, inſtead of one, they had three forts to take; and ſoon after the cannonading began, which, for ſome time, was very briſk; but the governor at laſt ſaw the commodore draw out of the line, though the *French* at that time were reduced to their laſt charge of powder and ſhot, and were obliged to return the *Engliſh* balls, which they picked up. All this while, the *French* merchant ſhips furniſhed hands for the defence of the batteries and the fort, and were of prodigious ſervice in repairing the breaches made by the *Engliſh* artillery; but, towards the eveining of the 19th, the *Engliſh* ſhips, which ſtill continued the cannonading, drew off, which was occaſioned by a kind of mutiny in the ſquadron, on account, probably, of the bad conduct of their commanders, which obliged the latter, at laſt, entirely to abandon the attempt. All that the *Engliſh* then could do was to fall upon *Point Verte*, lying at the entrance of *Placentia* road, where the *French* could not prevent their burning ſome houſes, or rather cabins. In this expedition, it is hard to ſay which nation was guilty of the moſt groſs miſmanagement;

and retreat.

ment; the *Engliſh*, in attacking a place without knowing its ſtrength, or the *French*, whoſe ſhips lay idle in *Spaniſh Bay*, though greatly ſuperior to the *Engliſh*, who thereby eſcaped them.

Expedition againſt Hudſon's Bay *by the* French,

THE operations on the other coaſts of *New France* were pretty much of the ſame nature. *Phipps* ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution, if poſſible, to attack *Quebec*; while *Villebon*, the *French* commandant in *Acadia*, fortified himſelf at *Fort St. John*, till he could be enabled, by ſuccours ſent him from *Old France*, to retake *Port Royal*. In order to diſlodge him, an *Engliſh* ſhip of forty-eight guns and two brigantines, the whole having four hundred men on board, was ſent out by *Phipps*. *Villebon* marched down a party of the *French* and ſavages, which made ſo good an appearance, that the *Engliſh* lurſt not venture to land, and made off towards fort *Pemmauid*. *Villebon* repreſented to *Frontenac* the neceſſity of demoliſhing this fort, which was an inceſſant thorn in the ſide of he *French* intereſt towards *New England*. By this time, *berville*, who had a commiſſion from the *French* court to diſoſſeſs the *Engliſh* of *Port Nelſon* on *Hudſon's Bay*, was arrived t *Quebec* in the *Envioux*, a *French* ſhip of war, and he was ıere to be joined by the *Poli*, another, with two other veſls that were to be furniſhed by the northern company. As *erville* did not arrive at *Quebec* before the 18th of *October*, hen it was too late in the year to make any attempt upon *udſon's Bay*, *Frontenac* propoſed that he ſhould employ his uadron, which was commanded by one *Bonaventure*, againſt rt *Pemmaquid*. The propoſal was readily accepted of, and was agreed, that the two royal ſhips ſhould attack the fort ſea, while *Villebon* ſhould beſiege it by land, at the head of s ſavages. When the ſhips arrived before the fort, they ſcovered, at a diſtance, an *Engliſh* ſhip of war at anchor unr its cannon. The *French* ſhips, having no coaſting pilot board, did not think proper to make any attempt upon fort, and returned to the vaſt diſcontent of the ſavages, io had aſſembled in great numbers, and were in high exctation of becoming maſters of the fort. It was afterwards covered that *Iberville*, who, in other reſpects, was an exlent officer, had truſted too much to ſurpriſing the fort; l that an *Engliſh* gentleman, one *Nelſon*, who was then ſoner at *Quebec*, had bribed two *French* ſoldiers, who gave elligence to the *Engliſh* at *Pemmaquid*, and who were theree on their guard, which had induced *Iberville* to abandon enterprize.

unſucceſsful.

NEW FRANCE is ſaid to have been at this time in ıore deſireable ſituation, through the activity of *Frontenac*, than

Proſperity of New France.

than it had been for ſome years before; but he was accuſed of great defects in his government. He threw too great a ſhare of the war upon the trading inhabitants, to the ruin of commerce, while the officers and ſoldiers lived too much at their eaſe. He is ſaid to have ſtill been more blameable by indulging the ſavages in the uſe of ſpirituous liquors; but this laſt charge againſt him was perhaps chiefly owing to the jeſuits, who wanted to monopolize that trade, and could not endure that the civil power ſhould give the natives any indulgence, without their conſent, participation, and even allowance. We accordingly find, that they filled the court of *France*, by means of their friends there, with charges on that account againſt *Frontenac*, whom they accuſed of all the robberies and murders that happened in conſequence of the ſavages getting drunk. In the mean while, *Frontenac* began to more than ſuſpect that the enterprize againſt fort *Pemmaquid* had been defeated by *Nelſon*'s practices; and that the frequent deſertions, which every day happened, were owing to the ſame cauſe. All the governor's repreſentations had produced no effectual ſuccours from *France*; and there was reaſon to believe that the *Engliſh* were now but too well acquainted with the weakneſs of the *French* colony. He endeavoured, but in vain, to put a ſtop to the deſertions; and, in a ſhort time, intelligence came that eight hundred *Iroquois* were in motion on the borders of *New York*, to attack *Canada*. Thoſe ſavages divided themſelves into two parties. The one marched by lake *Champlain*; the other by lake *François*, intending to join near the fall of *St. Lewis*, where they were to entrench themſelves, to decoy all the inhabitants they could into their hands, and then to murder them. This news threw *Frontenac* into great diſquietudes, as he was uncertain on what quarter the ſtorm might burſt, and therefore it was dangerous for him to act upon the offenſive. All he could do was, by the advice of *Callieres*, to reinforce the marquis *de Criſaſy*, who continued to command at the fall of *St. Lewis*, together with the forts *Chambly* and *Sorel*, and to iſſue ſtrict orders for all the officers and the inhabitants to keep themſelves in readineſs, without abandoning either their houſes or their poſts. The *Iroquois*, who marched by lake *François*, appearing in ſight of the ſettlement at the fall of *St. Lewis*, finding the inhabitants on their guard, did no more than exchange a few ſhot with them, and retired in the evening. The other party, which marched by the way of lake *Champlain*, left behind them, in an iſland there, three hundred men, ready to have fallen upon the ſame ſettlement had they ſeen an opportunity: but the ſecond party, who appeared

peared in view, doing no more than the firſt, retired likewiſe; and the ſavages, in general, perceiving the ſettlers at the fall of *St. Lewis* to be upon their guard, gave over all thoughts of their enterprize, and returned home.

Expedition againſt the Agniers

THE governor-general of *New France* attributed all the malignancy of this laſt attempt to the canton of the *Agniers*, and therefore reſolved to be revenged. For this purpoſe, he ſent two hundred *Canadians*, with a body of *Abenaquis*, *Algonquins*, and *Sokokis*, to *Montreal*, where they were to be joined by a hundred more *Canadians*, a hundred regulars, and a number of *Iroquois* of the fall and the highlands; the whole to form a body under *Callieres*, and to make a briſk irruption into the *Agnier* canton. *Callieres* entruſted the execution of this expedition, which was compoſed of ſix hundred men, to three lieutenants, *Mantet*, *Courtemanche*, and *la Noüe*; and, on the fifth of *January*, all the army embarked at *Montreal*. The orders given on this occaſion plainly prove the *French* to have been the converts of the ſavages, and to have even exceeded them in the practices of inhumanity. They barbarouſly reſolved upon the utter extinction of the *Agnier* canton, and being habitually, as well as naturally, preſumptuous, they thought themſelves ſo ſecure of this blow, that the general orders were not to ſpare any male capable of bearing arms, but to put every one of them to the ſword, and to carry off all the women and children captives to people the *French Indian* ſettlements. The barbarity of thoſe orders is the more remarkable, as the canton, thus doomed to maſſacre, had hitherto done nothing to provoke the *French*, but in following that natural affection which is ſo deeply implanted in the breaſts of thoſe barbarians, and endeavouring to regain to their ancient ſettlements their countrymen who were ſettled at the fall of *St. Lewis*.

The *French* army reached the *Agnier* canton without being diſcovered, on the ſixth of *February*. They found the ſavages living in three townſhips, each defended with a kind of fort. *La Noüe*, with little or no reſiſtance, attacked and deſtroyed the firſt, and all the proviſions in it, while *Mantet* and *Courtemanche* did the ſame by the ſecond; but the general's orders were not obſerved, for many priſoners were made, and committed to the cuſtody of *Courtemanche*. The third fort gave them ſome trouble. Forty *Agniers* were preparing to march out of it to join a party of the *Engliſh*; and when *la Noüe* and *Mantet* attacked it, the ſavages, though they had heard nothing of the deſtruction of the other two forts, and therefore were unprovided for a defence, fought very bravely; but, after loſing twenty men and ſome women, two hundred and fifty of them were taken priſoners. So many priſoners being made in contravention of the *French* governor's orders, was owing to the natural affection we have juſt now mentioned of the ſavages for their countrymen, and is a farther proof of the deteſtable barbarity of the *French*: for though the Chriſtian *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis*, and the other *French Indian* ſettlements, had promiſed the *French* governor to obey his inhuman orders, yet when they came to be executed, they could not reſiſt their feelings for their countrymen, and even obliged the *French* to ſave their male priſoners. This compaſſion is, at the ſame time, an evidence, that nothing but force, enthuſiaſm, and the arts of the jeſuits, could have again prevented their incorporating themſelves in their native cantons.

ves un-
unate
he

After finiſhing their ravages amongſt the *Agniers*, perceiving that they had ſaved only proviſions barely ſufficient for carrying them back to *Montreal*, and underſtanding that their enemies were in purſuit of them, they were returning as faſt as they could, when their ſavages of the fall of *St. Lewis* obliged them to throw up an intrenchment, and to wait for their purſuers for two days. The latter, at laſt, appeared, and proved to be *Onneyouths*. A ſmart encounter followed with ſome loſs on both parties; and the *Onneyouths*, who ſeem to have known their buſineſs much better than the *French* did, retreated, while their enemies continued their march. The *Onneyouths* followed them in ſight, and obliged the *French* to keep in a body; but ſcarcity of proviſion and badneſs of roads every day encreaſing, they were forced to ſeparate; by which means all their priſoners but ſixty-four eſcaped, and the few remains of this victorious army, at laſt, reached *Montreal* in a moſt deplorable condition, with a freſh alarm, which they had catched from their priſoners, of a new expedition, even ſtronger than the laſt, deſigned by the *Engliſh* againſt *Quebec* both by ſea and land. This news was confirmed to *Frontenac* by *Iberville*, who commanded in *Acadia*, and by ſome *French*, who had eſcaped from the *Engliſh*. The latter even went ſo far as to ſay, that the *Engliſh* governors of *North America* had held a congreſs amonſt themſelves, and were reſolved to raiſe 10,000 men, who were to rendezvous at *Boſton*; and that 6000 of them were to be employed againſt *Quebec*. Neither *Frontenac* nor *Callieres* in the leaſt doubted the truth of this intelligence; and the forts *Chambly* and *Sorel* were immediately repaired; and all diſpoſitions were made, both at *Quebec* and *Montreal*, for rendering the deſcent of the *Engliſh* ineffectual.

Those

A convey from Michilimakinac.

THOSE diſpoſitions required ſo many men to execute them, hat *Frontenac* could ſpare none for eſcorting a large magaine of furs, that were laid up at *Michillimakinack*, and which, f brought down to *St. Laurence* river, might be of infinite ervice to the colony. At laſt, *D'Argenteuil*, a reformed ieutenant, and brother to *Mantet*, undertook the dangerous ourney, and eighteen *Canadians* were with great difficulty erſuaded to attend him; while another officer with twenty nen, and a party of *Iroquois* Chriſtians, were ordered to eſcort hem paſt the moſt dangerous part of the way. The intructions, which, on this occaſion, were ſent to *Louvigny* at *Michillimakinac*, were, that he ſhould ſend to *Montreal* and *uebec* all the *French* but thoſe who were neceſſary for guardig his moſt important poſts. *D'Argenteuil* performed his urney; but *Valtrie*, the officer who commanded the eſcort, his return, was defeated and killed by a party of the *Iroquois* ear *Montreal*. On the 10th of *June*, when ſuch a viſit was aſt expected, one *Tareha*, an *Onneyouth* captain, arrived at *ontreal*, attended by a *Frenchman*, who had been four ears priſoner in that canton, and whom he propoſed to exange for a nephew of his own, who was in the hands the *French*. *Tareha*, at the ſame time, preſented *Caleres* with a letter of recommendation from *Milet* the iſſionary, who was ſtill detained at *Onneyouth*. *Callieres* ſent *areba* to the governor-general, who readily agreed to the change, and won ſo far upon the *Onneyouth*, that the latter eſented him with belts from the moſt conſiderable families the canton, in token of their being diſpoſed for peace; it he counſelled the governor of the ſame to be upon his ard, eſpecially during the harveſt ſeaſon. In ſhort, *Taha* omitted nothing to convince *Frontenac* of his good diſpoion, and that of his nation towards the *French*. *Frontenac's* ng experience had taught him how to deal with thoſe ſages; and he neither opened himſelf to *Tareha*, nor diſcouged him from bringing on a negotiation, provided the canns from whence he came would, before the end of *September*, fter which time he would not wait) ſend him deputies; on this *Tareha*, after promiſing to return by that time, took ave of the general.

The Engliſh *ſail'd from* Boſton.

A FEW days after, *Frontenac* received intelligence, that the *nglish* fleet had ſailed from *Boſton*; and *Michel*, who (the ader may remember) the year before had been taken priner by the ſavages, having made his eſcape to ſave himf from the flames, arrived at *Quebec*. He reported, that e *Engliſh* in the principal village of *Onnontague*, had erect a ſtrong capacious fort for receiving all the women and children of the canton, in caſe they were ſurpriſed as that of *Agnier* had been by the *French*; that *Tareha's* intelligence might be true, but it was certain, that the *Iroquois* nation in general never was leſs diſpoſed than they were, at that time, to live in friendſhip with them. While *Michel* was making this report, intelligence came, that eight hundred *Iroquois* had taken the field, and were advanced almoſt as far as lake *St. Lewis*. This happened on the 21ſt of *June*, when *Vaudreuil*, with five companies of regulars, and one hundred and fifty recruits, juſt arrived from *France*, was diſpatched from *Quebec*; and *Callieres* went in perſon, at the head of ſeven or eight hundred men, towards the caſcades of *St. Lewis*, where the ſavages were ſaid to be aſſembled; but neither of the parties were able to diſcover any, they having decamped ſometime before. The accounts of the great preparations made at *Boſton* by the *Engliſh*, were true; but a falſe place of deſtination had been induſtriouſly given out, to amuſe *Frontenac*. The armament was, in fact, deſigned againſt *Martinico*; but that expedition miſcarrying, and three ſhips arriving from *Old France* at *Quebec*, the *Iroquois*, who had come to the Caſcades of *St. Lewis*, and who appear to have had very good intelligence, not only returned home, but ſuffered the *French* to get in their harveſt without moleſtation; and the colony for ſome time enjoyed tranquillity, to encreaſe its good fortune. *D'Argenteuil*, on the 4th of *Auguſt*, brought from *Michillimakinac* to *Montreal* two hundred canoes laden with furs and ſkins, and the principal chiefs of the northern and weſtern ſavages were likewiſe on board. As thoſe chiefs were of *Huron* extraction, *Frontenac* immediately gave them a formal meeting at *Montreal*, attended by the leaders of his own ſavages. The *Huron* orator entertained him with a long detail of the exploits of his nation againſt the *Iroquois* and the enemies of *France*, and the other chiefs made him their compliments in the moſt reſpectful manner, but petitioned for the beſt prices that could be afforded for their commodities. The governor obſerving that no deputy was there from the *Miamis*, was informed that they had been gained over by the *Engliſh*, who had ſent them preſents by the *Mahingans*, and had opened a trade with them by the river *St. Joſeph*. This account gave *Frontenac* no little diſquiet, and he reſolved, at all events, to break off the commerce. As he had a particular art in gaining over the ſavages, they returned home charmed with his manner of receiving and entertaining them; and ſoon after they were followed by a number of *French* headed by *Tonti*, who ſtill commanded on the *Ilinois* river, but happened, at that time, to be at *Quebec*. *Tonti* was attended by *Courte-*

Montreal *invaded by the ſavages.*

manche, *Mantet*, *Perrot*, *D'Argenteuil*, and other officers; and they had it in commiſſion from the governor-general to break off, either by perſuaſion or force, all communication between the *Miamis* and the *Engliſh*. One *le Sueur* was charged with the care of making an eſtabliſhment at *Chagouamigon*, and renewing the alliance with the *Sieux*, and the inhabitants of the Falls.

A ſavage lady comes to Quebec.

WHEN *Frontenac* was preparing to return to *Montreal*, he received intelligence that the *Engliſh* had made themſelves maſters of fort *St. Anne*, lying at the bottom of *Hudſon's* bay. We are not entirely to give credit to all that *Charlevoix* ſays concerning a noble defence made againſt one hundred *Engliſh* by three *Frenchmen*, which was all the garriſon this fort had; and who, after all, made their eſcape to *Quebec*. It was very poſſible for three men, which indeed appears to have been the truth, to ſlip away in a canoe; and no doubt they magnified their own valour to the governor-general, whom they found at *Quebec*, greatly vexed that the *French* reinforcements had again come ſo late in the year, that he could make no attempt upon fort *Nelſon*. He was, at this time, in no pain concerning any expedition of the *Engliſh* againſt his government, their fleet having returned in a moſt miſerable condition from its unſucceſsful expedition to *Martinico*. About the end of *September*, *Tareha*, according to his promiſe, returned to *Quebec*, attended by an *Onneyouth* female, whom the fame of count *Frontenac* had drawn to pay him a viſit. This lady had been extremely kind to the *French*, particularly to father *Milet*, who were priſoners amongſt the *Onneyouths*; and the *Frenchman*'s vanity was highly pleaſed with her viſit. Her having ſaved many of the *French* from the flames, gave her a particular title to his regards, and ſhe was baptized by the name of *Suſan* (G). The preſence of this female contributed not a little to *Frontenac*'s civil reception of *Tareha*, notwithſtanding the odious propoſals he brought from his canton. He threw upon the *Engliſh* all the blame of his countrymen not having ſent their deputies, as the governor had deſired; and he even propoſed that the governor ſhould ſend deputies to *Orange*, there to treat under the mediation of the *Engliſh*.

Intrigues of Frontenac *with the ſavages.*

FRONTENAC, tho' nettled to the quick at thoſe propoſals, diſſembled his indignation; and after making *Tareha* ſome preſents, he diſmiſſed him; but not without ſeverely reproaching the inſolence and treachery of his countrymen, whom he

---

(G) She was living at the fall of *St. Lewis*, where *Charlevoix* ſaw her in 1708.

threatened ſpeedily to chaſtize, if they did not ſoon make amends for their behaviour. By this time *Tonti*, and the other *French* officers, had brought the *Illinois* and the *Miamis* to make a briſk war upon the *Iroquois*; and *Frontenac* was not without hopes of ſtill gaining over ſome of the *Iroquois* cantons, by means of his ſecret agents there. *Oureouharé*, who had been ſo faithful to the *French* intereſt, and ſtill continued ſo, though reſiding amongſt the *Iroquois* Chriſtians in the highlands, paid frequent viſits to his countrymen, whom he endeavoured, all he could, to diſpoſe in favour of the *French*. *Garakonthie*, though extremely old, reſided ſtill amongſt the *Onnontagueſe*, where he was yet in great authority; and it was owing to his ſervices, that the *Engliſh* were diſappointed in many plans they had formed with thoſe ſavages for the deſtruction of the colony. *Teganiſſorens*, likewiſe, was alive; and buſy with his good offices to the *French*. *Frontenac* knew the dependence he could have upon thoſe three chiefs, and very wiſely at this period of his government, he depended upon them, rather than his own arms, for baffling the efforts of the *Engliſh*. But all they could do could not effect an open breach between them in favour of the *French*. The latter, and their allies, continued ſtill to be harraſſed by the *Iroquois* incurſions, and the *Engliſh* ſtill found means to animate thoſe ſavages by treating them well, and promiſing, from time to time, to fit out an armament that ſhould be ſufficient to deſtroy the colony (H). But whatever reproaches *Charlevoix*, and other *French* writers, may throw out againſt the *Engliſh* on this head, their own words furniſh us with abundance of motives why the *Iroquois* ſhould prefer the friendſhip of the *Engliſh* to that of the *French*. As we have already ſeen in the hiſtory of *New England*, the ſavages reſiding there lived with comfort, and in plenty, and provided with all the neceſſaries, and many of the conveniences of life, while the *French* ſavages were generally poor and deſpicable. Add to this, that the benefits the ſavages reaped from the *Engliſh* trade were much greater than thoſe from the *French*; ſo great was the diſcouragement which the commerce of the latter laboured under from the taxes and impoſts laid upon them.

Reflections on the governments of France *and* England *in* North America.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, it muſt be acknowledged that the *French* government was much better ſerved than that

---

(H) *Charlevoix*, in this part of his hiſtory, is at great pains to repreſent the *Engliſh* as being much better politicians than their own countrymen will allow them to have been; for the conduct of the *Engliſh* towards thoſe ſavages has been generally blamed, and that of the *French* recommended by the *Engliſh* writers upon *American* affairs.

of *England* was by their officers in *North America.* The governors and officers there, though of the military caſt, were men of capacity and education, and thought their ſervices abundantly rewarded, when they could promote what they alled their maſter's glory; though it muſt be confeſſed, that they did not always do it by means that were either juſtifiable or humane. Even their natural vanity contributed to in-pire their Chriſtian ſavages with high ideas of the *French* name and nation; while the jeſuits and miſſionaries were qually aſſiduous in fettering their minds with ſuperſtition and gnorance. *Frontenac* was ſenſible where the weak part of his overnment lay. He knew the ſmall proportion of property which the *French* coloniſts enjoyed, compared to thoſe of the *Engliſh*, and the ſuperior induſtry of the latter over his coun-rymen and the *Canadians.* He endeavoured to repair all thoſe iſadvantages by his addreſs and management. The agents e entertained even amongſt the *Engliſh Iroquois* every day ere making propoſitions of peace, which were ſent to im, and which he encouraged or rejected, as he ſaw proper; ut, upon the main, he ſeldom failed to retrieve ſome *French* iſoners out of their hands, and, what was ſtill more impor-nt, to gain time; by which the ſubjects of his government ad leiſure to ſow their fields, and to get in their harveſts. bove all, he always obtained a great point, when an *Iroquois* puty was admitted to his preſence, ſo artful he was at aſ-milating himſelf to their manners.

1694.

It was now the beginning of the year 1694, when two nnontagueſe came from their canton to *Montreal* to know om *Callieres* whether their deputies, who, they ſaid, were on the road to treat of peace, would be well received by eir father *Onontbio. Callieres* promiſed that they ſhould have hearing, but ſeemed to doubt much whether they would ive; upon which the two *Onnontagueſe* returned, and no-ng was heard from their canton for two months, notwith-nding the utmoſt efforts of *Callieres* to gain intelligence as their true motives of acting. On the 23d of *March* fol-ving two *Agniers* came to *Montreal*; and in the name of *ganiſſorens*, who was to have been the head of the depu-ion, threw all the blame of its retardment upon the *Eng-*. *Frontenac* pretended that he had reaſon to diſtruſt thoſe *niers*; that he had been informed by the ſavages of *Acadia* t their intention was to draw both him and *Callieres* to a nference near *Montreal*, to which they were to repair in at numbers; and having there aſſaſſinated them both, to l in their countrymen, who were to be ambuſhed at hand, d after deſtroying the colony to put the place in the poſ-

Negotiation with the Onnontagueſe.

ſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. Nothing could be more ridiculous than thoſe pretexts; but they were treated by *Frontenac* as realities, and he affected to be greatly upon his guard. In *May*, *Teganiſſorens*, attended by eight deputies, arrived at *Quebec*; and as the *French* inhabitants were then ſowing their lands, *Frontenac* gave them a civil, but a very ſolemn, reception. Great compliments on both parts paſſed in public and in private; *Teganiſſorens* preſented the governor-general with belts of friendſhip from *Garakonthie*. Though *Frontenac* was entirely convinced of this chief's good intentions towards the *French*, yet he knew that neither he nor *Teganiſſorens* were in the ſecret of ſuch of their countrymen as were in concert with the *Engliſh*; but he received *Garakonthie*'s belts with great acknowledgments of friendſhip, and made handſome preſents both to him and *Teganiſſorens*. He then found means to prolong the abode of the deputies at *Quebec*, till the inhabitants had finiſhed their ſeed-time. Mean while, the *Iroquois* laboured to perſuade the eaſtern and weſtern ſavages, who were the allies of the *French* towards *Michillimakinac*, that the *French* were betraying them, and wanted to ſacrifice them to their own intereſts. This alarmed *Louſigny*, the *French* governor in thoſe parts; but all he could effect was, to bring thoſe ſavages to ſend deputies to *Quebec*, where they arrived two days after the departure of the *Iroquois* deputies. *Frontenac*, underſtanding the purport of their commiſſion, diſpatched an expreſs after *Teganiſſorens*, which inſtantly brought him back; and he dealt ſo effectually with the deputies, that they became fully ſenſible of the practices of the *Iroquois* againſt the *French*.

The Goyogouins *and* Tſonnonthouans.

FRONTENAC, all this while, had greatly at heart the re-eſtabliſhment of his fort at *Catarocouy*; and being encouraged to it by *Teganiſſorens*, he directly fitted out a large convoy, which was to carry a garriſon, workmen, and all kinds of neceſſaries for re-eſtabliſhing that poſt, which he ſaid was the bulwark of the colony againſt the ſavages. The command of the operations was at firſt beſtowed upon the chevalier *de Criſaſy*; but he was laid aſide upon the arrival at *Montreal*, where *Frontenac* then was, of *Seſigny*, brother to *Iberville*, who brought a commiſſion from court, authorizing him and his brother to ſuperintend the rebuilding of that fort. As the buſineſs could admit of no delay, *Seſigny* proceeded to *Catarocouy* with the convoy that had been appointed for *Criſaſy*, with ſixſcore *Canadians*, and ſome ſavages of *St. Lewis*'s fall. Soon after two *Frenchmen*, who had been priſoners in the canton of *Onnontague*, arrived at *Montreal*, and informed *Frontenac* that he could expect no peace with the *Iroquois*. He gave no credit to this intelligence, becauſe thoſe ſavages had ſuffered a large convoy of furs, under the conduct of *Louvigny* himſelf, to paſs unmoleſted to *Montreal*; and fifteen days after, *Oureoubare* arrived with thirteen *French* priſoners, amongſt whom were the two *Hertels*, who had been taken two years before, and were thought to be dead. No other deputies attended *Oureoubare* but thoſe of *Goyogouin* and *Tſonnonthouan*; but *Frontenac* ordered the chiefs of the other ſavages to be preſent at their audience, in which *Oureoubare* gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the attachment of his countrymen to the intereſts of the *French*, and preſented him with belts, as evidences of what he aſſerted; offering, at the ſame time, to enter into an immediate negotiation for a peace. *Frontenac* demanded whether he had authority to comprehend all the other *Iroquois* nations in the treaty. The deputies were not a little confounded at this queſtion; but, after various evaſions, *Frontenac* declared, that he would ſend back all the belts he had received, excepting thoſe ſent by their own two cantons, unleſs he had a ſatisfactory anſwer to all that he had concerted with *Teganiſſorens*, and that he was prepared inſtantly to enter upon action. He then entertained the deputies in his uſual affable manner, and endeavoured to perſuade thoſe from *Goyogouin* and *Onnontague* that he wiſhed for peace, but rather upon their account than his own, as they were his children, and he was ſorry to be obliged to chaſtiſe them. Diſmiſſing them for that time he re-aſſembled them, and teſtified his diſpleaſure at the intercourſe between the *Iroquois* cantons and the *Engliſh*, threatening to renew the war with more vigour than ever. Upon this the deputies, with an art which perhaps was taught them by the *French* themſelves, endeavoured to render him diſtruſtful of his allies, who had given him wrong impreſſions of their countrymen; but he aſſured them he never would depart from befriending and truſting them. Some high words then happened between the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons* who were in company, which requiring the interpoſition of the governor-general, he impoſed ſilence on both parties, but not without ſome threats againſt the *Iroquois*, in caſe they ſhould continue longer refractory: after this, he made preſents to all the aſſembly, and diſmiſſed them. Towards the end of *October*, father *Milet*, after remaining five years in a moſt diſagreeable ſtate of captivity amongſt the *Onneyouths*, arrived at *Montreal*, as in a few days after did *Tareha* with deputies from the ſame canton, whom *Frontenac* threatened to treat as ſpies; but ſeemed to be afterwards ſomewhat mollified in their favour upon the repreſentations of father *Milet*, to whom *Tareha* had done eſſential ſervices. Perhaps *Frontenac*'s true motive in this was to prolong the repoſe of the colony. In fact, he could not have chaſtized the *Onneyouths* without declaring war againſt all the *Iroquois*, who were in alliance with the *Engliſh*, and whom he had not forces ſufficient to reduce.

Weakneſs of the government of New France.

IT is ſurpriſing, that, notwithſtanding the expence which the government of *New France* had coſt to its mother-country, all the force which *Frontenac* could muſter up this year, did not amount to above 2000 men, even including the militia and the *French* ſavages. This was a number in no reſpect comparable to the force which the *Engliſh* and the *Iroquois* could have brought into the field; ſo that *Frontenac* acted with wonderful addreſs in ſtill keeping the ſavages in awe, and yet amuſing them ſo as to prevent their bringing into the field any great bodies of men, the conſequence of which muſt have been fatal to the colony. As to the *Engliſh*, he was at this time in no great apprehenſion of an invaſion from them. He knew that their fleet at *Boſton* was in too bad a condition to undertake any naval expedition, and that they could do nothing at land but by the aſſiſtance of the *Iroquois*. Very different was the character (as we have already hinted) of Sir *William Phipps*, who remained ſtill governor of *New England*. He could do nothing but by the mere dint of power, of which he made but a poor uſe. It is true, after building the fort of *Pemmaquid*, ſome of the *Abenaquis* had formally ſubmitted themſelves to the crown of *England*; but their ſubmiſſion neither was ſincere, nor were the tribes, who ſubmitted, of any great importance. *Charlevoix*[1] is, perhaps with ſome reaſon, of opinion, that even this partial ſubmiſſion could not have taken place, had not the government of *New France* depended ſo much on the affection of thoſe ſavages, as to leave them unprotected; and many of their countrymen being priſoners at *Boſton*, their deliverance was a ſtrong motive for the ſubmiſſion of the others. The ſame author ſays, that this ſubmiſſion was not near ſo formal or abſolute as we have, upon the authority of *Engliſh* writers, repreſented it. But though we are inclined to believe him in ſome particulars not given by the *Engliſh* accounts, it ſeems pretty certain, that the treaty we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *New England*, was actually concluded, and that the breach of it was owing to the treachery of the *French*. According to him, while Sir *William Phipps* was at fort *Pemmaquid*, to put the laſt hand to the peace, a *French* officer, *Villieu*, and *Thury*, a miſſionary in thoſe parts, found means to bring over to the

---

[1] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 211.

French intereſt *Mataoua..do*, the head of the *Malecite* ſavages, who was to have been a party in the treaty, and raiſed a body of two hundred and fifty ſavages near *Pemmaquid* and upon the river *St. John*. *Villicu*, ſoon after, was joined by other *Abenaquis*; and, though attended only by another *Frenchman*, he led them through the middle of the *Engliſh* ſettlements upon the river *Piſcataqua* to within twelve leagues of *Boſton*, where two *Engliſh* forts ſtood. The one was attacked and taken by the *Abenaquis*, and the other by *Villicu* and the other ſavages. Two hundred and thirty *Engliſh* were killed on this occaſion, and about ſixty houſes burnt, with the loſs of only one man to the ſavages.

Miſmanagement of the Engliſh *there.*

THOUGH this account is not only exaggerated, but roman-
tic, yet it is certain that the *French* had great advantages at
his time in *New England*, owing chiefly to the unpopularity
and miſmanagement of Sir *William Phipps*. The head of the
Abenaquis was one *Taxus*, one of the braveſt and moſt active
avages in *America*. He is ſaid to have put himſelf at the
ead of forty of his lighteſt followers, and to have attacked
nd carried a fort near *Boſton*, though it was bravely defend-
d by the *Engliſh*, who killed his nephew, and he him-
elf had twelve muſket-balls ſhot through his cloaths: after
his he extended his ravages to the very gates of *Boſton*. Thoſe
alamities happened at a time when *Phipps* was flattering
he people of his government with the peace that had been
oncluded, which he pretended was ſufficient ſecurity to the
olony. The people were ſo exaſperated at this, that, ac-
ording to *Charlevoix*, though no mention is made of it
the *Engliſh* accounts, they roſe againſt him, and ob-
ged him to retire to fort *Pemmaquid*, where he propoſed to
ſume his negotiation with the ſavages. For this purpoſe,
threatened to be revenged on ſuch of them as had aſſiſted
e *French* in taking the *Engliſh* forts, and upon ſuch of their
ition as were either hoſtages or priſoners at *Boſton*. This
eſſage ſtartled the ſavages the more, as they had been diſ-
pointed of the ſuccours which had been long promiſed
em from *France*, and, after various deliberations, they
ſolved to give ſatisfaction to the *Engliſh* governor; but
y were diſſuaded from it by *Thury*, who repreſented the
gliſh in ſo diabolical a light, as deterred the ſavages from
iſting them. His advice was, that they ſhould employ
time which had been allowed them by *Phipps* for coming
a reſolution, in getting in their harveſt, and then retire
places where they could not be attacked by the *Engliſh*.
lieu, at the ſame time, engaged their chiefs to accompany
n to *Quebec*, where they preſented to *Frontenac* the ſcalps
of

of the *Engliſh* they had killed, and renewed their proteſtations of eternal fidelity to the *French*.

On the 24th of *September* this year, *Iberville* and *Seſigny* arrived at the mouth of the river *St. Thereſe* in two ſhips, the *Poli* and the *Salamander*, where they debarked the day of their arrival; and, the following night, fort *Nelſon*, which commands the port of the ſame name, was inveſted on the land ſide by forty *Canadians*. On the 27th every thing proper for carrying on the ſiege was put on board the *Salamander*, which could not for a whole month come near enough to the fort to beſiege it, and was daily in danger of being wrecked by the vaſt ſhoals of ice in the bay. At length, on the 28th of *October*, the *Salamander* came to an anchor a mile above the fort, which was a very weak one, built of wood, and garriſoned by only fifty-three men, under the command of a trader who never had ſeen fire. Every thing being diſpoſed for the ſiege, the governor was ſummoned to ſurrender the fort; and a capitulation was accordingly ſettled, by which the officers were to remain in the fort during the winter, with full ſecurity to their perſons and effects, and, when the ſeas were open, to be carried to *France*, from whence they might paſs over to *England*. When the *French* took poſſeſſion of the fort, they found in it abundance of proviſion, of which they ſtood in great need. On this occaſion *Charlevoix* very ſenſibly remarks, and the ſame obſervation is often equally applicable to the *Engliſh*, that the miſcarriages of all the *French* attempts in *America* were owing to the lateneſs of the ſeaſon in which the expeditions were fitted out; for had the two *French* officers arrived ſooner before fort *Nelſon*, they would have got a great booty in ſkins and furs, which had ſome weeks before been ſent off to *England*. The party which made this uncomfortable conqueſt was attacked by the ſcurvy, which carried off many of them; but in *June* one hundred and fifty canoes, laden with furs, arrived at fort *Nelſon*, to which the *French* gave the name of fort *Bourbon*, as an earneſt of the vaſt advantage, of the trade they were likely to reap from that bay. But as their two ſhips were preparing to ſail with their cargoes, they were not only ſtopped by the ice, but upon a muſter it was found, that the crews of both were reduced to one hundred and fifteen men, many of whom were unſerviceable through ſickneſs and other cauſes, and the ſcurvy was daily gaining ground amongſt them. At laſt, the ſeaſon permitting them to ſail, after a moſt tedious and dangerous voyage, they returned to *France*, which they reached the 9th of *October*. *La Ferret* being left governor of fort

Fort Nelſon *in* Hudſon's *bay taken.*

'ourbon, with a garriſon of ſixty eight *Canadians*, and ſix
vages of *St. Lewis's* fall.

1695. State of North America.

IN the beginning of the year 1695 matters in *Canada* were
uch on the ſame footing as during the preceding. *Frontenac*
'as uſing all his arts on the one part to bring the *Iroquois* to
n abſolute ſubmiſſion, but without venturing to uſe force,
nd the *New England* men were as aſſiduous on the other, in
ncouraging them to hold out againſt the *French*. As to the
'oquois themſelves, they cannot be ſaid to have been attached
› the *Engliſh* ſo much by inclination as by intereſt. They
ought that their keeping a proper balance between the
'ngliſh and the *French*, was the only means of ſecuring
eir own independency, which muſt be loſt the moment
ne of thoſe nations could conquer the other. They ſaw the
periority which the *French* had amongſt the *Hurons*, the *Ou-*
ouais, and the other northern and weſtern ſavages; and this
nked them the more to the *Engliſh*. The latter, on the
ther hand, perceived by experience, that the *Iroquois* of
e highlands, and the fall of *St. Lewis*, were the moſt uſe-
l ſubjects the *French* had in *America*, and aſſiſted the *Iro-*
ois in the various ſolicitations they made to bring thoſe
vages back to their ancient habitations, and in which they
ere more than once on the point of ſucceeding, when they
ere diſappointed by the intrigues of the miſſionaries. The
urt of *France* was duly informed by *Frontenac* of all that
ppened within his government, but could by no means en-
into his motives for not acting with the utmoſt vigour
ainſt the *Iroquois*. *Pontchartrain*, in his diſpatches, re-
oached *Frontenac* on this head, but at the ſame time pro-
ſed that he ſhould be ſupported from *France* in doing
nething deciſive. *Callieres* at *Montreal* about this time diſ-
vered an agent from the *Iroquois* reſiding at the fall of *St.*
wis, practiſing upon his countrymen to bring them back to
ir canton, and drove him out of the ſettlement. *La Motte*
dillac, who had ſucceeded *Louvigny* in the poſt of *Michilli-*
kinac, animated the ſavages in his neighbourhood againſt
Iroquois, who ſeemed determined either to gain them
r, or to root them out, and loſt no opportunity of cutting
m off, even within reach of the cannon of the *French* forts.
laſt, the *Iroquois* propoſed to *Frontenac* a ceſſation of arms,
h with regard to themſelves and the *Engliſh*; but demand-
at the ſame time, with an air of haughtineſs, if he wanted
eace, that he ſhould ſend deputies to treat of it with them
heir own country. The *French*, in *Canada*, of all deno-
ations, were ſurprized that a man of *Frontenac*'s charac-
after meeting with ſuch inſolence, did not inſtantly aſ-

ſemble the whole force of *Canada* to chaſtiſe them. But he had his reaſons for his forbearance. He had never loſt ſight of his favourite project to re-eſtabliſh fort *Catarocouy*, and he was now more intent upon it than ever, as being the only means of ſubduing the *Iroquois* without riſking the ſtrength of the colony. As the *Iroquois* themſelves had often ſolicited the re-eſtabliſhment of that fort, *Champigny*, and the other *French* officers in *Canada*, were amazed at the governor's reſolution, and remonſtrated ſtrongly upon its inutility, as well as the indignity of complying with the deſires of a barbarous enemy, when they might be ſubdued by the regulars, and the militia, who muſt be employed in rebuilding the fort. All the anſwer they received to their remonſtrances from *Frontenac*, was, that, though he was ſingle in his opinion, he ſtill perſiſted in it, adding, for a reaſon, that the protection of the fort would encourage the *Outaouais* to make incurſions upon the *Iroquois*. This obſtinacy was better founded than all the ſpecious reaſonings of his officers, who even applied for an expreſs order from the court of *France*, for his deſiſting from his deſign. The knowledge of this had no effect upon him, and ſeemed only to haſten his preparations for it, which were indeed very extraordinary. On the 8th of *July* he arrived at *Montreal*, and employed no fewer than ſeven hundred men; of which two hundred were ſavages, in rebuilding the fort, the direction of which was given to the chevalier *Criſaſy*, who diſcharged his commiſſion to great perfection, and with incredible diſpatch; for he went up the river, tho' full of falls, for ſixſcore leagues, and rebuilt the fort all in fifteen days. When the fort was finiſhed he ſent out eighty ſavages, divided into ſmall companies to reconnoitre the country. Forty of thoſe ſavages had taken the road of *Onnontague*, and ſome of them, who had advanced as far as the river *Chouguen*, perceived thirty-four canoes coming down it full of *Iroquois*, who, by their diſcourſe, appeared to be bound for the fall of *St. Lewis*; and the other parties diſcovered that a great number of other *Iroquois* had taken the field for the ſame purpoſe; upon which, all of them ſet out without loſs of time for *Montreal*, to put that government upon its guard, by which ſeaſonable intelligence *Frontenac* had leiſure to aſſemble eight hundred men in the iſle of *Perrot* near *Montreal*, towards the ſouth weſt point.

Fort Frontenao *repaired.*

The Iroquois *defeated.*

THE enemies accordingly made their deſcent, but they found that the governor general had diſtributed his army into ſmall parties to cover the inhabitants, who were getting in their harveſt. This precaution entirely diſconcerted them. All they could do was to murder ſome ſtraggling ſettlers; but one of their moſt conſiderable parties was cut in pieces by

Durantaye. And thus, by the vigilance of *Criſaſy*, this invaſion, which threatened the colony with the very worſt conſequences, by being aimed at its vitals, was defeated. In the weſtern parts of the colony, *Cadillac* had been ſo ſucceſsful in animating the inhabitants againſt the *Iroquois*, that beſides thoſe they killed, they brought a conſiderable number of them priſoners to *Michillimakinac*. This exaſperated the *Iroquois* ſo
nuch, that they marched in a body either to force the *Mia-
nis* to declare for them, or to drive them from their princi-
al ſettlement upon the river *St. Joſeph*. *Courtemanche* hap-
ening with ſome *Canadians* to be at that village when the *Iro-
nois* appeared; and, joining with the *Miamis*, he attacked
nd defeated them. A *Huron* captain, one *le Baron*, but one
f thoſe *Hurons* who were irreconcileable to the *French*,
as then at *Michilimakinac*, where he had prevailed with
e *Hurons* of that poſt not to be ſo forward as the other
vages there were in making war againſt the *Iroquois*. But
l his exhortations to this purpoſe were managed in private,
d he acted with ſuch impenetrable diſſimulation, that when
e went with the other deputies to compliment the governor-
neral, he ſent his ſon with thirty warriors, all of them devot-
to his ſervice, to the country of the *Tſonnonthouans*. There
ey concluded a treaty, in which the *Outaouais* were com-
ehended, and which was ſo firmly made, that *Cadillac*, even
hen it was diſcovered, could not break it, though he found
ans to delay for ſome time the execution of it on the part
the *Outaouais*. By this time, *Baron* had dropt the maſk,
d *Cadillac* perceived that his wiſeſt courſe would be to tem-
rize; but this he found a very difficult taſk. The ſavages,
en ſuch of them as were moſt attached to the *French* in his
ſtrict, had often complained to him of the dearneſs of the
ench commodities, and the neceſſity they were under on
at account of trading with the *Engliſh*. Though *Cadillac*
uld give them no relief on that head, yet he adviſed the de-
ties, who were then going to treat with *Frontenac* on an-
ner account, and of whom *le Baron* was one, to preſent
n with a belt of wampum, as an intimation that their
untrymen expected that he would reduce the exorbitant price
the *French* merchandizes. The ſavages exceeded the ad-
e which *Cadillac* pretended he gave them; for when they
ne into *Frontenac*'s preſence, and preſented their belt, they
d him he had his choice of peace or war; which laſt he
ſt expect, if they were not gratified in their demands. The
ernor-general rejected the belt with great haughtineſs, but
the ſame time he knew how to ſoften his refuſal by ſeem-
to be ſorry at the neceſſity he was under of chaſtiſing his
ldren, and endeavouring to open their eyes to the conduct

Negotiation with the northern ſavages.

of the *Iroquois*, which, he ſaid, tended to their deſtruction, by detaching them from the *French*, that they might fall a more eaſy prey to the *Engliſh*.

LE BARON obſerved a profound ſilence during this converſation, which amazed the deputies. At laſt, being urged to ſpeak, he ſaid he had nothing in charge from his countrymen, but to hear the ſentiments of *Onontbio*, and to report them to his principals. But *Frontenac* gave him to underſtand that he was well acquainted with all his practices, and that he neither loved nor feared him. Upon this the *Outaouais*, and the *Nipiſſings*, interpoſed, by ſaying, that they had no concern in any thing that *Baron* might have done to diſpleaſe him, and the latter declared that they were ſatisfied to remain with the governor, till they ſhould ſee the event of the war he had threatened. It was about this time that *le Sueur* brought a great convoy to *Montreal*, from the weſtern extremity of the upper lake, which was inhabited by the *Sieux*, and contained vaſt quantities of profitable fields full of game. One of their leaders approached *Frontenac* with a moſt melancholy air, and all the marks of dejection in his countenance, and even tears in his eyes, and conjured him in the name of his nation to take compaſſion upon him. "All nations, he ſaid, but himſelf, had a father, and he alone remained an orphan." He then ſtretched upon the ground a robe of beaver, on which he laid one after another twenty-two arrows, to each of which he gave the name of a village in his nation, and begged of the governor to take them all under his protection, which *Frontenac* accordingly promiſed. Though this ſingular ceremony had no effect, becauſe the *French* neglected to improve the incident, yet we have related it, becauſe it is a fact that may be of ſervice to the ſucceſſors of the *French* in the property of *Canada*.

THE diſcontents at Sir *William Phipps*'s government, had, by this time, riſen ſo high, that he had been recalled to *London*, where he died, and was ſucceeded by one *Stoughton*. During his adminiſtration ſeven *Abenaquis*, who came to *Pemmaquid* fort with a flag of truce, were arreſted, and ſent priſoners to *Boſton*, to which three of them were conducted, but the other four were murdered on the road. Tho' the *Abenaquis* reſented this breach of hoſpitality, yet they did not all at once break with *Stoughton*, till they found they had no hopes of recovering their relations, who were priſoners, or hoſtages at *Boſton*, and then they took arms. They were, however, very backward in entering upon hoſtilities with the *Engliſh*, becauſe they thought they were far ſuperior to the *French* by ſea. But perceiving that a *French* man of war, commanded by *Bonaventure*, had taken a great number of *Engliſh* ſhips, and receiving from him very conſiderable preſents, they determined at laſt, in good earneſt, to enter upon action.

Frontenac's *conduct vindicated by himſelf.*

FRONTENAC, the very day after the departure of the armament for repairing his fort at *Catarocouy*, received from *Pontchartrain* an expreſs order againſt his proceeding in that deſign; which determined him to account for the motives upon which he acted. In his anſwer to that miniſter, he very ſenſibly obſerved, that after the great preparations he made, if he had dropt them he muſt have rendered himſelf deſpicable in the eyes of the *Outaouais*, who had been witneſſes to them; as they muſt attribute his conduct either to his inability to execute his deſign, or to his intention of making peace with the *Engliſh*, who were as averſe to the eſtabliſhment of the fort, as the *Iroquois* were earneſt for its being rebuilt. He added, that it had been re-eſtabliſhed at a ſmall expence both of time and money. The following paſſage of his obſervations, which are founded on experience, ought to be tranſcribed in *Engliſh*, at this time. "I was preſſed, ſaid he, in his diſpatch to *Pontchartrain*, to attack *Onnontague* with all our troops, our inhabitants and allies; and with drums beating, but I did not think fit to comply; firſt, becauſe I had not a force ſufficient for ſuch an undertaking; ſecondly, becauſe, had I followed that advice, I ſhould have left this province open to the inroads of the *Engliſh*, who might have attacked *Montreal* on the ſide of *Chambly*; thirdly, becauſe the undertaking itſelf was ridiculous, and could have ended only in burning a few huts; for the ſavages, ſuppoſing them not to have had time to be aſſiſted by the *Engliſh*, could have eſcaped with their families to the wood. The event of *M. Denanville*'s expedition againſt the *Tſonnonthouans* ſufficiently juſtifies my obſervation, and proves, that the burning one or two villages never can ſecure us from the incurſions of the ſavages. The only way to humble them is by continuing to harraſs and alarm them by ſmall parties, ſo as that they dare not ſtir abroad, which we ſhall be enabled to do by the re-eſtabliſhment of fort *Frontenac*, (meaning that of *Catarocouy*.) If his majeſty ſhall next year think proper to attack the fort of *Pemmaquid*, it will give great encouragement to our ſavages in thoſe parts. It is even to be wiſhed, that ſuch an expedition ſhould be extended to the bombardment of *Boſton* and *New York*, which, I think, is by no means impracticable, and would by one blow effectually finiſh the war in that country." Such was the reaſoning of *Frontenac* in defence of his conduct, and experience afterwards proved it to be juſt, but he was now old, and his poſitive haughty humour had made the officers under him his enemies. Towards the end of this year both *Frontenac* and *Champigny* repreſented to their court the defenceleſs ſtate of *Placentia*, which was then in the hands of the *French*, in caſe it ſhould be attacked by the armament then fitting out at *Boſton*. They therefore propoſed that the *French* ſhould ſend a ſquadron ſtrong enough to beat that of the *Engliſh* in thoſe ſeas, and then to take *Boſton*; which would not only put them in poſſeſſion of immenſe riches, but render them abſolute maſters of all the fiſheries. Any court but one ſo uninformed as that of *France* was, would have adopted ſuch a propoſal, which, in the then ſtate of affairs, was very practicable. But happily for *England*, *Lewis* the 14th was ſo buſied in forging chains for *Europe*, that he neglected thoſe for *America*.

1699. *Plan of the* French *operations.*

INSTEAD of following *Frontenac*'s advice, the *French* council confined the plan of operations for *North America* for the year 1696, to the taking fort *Pemmaquid*, which was a kind of a bridle upon all *Acadia*, the driving of the *Engliſh* from all the poſts they had in *Newfoundland*, and likewiſe from thoſe they retained in *Hudſon*'s bay. *Iberville* and *Bonaventure* were appointed to the command of the expedition againſt fort *Pemmaquid*, which was to be defrayed at the expence of the *French* king; while the northern company were to be at the charges of the other two expeditions. Orders ſo early as the month of *February* were iſſued out to *Begon*, the intendant of *Rochelle*, to equip two ſhips, the *Envious* and the *Profound*. The two commanders were inſtructed after they had taken fort *Pemmaquid* to raze it to the foundation; and then to make a ſettlement at the bottom of the river *St. John*, from whence they were to diſpatch M. *de Seſigny* in the *Dragon* to the bottom of *Hudſon*'s bay. As to the other two expeditions the two commanders were to proceed from the river *St. John*, and there join ſome veſſels from *St. Malo*, and, in concert with *Brouillan*, the governor of *Placentia*, vigorouſly to attack the *Engliſh* both by land and ſea. With regard to the *Iroquois* war, the *French* miniſtry perceiving the ſmuggling trade that was carrying on by the wood rangers, and the diſorders which they had introduced amongſt the *French* ſavages in the North and Weſt, and likewiſe reflecting on the total neglect of agriculture which they occaſioned, with the vaſt expence and danger in keeping up the communication between *Michillimakinac*, and the interior parts of the province, they gave orders for abandoning that, and all the upper poſts, excepting *St. Lewis* upon the river of the *Illinois*. At the ſame time, *la Foret* and *Tonti*, who commanded in the laſt mentioned fort, were not to import any beaver into the colony. *Charlevoix* acknowledges the miſchiefs done to *New France* by thoſe rangers; but thinks that the method here preſcribed tended to its utter ruin, as thoſe advanced poſts certainly muſt fall into the hands of the *Engliſh*, who in that caſe, if joined with the ſavages, might, in one campaign, have driven the *French* out of all *Canada*.

Difficulties of the French *government with the ſavages.*

FRONTENAC was now at the end of all the art and addreſs with which he had hitherto managed the ſavages, who plainly perceived that all ſprung from his weakneſs to chaſtiſe them, and therefore he reſolved to carry his threats into execution, and to march againſt them with all his force. He therefore ſent a meſſenger along with the *Outaouais* deputies as they were returning to their own country, acquainting *la Motte Cadillac* with his intention. The meſſenger found that commandant in a moſt perplexed ſituation. *Baron* had ſucceeded not only in effecting a meeting between the ſavages of *Michillimakinac* and the *Iroquois*, but in concluding an offenſive treaty, by which they were to unite their forces, and to attack the *French*. *Cadillac* was informed of this by *Onaſké*, chief of the *Outaouais Kiſkakons*; but his embarraſſment was increaſed upon the report which the deputies made at their return, who repreſented the *French* in the moſt deſpicable light. All *Cadillac* could do to break this dangerous alliance, was to offer them proviſions at the uſual price, and even to give them credit for the payment, to the laſt grain he had in his magazines. He, at the ſame time, greatly magnified the advantages which the *French* had gained over the *Engliſh* in other parts of *New France*, and aſſured them that they had nothing to apprehend, but from the croſſneſs of the winds, which kept the fleets with the merchandizes from coming from *France*. *Cadillac*'s generoſity touched the ſavages, who, it muſt be confeſſed, were a moſt perfidious, inconſtant race; and notwithſtanding their late engagement with the *Iroquois*, they reſolved now to join the *French* in making war upon them; and before they left the place where *Cadillac* had aſſembled them, they named *Onaſké*, and other two chiefs, to head the expedition, from whence they returned victorious with thirty ſcalps, thirty-two priſoners, and a booty of about five hundred beaver ſkins, which were the property of the *Engliſh*. Soon after, M. *D'Argenteuil* arrived at *Michillimakinac*, where he publiſhed an account of the vaſt preparations making by *Frontenac* againſt the *Iroquois* and the *Engliſh*; and *Cadillac* was in great hopes that five hundred *Outaouais* warriors would march to join the governor-general; but he was diſappointed by the intrigues of the *Hurons*, who had diſapproved of the treachery of the other *Michillimakinac* ſavages towards the *Iroquois*.

Preparations againſt them.

It remained now for *Frontenac* to fix the plan of his operations. He was once inclined to have fallen in the winter upon the *Onnontagué* canton; but, upon the repreſentations of *Callieres*, he deferred it to the ſummer. In the mean time, he ordered five or ſix hundred men to be drawn from the governments of *Montreal* and *Trois Rivieres* to march againſt the *Agniers*. Thoſe ſavages had much better intelligence than he expected; for he was adviſed, that foreſeeing the ſtorm that was to come upon them, they had called in not only all the other cantons of the *Iroquois*, but the *Engliſh* likewiſe, to their aſſiſtance. Upon this, *Frontenac* was obliged to alter his ſcheme, and to ſend no more than three hundred picked men to fall upon the *Iroquois* hunters, who were without any diffidence roving between the river *St. Laurence* and that of the *Outaouais*. This detachment left *Quebec* towards the end of *January* under the command of *Louſigny*, but they were ſtopt for thirteen days at *Montreal* by an extraordinary fall of ſnow. They then continued their march under incredible difficulties to within five leagues of *Cataroçouy*. From thence they ſent ſavages to reconnoitre, who, after a march of ſeven or eight days, met ten *Iroquois*, and a woman; three of whom they killed, and took the reſt; one or two of whom were inhumanly burnt at *Montreal*. About the beginning of ſpring, the *Iroquois* appeared in a body in the neighbourhood of *Montreal*, in order to interrupt the *French* in ſowing their grounds; but they were diſappointed by the wiſe diſpoſitions of *de Callieres* the governor; ſo that few of the *French* ſuffered, and thoſe by their own fault. About this time, the chevalier *de Criſaſy* died of heart-break, for not having been able to obtain from the *French* government the ſmalleſt acknowledgment for the important ſervices he had rendered to the colony, though he had been again and again recommended to the court on that account by the governor-general, and all the officers of that crown in *New France*.

Their country is invaded.

In *May*, *Callieres* came down to *Quebec*, and having concerted with *Frontenac* the operations of the campaign, he returned to *Montreal*, where, on the 22d of *June*, he was joined by the governor-general himſelf, the chevalier *de Vaudreuil*, *Ramezay*, governor of *Trois Rivieres*, the regulars and militia of *Quebec*, and thoſe of *Trois Rivieres*; thoſe of *Montreal* being in readineſs. On the 4th of *July*, they were joined by ten *Outaouais*, who had been hovering about the *Onnontague* canton for ſome time, but without being able to make a priſoner ; and the *French* conceived great hopes that they would be followed by others of their nation. At laſt, the order of the whole army was ſettled, and *French* officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the manners of the *Indians* and their way of fighting, were appointed to command the ſavages. The *French* regulars were divided into four battalions, and the *Canada* militia into as many, with their proper officers. On the 6th, they encamped on the iſland of *Perrot* ; and next day, they began their march. We ſhall not here follow *Charlevoix* in a minute deſcription of the arrangement of this army, a matter always of great importance with a *French* author, as well as officers ; and which, it ſeems, ſet out partly by water, and partly by land. It is ſufficient to ſay, that on the 19th, the whole body arrived at *Catarocouy*, where they expected four hundred *Outaouais*, who had been promiſed them by *Cadillac*, but who never joined them. On the 28th, the whole army found itſelf at the entry of the ſtrait and rapid river of *Chouguen*, which obliged the governor-general to proceed with great caution ; nor could the troops advance up it above a league and an half in twenty-four hours. In ſhort, after ſurmounting the moſt dangerous and diſcouraging difficulties, and ſeveral times eſcaping being wrecked by the rapidity of the falls, they mounted o the lake of *Ganentaha*, and paſſed a ſtrait which the enemy had neglected to occupy. Here they found two bundles hanging to a tree, containing as many reeds as were warriors waiting to fight them, amounting in the whole to 1434. The *French*, however, made good their landing without much difficulty, and, next morning, threw up an entrenchment, or what they call a fort, in which they lodged their roviſion and ammunition. Notwithſtanding all the boaſts f the *French* writers concerning the ſuperior genius of their ountrymen over the *Indians*, their diſpoſitions appear to have een very ſhallow in this expedition ; and *Callieres* ſeems to ave been the only man of ſenſe amongſt them, in a military apacity. Though ſecrecy was the main chance they had or ſucceſs, yet they took no precaution to obſerve it ; but *Callieres*, well knowing that the enemy would, by deſerters or therwiſe, come to the knowledge of their intention, publicly gave out amongſt the ſavages, that the reaſon why the *Outaouais* had not joined him was, becauſe they promiſed the governor-general that they would attack the *Tſonnonthouans*, while he was marching againſt the *Onnontagueſe*. This was faithfully reported by a ſavage deſerter to the *Tſonnonthouans*, which was the true reaſon why they had remained at home to defend their own country. The following night, the *French* army ſaw the chief village of the *Onnontagueſe* in a blaze, it having been ſet on fire by the inhabitants themſelves; and, by the footſteps on the ground, they had reaſon to believe that the *Onnontagueſe* had ſent all their uſeleſs mouths to the cantons of *Goyogouin* and *Onneyouth*, and that they had been reinforced from thence. On the third of *Auguſt*, all the *French* army was drawn up in order of battle; the left line being commanded by *Callieres*, the right by *Vaudreuil*, and the center by the governor-general; but the grounds over which they marched were ſo impracticable, that it was very late before they could reach the village, which they found in aſhes, and in it the bodies of two *Frenchmen*, who had been murdered. The *French* were ſurpriſed to perceive, that not only the village was burnt, but the *Engliſh* fort, that had been built there for the protection of the inhabitants, was abandoned; and which, had it been properly defended, might have ruined *Frontenac*'s army. On the fifth, a *French* ſoldier, who had been a priſoner, came from *Onneyouth* with a belt from that canton, demanding peace. The general ſent him inſtantly back with this anſwer; That he was ready to receive the ſubmiſſions of thoſe who had employed him, provided they came to live within the pale of the *French* ſettlement; but that if they did not immediately comply, he would next day ſend his troops to receive their laſt anſwer.

Accordingly *Vaudreuil* next morning ſet out with ſix or ſeven hundred men under his command, with orders to cut down all the corn, to burn the villages, and to receive ſix of their chiefs as hoſtages; but in caſe of the ſmalleſt reſiſtance, he was to put to the ſword all who fell in his way. Next day, a *French* priſoner, who had eſcaped, having diſcovered ſome ſecret concealments of the enemy, *Vaudreuil* began to put his ravaging orders into execution, by cutting down the corn, and laying waſte the country, for two entire days. The unmanly rage of the *French* and their ſavages went ſo far on this occaſion, that a venerable *Onnontague*, about a hundred years of age, and therefore unable to fly with the reſt of his countrymen, falling into their hands, they made formal preparations to put him to death with the moſt excruciating torments, which he eyed with the moſt intrepid indifference, upbraiding the natives all the while with being ſlaves to the *French*, whom he ſpoke of with the utmoſt contempt. While ſome were endeavouring, either through compaſſion or rage, to put an end to his life; "You ought not, ſays he, to be in ſuch haſte to finiſh my torments, but give me longer time to teach you how to die like men; for my part, I die contented, becauſe I can reproach myſelf with no meanneſs."

Frontenac *abandons the expedition.*

Next day *Vaudreuil*, after laying waſte the villages of the *Onneyouth* canton, returned to the camp with thirty-five priſoners, moſt of whom were *French*, whom he had delivered from captivity, and accompanied by the chiefs of the canton, who threw themſelves upon the mercy of *Frontenac*. Amongſt the priſoners was a young *Agnier*, who had eſcaped from a *French* ſettlement, and who was burnt alive. He reported that three hundred *Agniers* and *Engliſh* had left *Orange* to come to the relief of *Onneyouth*; but that they had returned hither in great conſternation. Upon this, a council of war was aſſembled, and it was reſolved to treat the *Goyogouin* canton in the ſame manner as they had done thoſe of *Onneyouth* and *Onnontague*; and after that to erect forts to bridle he ſavages, or force them to remove from that country. *Frontenac*, at firſt, ſeemed to approve of that reſolution; but, ll of a ſudden, he changed his mind, declaring that he was reſolved immediately to return to *Montreal*.

His motives.

CHARLEVOIX is greatly perplexed to account for the overnor's motives for this inconſtancy. He mentions many, articularly that he was afraid, if the *Iroquois* were reduced, is power and command, of which he was extremely fond, muſt become inſignificant; while others give out, that he was jealous of *Vaudreuil*: but, without having recourſe to uppoſing that ſuch extravagances ſhould enter the head of man of ſeventy-four years of age, we have, upon the face f the jeſuit's hiſtory, ſufficient reaſons for determining him o return. The expedition had been fitted out at great labour and expence, and, in fact, nothing had been done that ad anſwered either. The ſavages had not loſt above thirty forty men; they could eaſily repair their cabins, and were ure of ſuſtenance from their friends of *New York* and *New ngland*, to whom they always were welcome. *Frontenac*, herefore, who during all the expedition was carried in an pen ſedan, very rationally concluded that it would be mad- eſs to proſecute farther ſo ineffectual, ſo dangerous, and ſo xpenſive an expedition; ſo that, notwithſtanding all the re- onſtrances of *Callieres* and the other officers, he gave the gnal for retreating, which he began to do on the 9th, and rived at *Montreal* on the 20th, having loſt in the expedition o more than ſix men.

Affairs at Michillimakinac.

AT *Montreal*, *Frontenac* found *D'Argenteuil* with fifty *Frenchmen* from *Michillimakinac*, but who had arrived too te to be preſent at the expedition. From them he learn- that the northern and weſtern ſavages had, in fact, no ood reaſon for not having joined the expedition, but the diſadvantageous impreſſions they had of the *French* and their power. All they alledged was, that they had not joined the expedition, becauſe they imagined, that like others of the ſame kind before, it would fall to the ground. Notwithſtanding this, though *Frontenac* had returned to *Montreal*, he was far from putting an end to the war againſt the *Iroquois*. He was informed, but his intelligence was falſe, that their cantons were on the point of ſtarving, and that the *Engliſh* of *New York* were in no condition to give them relief. He therefore flattered himſelf, that, by ſending out parties to harraſs them, he ſhould ſoon bring them to ſubjection; and having given orders accordingly, he returned to *Quebec*. A little time ſhewed him how much he had been miſtaken. The *Iroquois* invaded the *French* ſettlements with as much fierceneſs as ever. Their cantons were reſtored to as good a condition as they had been in before they were deſtroyed. Inſtead of having ſubdued, he had only exaſperated, them; and the *French* themſelves, by the badneſs of their harveſt, were in danger of ſuffering the calamities they had endeavoured to inflict upon their enemies.

Other expeditions againſt the ſavages. 1697.

TOWARDS the end of autumn, *Callieres* had orders to raiſe a large body of troops, and to march them over the ice againſt the *Agniers*; but found the deſign impracticable for want of proviſions. Upon this, the governor-general ordered him to ſend only a party of fifty men to the ground on which the *Iroquois* had uſed to hunt, during the winter. But even this deſign was laid aſide upon the *Onneyouths* being again in motion, and intelligence being received, that the *Iroquois* had, that year, changed their uſual place of hunting. Notwithſtanding this, ſome private rangers advanced on the ſide of *New York*; but few of them eſcaped being killed, either by the *Mahingans*, or the *Agniers*, or by their own ſavages, who miſtook them for *Engliſh*. On the 5th of *February*, 1697, thirty-three *Onneyouths* arrived at *Montreal*, offering in the name of their canton to ſubmit themſelves to the *French* governor. They added, that other cantons would have followed them; but that lying between their enemies, the *Onnontague* held them by one arm, and the *Agnier* by another: that this had not altered their intention, and that if *Onontbio* would ſend any one to them, they would come to him, as ſoon as poſſible; as for themſelves, they were willing to be ſettled wherever he pleaſed. All they begged was to retain the name of *Onneyouths*. *Callieres* gave his new gueſts a very favourable reception, and had orders from *Frontenac* to ſend back the chief man amongſt them to the canton

of

Onneyouth, that he might there report the civil uſage they
l ,met with, and thereby entice them all to follow their
ımple, and to ſettle amongſt the French.

THE Onnontagueſe, the Agniers, and the other cantons in
ance with them, conceived great umbrage from thoſe pro-
dings of the Onneyouths; and the Agniers, under pretence
eſcorting two Frenchwomen, who had been taken priſoners
ıetime before, ſent two of their countrymen to Quebec to
n how matters went. From thoſe female priſoners, the
ernor-general underſtood, that the Iroquois were quite re-
ered from the conſternation into which they had been
ıwn by the late invaſion and deſolation of their country;
: the Engliſh had made preſents to the Onnontagueſe ſuffi-
ıt to indemnify them for their loſſes, and to rebuild their
ıges; and that they propoſed in the ſpring of that very
· again to ſow the lands which had been ravaged by the
ıch. As to the two Agniers, they behaved with great
dom before the governor. They demanded to know whe-
the way between Quebec and their canton was free; and
of them inſiſted upon his ſon, who was a priſoner, being
ıred to him. Frontenac pretended, that had it not been
of regard to the two priſoners they had brought back,
ſhould have felt the weight of his indignation for thoſe
ent demands. He added, that he would give them no
ver, till they behaved with perfect ſubmiſſion to his will,
till their canton had ſent back all the French priſoners it
ined. Not contented with this ſevere anſwer, he kept
wo Agniers at Quebec during the reſt of the winter, leſt
ſhould put their countrymen upon their guard againſt
French parties who were out. At the ſame time, he ſent
orders to Montreal to harraſs the Iroquois, and, if poſ-
, to gain intelligence of what was paſſing between their
ons and the government of New York. On the 15th
May, the ſavages of the highlands and the fall of St.
is came to offer their ſervices to the governor of Montreal;
Frontenac gave them to underſtand, that, in the poſture
rs then were, he would find ſufficient employment for
ı at home; from whence he ordered them not to ſtir.
ı order was occaſioned by the advice, which the governor-
ral had received by a Canadian, one Vincelotte; who, by
oſt amazing journey, had arrived at Quebec, over the
t mountains near fort Pemmaquid, where one Gabaret had
d from France, with diſpatches from that court to
tenac.

Their craft and haughtineſs.

HEY imported that the governor-general ſhould ſend
home no troops upon any ſervice whatever, and that a

The Iroquois *renew their incurſions.*

ſquadron of ſhips was ready to ſail from the ports of *Old England*, to join another at *Boſton*, to attack *Canada*; and that the governor ſhould have in readineſs 1000 or 1200 men to execute the orders, which ſhould come from court. A ſtrict compliance with thoſe orders ſoon gave the *Iroquois* to underſtand, that they had nothing offenſive to apprehend from the *French*; and therefore they renewed their incurſions on the government of *Montreal*, which obliged *Callieres* to ſend out detachments againſt them. Soon after, ſome priſoners from *New York* informed him that whatever ſhow the *Engliſh* made of invading *Canada*, the people of that colony were themſelves ſo much diſtreſſed, that they were rather apprehenſive of an invaſion from the *French*. Advice came at the ſame time, that fort *Nelſon* had been again reduced by the *Engliſh*. Towards the end of autumn laſt year, four *Engliſh* ſhips and a bomb-veſſel had appeared in the road, as did, ſoon after, two *French* ſhips, but the latter immediately ſet ſail; the one arrived ſafe at *France*, but the other was wrecked in ſailing to *Quebec*. Upon their departure, the *Engliſh* began a briſk cannonading againſt the fort, and attempted to land, but were repulſed by the *French*. After this, the bomb-ketch plied the fort ſo warmly, that *La Foret*, the commandant, demanded a capitulation, and to be carried with all his garriſon, who were to carry off their ſeveral properties, to ſome place belonging to *France*. According to the *French*, this capitulation was violated by the *Engliſh*, who carried the garriſon priſoners to *England*. But this is extremely unlikely, and it is probable no capitulation was made; or, if made, that it was obſerved, as much as was in the power of the *Engliſh*. But the truth is, that the *French* accounts cannot be depended upon, when they reſt upon the evidence of their officers, who never fail to magnify their own merits at the expence of truth. Four months after this garriſon arrived in *England*, they were ſent to *France*, where they had no ſooner arrived, than underſtanding that an expedition was fitting out to retake fort *Nelſon*, moſt of them embarked on board the four ſhips and a ſloop that were deſtined for that purpoſe at *Rochelle*, and which were to be commanded by *Serigny*, who, when he came to *Placentia*, was to reſign his command to his brother *Iberville*. The inſtructions of the latter were that before he went to *Hudſon's Bay* he ſhould viſit fort *Naxoat*, on the river *St. John*; but they arrived too late in the year, the ſeaſon being ſo far advanced, and the ſhips ſo much battered by the voyage, that he was obliged to ſail directly for fort *Nelſon*, and he accordingly arrived at the mouth of *Hudſon's Bay*, on the 28th of *July*. By the 3d of *Auguſt*, the

Fort Nelſon *taken by the* Engliſh.

t had ſet in ſo ſeverely, that he loſt one of his ſhips, and
men were with difficulty ſaved. He afterwards loſt ſight
ll the others; but, on the 4th of *September*, he was within
ht of port *Nelſon*, and ſent one of his officers a ſhore to
onnoitre, and to get intelligence of ſome *Engliſh* ſhips he
l ſeen at the entrance of the bay. Next day, he ſaw three
ps, who proved to be *Engliſh*, and, according to the *French*
torian [a], though one of the *Engliſh* ſhips was ſtronger than
own, which was called the *Pelican*, and mounted only
y guns, and though he had but a hundred and fifty men on
rd fit for ſervice, he engaged them all, and took one of
m, the *Hudſon's Bay*. After this, as he was preparing to
ck fort *Nelſon*, both he and his prize were wrecked in the
n-time, at the river *St. Thereſe*. The crews, however,
the good fortune to ſave themſelves, and artillery ſufficient
ttack the fort; but he was deſtitute of all proviſions, and
depended for ſubſiſtence only on his ſucceſs. As he was
ing his diſpoſitions for the attack, he ſaw three ſail, who
red to be his own ſhips, which he had loſt ſight of in the
, and which had been very roughly handled in the ſtorm
had wrecked himſelf. So ſeaſonable a reinforcement
ouraged him as much as it daunted *Bailey*, the *Engliſh*
mandant of the fort, who immediately propoſed to capi-
e, which he did on the following terms. Firſt, that all
apers and books of accounts ſhould be ſafe. Secondly,
his garriſon, both officers and ſoldiers, ſhould keep their
s, cloaths, and all that belonged to them. Thirdly, that
ſhould be treated as well as the *French* themſelves.
rthly, that they ſhould be ſent directly to *England*. And
y, that the garriſon ſhould march out with all the ho-
s of war, without being diſarmed. The garriſon conſiſted
more than fifty-two men, of whom ſeventeen had belong-
the *Hudſon's Bay*, and had eſcaped from the *Pelican* when
as wrecked; but had the benefit of the capitulation.
r this *Iberville* returned to *France* in the *Profond*, and,
he arrived at *Belleiſle*, his crew was ſo diſtreſſed with
curvy, that ſcarce a man of them was ſerviceable. The
ueſt of *Hudſon's Bay* was of more importance than the
h themſelves were apprized of. Firſt, becauſe it fur-
d better furs than any other part of *North America*; and
dly, becauſe the natives were ſo miſerably poor, that
ſold them much cheaper than they could be had
here.

---

[a] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. Page 301.

FRON-

Conduct of Frontenac *upon the orders he received from* France.

FRONTENAC all this time remained in great doubt concerning the meaning of the order he had received from court, concerning the force he was to keep on foot, when the head of the *Onneyouth* canton came all alone to *Quebec*, and with an air of unconcern, preſented himſelf before the governor, telling him, that his countrymen, hearing how well their brethren had been received by the *French*, were diſpoſed to follow their example. This chief was the ſame whom *Callieres* by *Frontenac's* order, had ſent back to acquaint his canton with the good reception of their brethren who had ſettled with the *French*. He added, that the *Onnontagueſe* were upon the point of doing the ſame; and were about to ſend a belt to *Onontbio*, to know whether he would be pleaſed to receive them; and another to the miſſionaries, to beg a peace with the *French*, from the God of the Chriſtians. *Frontenac* inſtantly perceived that all thoſe compliments were meant only to gain time. He had no choice left, but either to declare war, or to diſſemble. The orders he had received from his court diſabled him from the former; and, putting the beſt face upon the matter he could, he told the *Onneyouth* chief, that he gave his countrymen to the month of *September* to determine whether they would come in a body and aſk for peace; but that, if they ſhould ſuffer that time to elapſe, they ſhould find him for ever their mortal enemy. Though he depended but little on the effect of this menace, yet the ſavages appeared in the field much ſooner than he had expected or foreſeen; for, in a few days, they renewed their incurſions: a proof how well thoſe ſavages could diſſemble, when inſtigated by reſentment, and how irreconcileable they were when they thought themſelves injured. But this was not the only cauſe of diſquietude that *Frontenac* had at this time.

He is embroiled with the Miamis.

A LARGE party of the *Miamis*, who dwelt near the river *Maramek*, which diſcharges itſelf into the eaſtern part of the lake *Michigan*, had, in *Auguſt* the year before, begun their march to join their brethren, who were ſettled on the river *St. Joſeph*; but they were attacked upon the road, and ſome of them killed, by the *Sieux*. The *Miamis* of the river *St. Joſeph* reſented this hoſtility ſo much, that they took the field againſt the *Sieux*, and, penetrating even into their country, found them entrenched in a fort with ſome *French* rangers. This did not daunt the enraged *Miamis*, who ſeveral times attacked the fort, but were always repulſed with a conſiderable loſs of their braveſt men. Upon which they were obliged to retreat homewards. While they were upon their march, they met a party of *French* who were carrying arms and ammunition to the *Sieux*, and ſtript them of all they had, but without

t doing them any other violence. The *Ouatouais*, under-
nding what had paſſed, immediately ſent a deputation to
form *Frontenac*, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to
peaſe the *Miamis*, leſt they ſhould join the *Iroquois*. *Fron-*
nac endeavoured to anſwer them with good words; but the
iamis continued to be ſo much exaſperated, that *Perrot*,
twithſtanding the great regard they had for him, muſt have
en ſacrificed to the flames, had he not been reſcued out of
eir hands by the *Outagamis*. Though *Frontenac*, at laſt,
ind means to ſoften the *Miamis*, yet he was in great fear
the affair ſhould come to the ears of his court, from whom
had received expreſs orders, that none of the *French* ſhould
ry on the leaſt intercourſe with thoſe ſavages. *Champigny*
l *Callieres* were of opinion that a certain number of *French*
uld remain at the poſts of *Michillimakinac*, and ſuggeſted
er precautions to prevent the abuſes complained of. As
ir propoſals tended to diminiſh *Frontenac*'s authority, he
etly traverſed them, but, at laſt, he joined in a memorial
he court, repreſenting the neceſſity of maintaining the poſts
Michillimakinac, and the river *St. Joſeph*, to prevent the
liſh from ſettling there, and eſtabliſhing a trade with the
res. They added, that this could not be done, without
ing every year at leaſt twenty-five canoes, loaded with
chandizes, which were to be at the diſpoſal of the go-
or-general, who was to diſtribute them amongſt the
ids of the *French*, to keep them from joining with the
iſh; and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of
miſſionaries ſometimes to march troops into the ſavage
ıtries. The *French* miniſtry, after long deliberation,
ed to thoſe propoſals; to which they were, in a great
ure, determined by *Baron*, the ſavage chief we have al-
mentioned, having carried to *New York*, thirty *Huron*
lies, and was ſolliciting others to follow him.

He is joined by other ſavage na[illegible].

OWARDS the end of *Auguſt*, *Cadillac* who had been in-
ed by *Callieres* of the apprehenſions the colony was under
new viſit from the *Engliſh*, arrived at *Montreal*, with a
derable body of *French*, and three hundred ſavages from
ribes of the *Sakis*, *Pouteouatcmis*, *Outaouais*, and *Hurons*.
enac was then at *Montreal*, and received them with high
liments upon their zeal and readineſs to defend the colo-
ind upon their valour during the laſt campaign, in which
had killed or taken above a hundred *Tſonnonthouans*.
t this time, the *Iroquois*, to the number of two hundred
fty, of whom about ſixty were in canoes, having taken
eld, were marching to join *Baron*, but were diſcovered
ie *Rat*, who was now entirely in the *French* intereſt.

Though he was at the head of no more than a hundred and fifty men, he marched to attack the enemy, and by a well-timed ſtratagem, he killed about forty-ſix, and took fourteen. This action, and the ſervices he had done the *French* in putting them and their allies on their guard againſt the practices of *Baron*, brought the *Rat*, who had attended *Cadillac* to *Montreal*, into great credit with the governor-general. The latter, however, knew too much of their character to believe that they were diſtintereſted in their profeſſions, or that they came ſo far merely in compliment to his character and perſon., He therefore told them with an air of frankneſs, that he expected every one amongſt them would lay before him their grievances, if they had any to complain of; that he would do all he could to remove them; and that they ought to take care not to divide themſelves, but to unite againſt the *Iroquois*, againſt whom he was reſolved to continue the war. Upon this, *Onanguicé*, the head of the *Pouteouatamis*, and a leading orator amongſt the ſavages, in the name of all the aſſembly, obſerved that more was generally promiſed to them, than was intended to be performed; that they had been often aſſured that they never ſhould want for arms and ammunition, but that they had received none for a whole year; that the *Engliſh* did not treat the *Iroquois* in that manner, and that, if they continued to be ſo neglected, they would appear no more at *Montreal*.

His dealings with them.

In anſwer to this reproach, the governor ſaid, that though it was true, that they had not been furniſhed for a year before with arms and ammunition, they ſhould be no loſers in the end; that he had a great warlike expedition to undertake, which he was not then at liberty to communicate to them, but that, as ſoon as he had made his arrangements, he would take care they ſhould want for nothing. Upon this, they parted, all ſeemingly ſatisfied. By this time, all fear of the *Engliſh* invading *Canada* was blown over, ſo that the governor diſmiſſed the ſavages without farther audience. It now appeared, that the grand expedition, which had been kept ſo ſecret, was deſtined againſt *New England*; the conqueſt of which had been projected by *Pontchartrain* himſelf. *Frontenac* had been ſo forward in his preparations, that he informed that miniſter that he ſhould be ready to march in eight days after he had received his orders; but that the conqueſt of *New York* was an object far preferable to that of *Boſton*; that the latter did not at all incommode *New France*, but that the former might be eaſily conquered by the *French* ſhipping attacking *New York* itſelf, while the *Canadians* fell by land upon *New Orange*. His repreſentations came too late.

The *French* king had given to the chevalier *Neſmond* the command of ten ſhips of war, a frigate, and two fire-ſhips, with orders to join, by the 25th of *April* at lateſt, the *Rochefort* ſquadron under the command of M. *de Magnon*; and, to prevent the uſual complaint of the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, they were to ſail directly to the bay of *Placentia*, and to drive the *Engliſh* entirely out of *Newfoundland*. After this, they were to ſail to *Pemmaquid*, from whence they were to diſpatch a veſſel to *Quebec*, with orders to join them there with 1500 men, whom he was to have in readineſs. This junction being formed, the fleet, after taking the troops on board, was to ſail directly to *Boſton*, and, after conquering that city, to lay all the *Engliſh* ſettlements between that and *Piſcataqua* in ruins; ſo that it ſhould not be in the power of the *Engliſh* to repair them.

Plan of the French *for the conqueſt of* Engliſh America.

The *French* king, being apprehenſive that *Frontenac*'s great age might diſable him from ſerving in perſon, left him at liberty if he pleaſed, to ſubſtitute *Vaudreuil* in his room, in which caſe the latter was to be ſubject to the orders of *Neſmond*; but if *Frontenac* marched in perſon, his command was to be independent. After taking *Boſton*, and compleating their ravages on the coaſt of *New England*, the *French* fleet and army had orders to reduce *New York*, and, in their march homewards, to lay that colony likewiſe in ruins; and, leſt *Neſmond*'s force ſhould not be ſufficient for ſuch mighty operations, he was empowered to take along with him all the *French* ſhips of war that were employed in *Hudſon's Bay*. When *Neſmond* anchored in the road of *Rochelle*, he found orders waiting for him, to give the chevalier *Villebon*, who was at *Naxoat* in *Acadia*, all the reinforcement and ſupplies he could ſpare; and, when he came to the bay of *Placentia*, he received intelligence from *Pontchartrain* of ten *Engliſh* ſhips, under the convoy of a man of war, who had ſailed from *Portugal* with ſalt to fiſh on the coaſts of *Newfoundland*, and which he was by all means to attack; and, after that, he was to take or deſtroy all the *Engliſh* ſhips in thoſe parts.

Fruitleſs expedition of Neſmond.

Such was the mighty plan which the *French* laid down for the deſtruction of the *Engliſh* in *North America*, without conſidering the unſurmountable difficulties that lay in the way of its execution. *Neſmond* was two months on his voyage to *Placentia*, which he did not reach till the 24th of *July*. Upon calling a council of war the queſtion was put, whether the fleet ſhould ſail directly for *Boſton*, and it was carried in the negative, becauſe they were entirely ignorant of what the *Engliſh* were doing; and becauſe, whatever diſpatch they made, the forces from *Canada* could not reach *Pemmaquid* ſooner than the 10th of *September*, by which time, the fleet, which was victualled only for fifty days, muſt be diſabled from going upon any expedition. *Neſmond*, to his great mortification, had nothing to reply to thoſe reaſons; but diſpatched one of his officers, *des Urſins*, with all the ſhipping he had brought for *Canada*, under his convoy, but with expreſs orders to return, and give him notice, if, on his voyage, he ſhould diſcover any *Engliſh* ſhips. *Neſmond* then took his ſtation twenty-two leagues to the weſt of *Placentia*, as being the moſt convenient for acting againſt the *Engliſh*. In the beginning of *Auguſt*, he had intelligence that the *Engliſh* were fortifying *St. John's*; and, another council of war being held, it was unanimouſly agreed to make a deſcent upon that place, eſpecially as they were informed, at the ſame time, that they might there make prizes of thirty-four ſail of *Engliſh* ſhips. Of thoſe, ſome had ſailed from *Plymouth* under the command of captain, afterwards admiral, Sir *John Norris*; and others had arrived from *Ireland*, with 1000 land troops on board, commanded by colonel *Gibſon*. The *French* fleet accordingly ſailed to the eaſt coaſt of *Newfoundland*; but *Neſmond* was diſappointed in all his expectations, for he did not meet with a ſingle *Engliſh* ſhip, and was obliged, without firing a gun, to return to *France*, after promiſing to himſelf the conqueſt of all the *Engliſh American* continent. But we are now to attend the affairs of *New France* in other parts.

and of the Engliſh *againſt* Naxoat.

THE *French* court having greatly at heart the reduction of fort *Pemmaquid*, took it, as we have already mentioned in the hiſtory of *New England*, and, after demoliſhing it to the ground, *Iberville* and *Bonaventure*, who commanded the expedition, ſpied an *Engliſh* ſquadron, as they were ſailing out of the river *Pemmaquid*. *Iberville*, upon this, ordered the ſhip, which he had taken from the *Engliſh*, and which had on board a hundred *Mickmack* ſavages, to keep cloſe by him. The ſavages, underſtanding their danger, begged the captain of the ſhip, where they were, to board the largeſt of the enemy's veſſels, as they were deſirous of dying with arms in their hands, rather than rot in the dungeons of *Boſton*; which the captain promiſed ſhould be done. But *Iberville* held ſo near the land, that the *Engliſh* ſhips durſt not follow him, and they changed their courſe towards the river *St. John*, while *Iberville* arrived on the coaſt of *Cape Breton*. Here he put all the ſavages aſhore, excepting three who refuſed to leave him, but could not reach *La Heve*, where others were ready to embark with him for *Newfoundland*, where, on the 12th of *Auguſt*, he anchored in the road of *Placentia*. In the meanwhile, the *Engliſh* ſhips, which he had eſcaped, fell in with

the

chevalier *de Villebon*, who was returning with a company
ſavages to his fort of *Naxoat*, and made him priſoner.
e *Engliſh* then continued their courſe to *Beaubaſſin*, where
Burgeſs, who had an eſtate in thoſe parts, preſented the
mmodore with a writing, by which the inhabitants of *Beau-
ſin*, at the time that *Acadia* was conquered by Sir *William
pps*, engaged themſelves to be faithful to king *William*.
the ſame time, two hundred and fifty *Engliſh* and a hun-
d and fifty ſavages were put aſhore. The commodore re-
ved *Burgeſs* with great civilities, and the chief inhabitants
he place, who, though they were *Engliſh* ſubjects, had in
revolted to the *French*, welcomed to ſhore the commodore
his chief officers, who were entertained at *Burgeſs*'s houſe.
ording to the *French* accounts, the commodore had pro-
d full protection to the inhabitants, and had ordered the
iers to take nothing in their quarters without payment,
to kill no cattle that were not immediately neceſſary for
r ſubſiſtence; but they were guilty of great irregularities.
truth is, the *Engliſh* commodore diſcovered a writing
r *Frontenac*'s hand, laying down the terms of a trade be-
n them and the other *French* ſubjects of *New France*;
conſidering the attempts and barbarities of the *French*
ſt the *Engliſh* ſettlements in thoſe parts, it is not to
wondered at if the ſoldiers were guilty of exceſſes. The
bitants, however, in general, being conſcious of what they
one, were ſo apprehenſive of the conſequences, that they
ted both themſelves and their effects, which, perhaps,
er exaſperated the *Engliſh*, who demoliſhed or pillaged
houſes, and reduced their church to aſhes. The com-
ge then threatened to treat the remaining inhabitants as
s; but was contented with obliging them to ſubſcribe a
paper, by which they renewed their allegiance to the
ſh government. The ſquadron then proceeded towards
ver *St. John*, where *Villebon*, who, it ſeems, had obtain-
freedom by producing a ſufficient paſs, commanding
at *Naxoat*, they were diſcovered by an enſign of the
who was reconnoitring with three or four ſoldiers, and
eſcaping through the woods, gave *Villebon* intelligence
r arrival. Two days after, the ſame enſign returning
onnoitre was ſuprized and killed by the *Engliſh*, and
ldiers he had with him were made priſoners. Thoſe
s diſcovered to the *Engliſh* a great many concealments,
ammunition and merchandizes were lodged; and
being dug up, and put on board the ſquadron, it ſet
Boſton. When they had proceeded a little way on
oyage, they were met by an *Engliſh* frigate of thirty-two

guns.

guns, and two ſloops, and their commander produced an order for them to return and attack fort *Naxoat*. It was the 16th of *October*, when *Villebon*, who imagined the *Engliſh* at that time had reached *Boſton*, was informed of their return, and that they intended to beſiege his fort. He immediately put every thing there in a poſture of defence, threw up new entrenchments, and drawing out his garriſon under arms, he harangued them like a *Frenchman*, by extolling the ſuperiority of the *French* courage and glory over thoſe of the *Engliſh*, exhorted them to fight bravely, and promiſing, that if any of them were diſabled in the ſervice, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty ſhould provide for them all the reſt of their lives. Every thing was now diſpoſed for a vigorous defence; the garriſon was in high ſpirits, and paſſed the night under arms; and, on the 18th, the *Engliſh* made good their landing, and began the attack. We are not much prepoſſeſſed in favour of the *Engliſh* military ſkill in *America* in thoſe days; but, had it been greater than it was, little could have been expected from the ſucceſs of an enterprize undertaken at a ſeaſon ſo bitter, that the moſt hardy troops could not keep the field, eſpecially in the night-time. In ſhort, the *Engliſh* were obliged to give over their enterprize, and the ſiege was raiſed; but *Villebon* could not perſuade his ſavages to purſue them. The loſs of men on both ſides was very trifling; but the *Engliſh*, before they retired, burnt down ſome ſettlements.

Affairs of New-found-land.

THOUGH the natural vanity of the *French* magnified every little incident happening in *America* to extravagance in their own favour, yet it is certain, that they never had amongſt them a genius for commerce, comparable to that of the *Engliſh*. Their ſettlements on the continent of *America* were, at this time, a dead weight on their mother country, while thoſe of the *Engliſh* enriched theirs, even on the bleak iſland of *Newfoundland*; where their fiſheries were reckoned to amount to little leſs than a million ſterling a year. The *French*, in vain, endeavoured to rival them in this commerce, and, tho' in poſſeſſion of *Placentia*, one of the fineſt harbours in *North America*, all they could do was to keep themſelves from ſtarving, while the *Engliſh* there lived at eaſe and in opulence. The governor of *Placentia* at this time was *de Brouillan* a brave intelligent officer, but covetous, rough, and diſagreeable in his manners to all about him. His garriſon conſiſted of no more than eighteen ſoldiers, but it might upon an emergency have been reinforced with about eighty fiſhermen; but all of them with little or no experience in war. The iſland of *Newfoundland* being thus divided between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, *Iberville*, after his conqueſt of *Pemma-*

quid,

uid, propoſing the entire reduction of it, arrived for that pur-
poſe at *Placentia* on the 12th of *September*. Three days be-
re this, *Brouillan* had ſet ſail in the *Pelican*, a ſhip of war,
nd with eight *St. Malo* veſſels, to reduce the fort of *St. John*,
e principal ſettlement which the *Engliſh* had on the iſland.
hile they were intent upon entering the bay, they took an
gliſh officer, from whom *Brouillon* underſtood, that there
y at *St. John* forty *Engliſh* ſhips, ſome of whom mounted
m eighteen to thirty-two guns. This did not intimidate
ouillan; but the current ſet ſo ſtrongly againſt his ſhips, that
was with great difficulty he entered the bay, where he made
od his landing, and took or ſilenced ſome *Engliſh* forts.
ouillon then advanced againſt the fort of *St. John*, which
paſſionately deſired to take before the arrival of *Iberville*;
happening to quarrel with the *St. Malo* people, he was
iged to attack fort *Forillon*, which he took ſword in hand,
l made the *Engliſh* commandant, who was captain of the
byr, priſoner of war with all his garriſon. He then ad-
ced againſt ſome other *Engliſh* poſts, which the *French*
forts, and which he found deſerted; but the quarrel be-
en him and the *St. Malo* men continuing, all he could do
to pick up about thirty fiſhing veſſels, and he was ob-
d to return to *Placentia* without taking fort *St. John*. It
the 17th of *October* before he returned thither, where he
d *Iberville*, who, for want of proviſions, had been unable
oin him. At laſt, receiving proviſions and reinforcements
n *Quebec*, he was preparing to attack *Carbonniere*, the
t northerly poſt the *Engliſh* poſſeſſed. When *Brouillan*
rned, *Iberville* acquainted him with his intention, which
uillan reſolutely oppoſed, and told *Iberville* that if he was
ved to proceed he would order the *Canadians* not to fol-
him. *Iberville*, upon this, prepared to return to *France*,
e foreſaw that it was impoſſible for him to act in con-
tion with a man of *Brouillan*'s diſpoſition. The *Cana-*
s hearing of his reſolution refuſed to obey any orders but
and threatened to return to *Quebec*. The fact was, that
ille himſelf was a *Canadian* by birth, and being one of
ableſt officers that country ever produced, was adored by
countrymen.

Brouillan *and* Iberville *differ.*

HE character of the *Canadian* troops was, that when they
roughly treated they were intractable, when gently,
iſſive. But, beſides them, the *St. Malo* men made bitter
laints of *Brouillan*, who found himſelf obliged to come
etter temper, and to enter into an accommodation with
ille At laſt it was agreed that they ſhould proceed to
ttack of *St. John*'s fort in ſeparate bodies; *Iberville* at

Surrender of fort St. John.

the head of the *Canadians*, and *Brouillan* of the regulars and the militia; but when all were united, that *Brouillan* ſhould ſhould have the command, though *Iberville*, who had contributed the moſt to the expedition, was to have the greateſt ſhare of the plunder, when they became maſters of *St. John's*. This accommodation being made, *Brouillan* embarked on board the *Profond*, which was ſtill commanded by *Bonaventure*, who, though a *Canadian*, had taken no part of the diſpute, and *Brouillan* found means to fix *de Muys*, who failed in the ſame ſhip with himſelf, by promiſing him in due time, the command of the *Canadians*. *Iberville* began his march on the 1ſt of *November*, and after ſurmounting prodigious difficulties, for nine days, arrived at *Forillon*, where he was joined by the chevalier *de Rangogne*, whom *Brouillan* had ſent out with a ſmall party to reconnoitre fort *St. John*. *Rangogne*, in his march, had taken an *Engliſhman*, who, having eſcaped, had given the alarm to fort *St. John*, from whence the *Engliſh* governor had ſent out a detachment in purſuit of *Rangogne*, which killed, wounded, and took priſoners about ſix of his party. On the 12th *Iberville* went in a ſloop to *Rognouſe*, which was the general rendezvous of the *French*, where he had an interview with *Brouillan*. He was ſurprized to find the latter inſiſt upon his (*Iberville's*) diviſion attending him to *Forillon*, and upon his having half the plunder which ſhould be made at *St. John's*. *Iberville* put him in mind of the compromiſe he had entered into on that head; but the other denied it, and inſiſted ſo reſolutely on what he propoſed, that he reſolved to abandon all concern in the expedition: but *Brouillan*, afraid of the conſequences, once more deſiſted from his pretenſions, and the whole expedition ſailed for the bay of *Toulle*, lying between *Rognouſe* and *St. John's*. During their march they underſtood that one hundred and ten *Engliſhmen* were in the bay of *Toulle*, and that ſuch of them as had been conquered by the governor of *Placentia*, and the *St. Malo* men, had loſt only their wretched habitations, which they intended to rebuild in the ſpring. Upon this intelligence, *Iberville* determined to attack the enemy by the wood, and the *Profond* was ſent back to *France* with priſoners. *Brouillan* then renewed his pretenſions to the command of the *Canadians*, to which he appointed *de Muys*, and treated *Iberville* with great haughtineſs. The behaviour of the *Canadians*, however, ſoon made him reſume a better temper, and, a freſh reconciliation taking place between the two commanders, they continued their march towards the bay of *Toulle*, in order to attack *St. John's*, which they did after defeating ſeveral ſmall parties of the *Engliſh*, poſted to oppoſe them. Every little ſkirmiſh in this expedition is moſt ridiculouſly exaggerated, when we conſider that the whole garriſon of *St. John*'s conſiſted only of two hundred and fifty men, of whom not above ten or twelve had ever ſeen a gun fired, the reſt being poor fiſhermen; that they were commanded by an inhabitant of the place, who was appointed by the captains of the ſhips lying there; and that the fort itſelf was in a moſt miſerable ſituation, and in want of every thing, not having wherewithal to ſubſiſt upon for twenty-four hours, nor a bit of wood to burn. After the *French* had ſent in their ſummons for ſurrendering, the commandant endeavoured to gain time, becauſe he had ſeen two large ſhips, which he thought to be *Engliſh*, two days before, endeavouring to make the bay. The *French* officers, having a ſuſpicion of his intention, demanded his anſwer upon the ſpot, with which he was obliged to comply. The terms he obtained were, that two ſhips ſhould be allowed him for carrying his garriſon to *England*; that no perſon ſhould be rifled, and that ſuch of the *Engliſh* as had a mind to ſettle at *Bonaventure* might repair thither with all ſafety. It was remarkable, that *Brouillan* did not pay *Iberville* even the compliment of deſiring him to ſign the capitulation.

THE two ſhips we have mentioned, who were *Engliſh*, underſtanding the place was taken, immediately ſailed for *England*. As to the *French* they ſeem to have behaved in a very unmanly manner to the poor defenceleſs *Engliſh* inhabitants, whom they pillaged and impriſoned. When the diviſion of the booty came in queſtion a freſh miſunderſtanding, which had almoſt proved fatal, broke out between the two *French* commanders; but its effects were prevented by a prudent mediation. *Brouillan* propoſed to preſerve the fort and its dependencies, and to make *de Muys* governor of it, to which *Iberville* conſented, provided none of his *Canadians* were left in garriſon. *De Muys* refuſed to accept the command on that condition; upon which a reſolution was taken to abandon their conqueſt, and to ſet fire to the fort, and all the houſes in or near it that were ſtill ſtanding. This being executed, *Brouillan* and *de Muys* returned to *Placentia*, while *Iberville* and his *Canadians* carried on their operations in the eaſtern parts of the iſland; ſo that in two months time the *Engliſh* loſt all their ſettlements in *Newfoundland*, but thoſe of *Bonaviſta* and the iſland of *Carboniere*. The firſt of thoſe poſts was too well fortified to be ſurprized by the handful of *Canadians* and ſavages that *Iberville* commanded. As to the iſle of *Carboniere* it is almoſt inacceſſible in the winter, and it contained above three hundred *Engliſh*, who had flocked thither from

which is burnt by the captors.

from all parts of the iſland, and had put it into ſo good a poſture of defence, that *Iberville* durſt do nothing againſt it. His ſcheme was to have attacked it firſt; in which caſe, it probably would have fallen into his hands. The *French* pretend that during this campaign they made ſix or ſeven hundred *Engliſh* priſoners, who, being ſent to *Placentia*, eſcaped from thence, there being there no place of ſafety for their confinement; an excuſe ſo frivolous that it renders the other particulars of their relation [°] the more queſtionable (I). After all, *Iberville*'s boaſted conqueſts in *Newfoundland* on this occaſion ſeem to have been little better than roving from one poſt to another; for he was obliged to abandon them all, and to return to *Placentia*, in hopes of ſuccours from *France*, which never arrived; thoſe which came being deſtined, as we have already ſeen, for another expedition, which proved unſucceſsful.

A new fiſhery projected.

It is of importance to this hiſtory now that the *Engliſh* are maſters of *New France*, to mention that in the year 1697, one *Riverin*, an active enterprizing *Frenchman*, projected, at *Mount Lewis*, which lies on the ſouth coaſt of the river *St. Laurence*, about half way between *Quebec* and the ſea, and is provided with a noble harbour, a fiſhery. A ſociety of *French* merchants had formed themſelves for improving thoſe kinds of fiſheries upon that river; and this ſituation was particularly proper for ſuch a ſettlement; but when the undertakers had provided ſhip-ſalt, with every thing neceſſary for their purpoſe, and were ready to embark, the governor-general, in conſequence of his orders from *Europe*, laid an embargo upon their voyage, which diſcouraged the ſociety ſo much, that for that time they gave over their undertaking. *Riverin*, however, was not diſcouraged, but by the aſſiſtance of the few ſettlers at

---

[°] Charlevoix, Vol. III. p. 289.

(I) The jeſuit, in this period of his hiſtory, takes occaſion to extol the intrepidity, valour, and the good qualities, both civil and military, of his countrymen in *North America*, and, at the ſame time, repreſents the *Engliſh* and their governors as ſo many brutes, intent only upon cultivating their lands, and improving their commerce, which, by the bye, we apprehend to be the chief, if not the ſole end of all colonies. The event of the conqueſt of all *French North America*, by thoſe *Engliſh*, whom he repreſents as being ſo deſpicable, ſhews how very fallible the father's judgment of the two people was. The truth is, men, who, as officers, would be but barely mentioned in an *Engliſh* hiſtory or narrative, are magnified by the *French* into heroes, philoſophers, the wiſeſt of men, and the beſt of Chriſtians.

St. Lewis, proſecuted it with ſo much ſucceſs that it was afterwards reſumed.

ALL the ſpring of this year *Frontenac* had on foot a reſpectable body of regulars and militia in *New France*, to be in readineſs to execute the orders of his court when he ſhould be called upon; and thereby he kept the *Iroquois* in awe; by which his government was reſtored to a tolerable ſtate of tranquillity. He had made propoſitions to the four ſuperior cantons, and had given them till *June* this year for returning an anſwer: after which, he threatened to march againſt the *Iroquois* with the whole of his force, and to begin with the *Agniers*, againſt whom he was to ſend five hundred men. His threats ſeem to have had no meaning; for, making no impreſſion upon the *Agniers*, he countermanded the expedition, and was obliged at the ſame time to ſupport, with the neceſſaries of life, the *Iroquois* Chriſtians, who, by holding themſelves ready to ſerve in the expedition, had neglected their hunting, and were in a moſt deplorable condition. Matters were in this ſituation when he received from *Old France* a freſh ordonnance, y which all officers in out poſts were prohibited, under pain f caſhiering and degradation, and the ſoldiers under pain f the gallies, to carry on any commerce whatever. The ame ordonnance extended to travellers and rangers of all deominations; who, when detected, were to be ſent priſoners o the government, and if found guilty, were to be conlemned to the galleys. This ordonnance aimed ſo conſiderble a blow againſt the governor-general's power as well as rofit, that he made remonſtrances againſt it at court. But ll was to no effect. *Pontchartrain* repeated the orders, and aintained that they were for the intereſt both of the colony nd the ſavages; who would thereby have *French* goods at the rſt hand from the northern company. Notwithſtanding is, it appears pretty plain that the commerce ſtill continued, d *Frontenac* either paid very little regard to the ordonnance, found means to elude the execution of it.

Frontenac *countermands an expedition.*

THE advantage which the *Abenaquis*, and the other *French dians* had obtained the preceding year over the *Engliſh* and eir ſavages allies, ſtill continued to flatter *Frontenac* with e hopes that fear would prevail upon the *Iroquois* to join e *French*. The *Black Cauldron*, who continued to be in gh credit with his nation, and to be the irreconcileable emy of the *French*, at the head of a party advanced towards t *Catarocouy*, where he informed *la Gemeraye*, the *French* mmandant, that the elders of the four ſuperior cantons re ſet out to treat of a peace at *Quebec*. *La Gemeraye* ſuſted his ſincerity; and *Frontenac* ſent him orders not to

The Black Cauldron *killed.*

The peace of Ryſwick *concluded.*

provoke the *Iroquois*, but without any noiſe to endeavour to get into his hands one or two of the chiefs of the *Black Cauldron* party. Before this order came, thirty-four young *Algonquins* attacked and cut in pieces the *Black Cauldron* and his party, excepting a few whom they made priſoners. *Charlevoix* calls this a noble action of the *Algonquins*, though he ſeems to own, at the ſame time, that the *Black Cauldron* and his party, depending on the faith of the negotiation, were hunting without any miſtruſt in the neighbourhood of *Catarocouy*, and were there deſtroyed [p]. Soon after, *Oureouharé* came to *Quebec*, where he gave *Frontenac* the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the good diſpoſition of his canton of *Goyogouin* towards the *French*; but in a few days after he fell ill of a pleuriſy, which carried him off, to the vaſt regret of *Frontenac* and all the *French*, who beſtow extraordinary encomiums upon his piety, fidelity, and virtues. In the month of *February* 1698, the *French* in *Canada* had advice by four *Engliſh* traders of the peace of *Ryſwick* being concluded, which, in *May* following, was confirmed by colonel *Schuyler*, who arrived at *Quebec* with nineteen *French* priſoners, and a letter from the earl of *Bellamont*, governor of *New England*, demanding the releaſe of all the ſubjects of the king his maſter, who were detained priſoners in *New France*, *Engliſh*, as well as *Indians*, promiſing to ſend all the *French* ſavages who were priſoners in his government, under a good eſcort, if neceſſary, to *Montreal*. *Frontenac* agreed to the releaſe of the *Engliſh* priſoners; but evaded the other demand of releaſing the *Iroquois*, as the reader may ſee in the hiſtory of *New England*. He likewiſe pretended that he had no power to oblige the *Canibas*, and the other *French* ſavages who were ſettled on the borders of *Acadia*, to releaſe the *Engliſh* priſoners. In ſhort, the whole of *Frontenac*'s anſwer was a piece of mere chicanery; and it is plain from the relation of *Charlevoix* himſelf, that his great intention was to make uſe of the peace to divide the *Engliſh* from their *Indian* allies. *Schuyler*, and one Mr. *Dellius*, who was joined with him in the negotiation, were obliged to be contented with this anſwer; and two months after their departure, the fruits of *Frontenac*'s artifices and infidelity were ſeen by the *Agniers* throwing into the fire all the papers which paſſed between them and the *Engliſh* government, relating to the purchaſe or payment of their native lands, as an evidence that they looked upon all ſuch negotiations to be invalid, and that they were reſolved to be independent of the *Engliſh*. This ceremony being over, they offered to detain all the *Iroquois*

---

[p] Charlevoix, Vol. III. Page 331.

Artifice of Frontenac

f *St. Lewis's* fall, who were with them till *Frontenac* ſhould end back their countrymen, who were priſoners in his overnment. The earl, as appears from the accounts of the *rench* themſelves, honeſtly rejected the propoſal, and offered o negotiate a peace between them and the *French*. *Fron-nac*, who was informed of all thoſe particulars by the ſavages f *St. Lewis*'s fall, reſolved to improve the miſunderſtanding etween the *Agniers* and the *Engliſh*. Being informed that me of the *Agniers* were paying a viſit to their countrymen f the fall of *St. Lewis*, between whom a very tender affec-on ſtill ſubſiſted even during war-time, he gave thoſe ſa-ges a moſt polite invitation to repair to *Montreal*, where ey were for ſome weeks highly careſſed, and nothing was anting that could inſpire them with a jealouſy and hatred of e *Engliſh*. It is ſufficient, at this time, to add, that *Fron-nac*'s conduct on this occaſion drew from the earl a very ſevere tter, which was anſwered in the ſame terms. The *French-n*, however, failed in his main point.

New differences with the English.

WHILE this controverſy was on foot another ſtarted up. r. *Dellius*, in his return from *Quebec*, ſtopt at *Montreal*, ere he roundly demanded *Michillimakinac*, and all the lands the ſouthward of that poſt, in the name of the *Engliſh* go-rnor; as having formerly belonged to *New Belgia*, now *w York*; of which the *Engliſh* had obtained the full ceſſion m the *Dutch*. *Callieres*, on the other hand, pretended that ſe poſts had belonged to the *French* long before the *Dutch* t a foot of ground in *America*; nor do we find that the mand was farther inſiſted on. Of all the thorns to the *gliſh* government in *America*, the ſavages on the ſide of *Aca-* were the moſt ſevere; which induced the former to think ebuilding fort *Pemmaquid*, and to people both ſides of river *Kennebeck*, both which projects met with ſtrong op-ition on the part of *Villebon*, the *French* governor of *Aca-* All this while the courts, both of *France* and *England*, e in the dark as to the limits between the two nations in *ada*, and commiſſaries were named for fixing them by crowns. As that diſpute is now at an end by the ceſſion the whole country to the *Engliſh*, it is needleſs to reſume argument here. The *Iroquois* acted more wiſely than either hoſe nations, and, at this time, actually held the ballance ower in *North America*. They declared themſelves in-ndent of both, and neither cared to provoke them, for of throwing them into the arms of the other. This died count *de Frontenac*, in the 78th year of his age, af-ſupporting, under prodigious diſadvantages, the intereſts *anada* during his long government. It is certain, that the court of *France* had received from the jeſuits, and the northern company, very falſe impreſſions of that colony, and *Frontenac* was often obliged to encounter vaſt difficulties, and, which a man of any other character but his, muſt have ſunk under. But though he could not always ſurmount them, he always was equal to them. One amazing reflexion ariſes from the hiſtoty of his adminiſtration, which is, that though *France* then boaſted itſelf to be the moſt powerful kingdom on earth, yet ſhe never was able to furniſh that public ſupport to the government of *Canada* which its affairs required. This was owing to two cauſes, the firſt was, that the perpetual wars his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was engaged in *Europe*, did not admit of his ſending but very few troops to *New France*. The ſecond was, the inconſtant volatile temper of the *Canadians*, and the *French* themſelves, who could not conform themſelves to thoſe painful induſtrious habits, which alone can render a colony powerful and flouriſhing; and which were ſo natural to the *Engliſh*. But what is ſtill more extraordinary is, that the toil and fatigue, which thoſe very people ſuffered in their marches againſt the *Indians* and the *Engliſh*, were greater than all that was neceſſary for cultivating, improving, and fortifying their country.

Death and character of Frontenac.

Farther tranſactions with the ſavages.

So great was the reputation, which *Frontenac* held in his life-time amongſt the ſavages, that upon his death the *Iroquois* thought of breaking the treaty, or, rather, the neutrality they had entered into with him. *Callieres*, during the vacancy of the government, acted as governor-general; and thoſe ſavages in the month of *March* ſent deputies to *Montreal*, on pretence of bewailing the late governor's death, but, in reality, to learn the ſtate of the colony, now that he was no more. They preſented to *Callieres* three *French* priſoners, and promiſed to ſend him all the others they detained, provided he would ſet at liberty all he had of their countrymen. They begged him, at the ſame time, to ſend *de Maricourt*, a *Canadian* gentleman, and two of the *French Indians* with them to *Orange*, where they propoſed to make the exchanges, and to conclude the peace. In ſhort, they repreſented to him, that as long as he ſuffered the war kettle to remain on the fire, and his allies to keep their hatchets in their hands, they could not truſt him. *Callieres* replied, that he was determined to treat at *Montreal*, and not at *Orange*, and that before he entered into any negotiation, he muſt be ſatisfied that they were ſincerely diſpoſed to fulfill all the terms that had been impoſed upon them by the late governor-general. He then, at their own requeſt, gave them a truce for ſixty days, and indulged them in ſome other mat-

ters

s of ſmall conſequence; but in the main was very ill re-
ived, having ſome reaſon to believe that all their inten-
n was, by degrees, to draw their own priſoners out of the
nds of the *French* before they entered upon hoſtilities. They
en took their leave, promiſing to return before the month
June. By this negotiation it appears pretty plain, that after
e death of *Frontenac* the *Engliſh* recovered their aſcendency
er the ſavages; for the earl of *Bellamont*, at that very time, was
treaty with their heads, or ſachems at *Penobſcot*, and they
l promiſed to be directed by him in their future negotiati-
with the *French*.

Callieres *governor of* New France.

THE chevalier *de Callieres* was nominated by the court of
nce to ſucceed the count *de Frontenac* as governor-general
anada, to the diſappointment of *de Campigny*, the inten-
t, who expected the preference. His promotion, on ac-
nt of his well known abilities and valour, was extremely
eable to the colony. As he had neither birth, rank, nor
nces equal to thoſe of his predeceſſor; neither did he
ſs his violences, haughtineſs, and prejudices, and his
t moderation gave the colony hopes of living at more eaſe
r his government, than they had done under that of his
eceſſor. About the ſame time, *Vaudreuil*, who had lately
ned from *France*, and was likewiſe an officer of great
t, was appointed to the government of *Montreal*. Fort
ocouy was now become a poſt of ſo much importance,
his moſt Chriſtian majeſty left the nomination of its
nandant to the governor-general, who had it in charge
ſtow it on none, whom he could not depend on for
without orders, if accidents and circumſtances of af-
ſhould ſo require. Thoſe precautions were the more
ſary as the governor of *New England* had brought a
againſt ſome of the *Abenaquis* tribes, the moſt faithful
the *French* had in *America*; as if the *Canibas*, by being
l on the river *Kennebeck*, were actual ſubjects of *England*.
allieres received orders from his court to conclude no-
definitive with the ſavages tilll after the limits in *North*
ca were fixed; but he had ſo good an opinion of the
quis, that he left the management of their negotiation
he *Engliſh* to themſelves. The preliminaries they in-
upon with the *Engliſh* governor were, firſt, that he ſhould
all the *Engliſh*, to retire out of their country. Se-
, that he was not to pretend they owed any allegiance
crown of *England*, becauſe they profeſſed themſelves
the voluntary and faithful ſubjects of his moſt chriſtian
y, from whom alone, and his generals, they were de-
ed to receive orders. Thirdly, that they ſhould be at

liberty to permit the *French*, and no other nation, not even the *Engliſh*, to ſettle upon their lands. Fourthly, that they heard, with ſome ſurpriſe, the *Engliſh* governor intended to ſend amongſt them other miſſionaries than *French*; but that they never would change their religion; for which they were reſolved, if neceſſary, to fight and to die.

His negotiations with the earl of Bellamont

IT is certain, that the bickerings between the *French* and the *Engliſh* in *North America* hurt both parties, without benefiting either, ſo that the two courts ordered a ceſſation of all hoſtilities to take place there. His moſt Chriſtian majeſty's letter for this effect came under the earl of *Bellamont's* cover, to be by him forwarded to *Callieres*, who, in like manner, was honoured with the delivery of his *Britannic* majeſty's letter to the earl. *Callieres*, notwithſtanding the confidence he had in the *Abenaquis*, was ſo anxious about the ſucceſs of the negotiation with the *Engliſh*, that he ſent *la Valliere*, the major of *Montreal*, with father *Bruyas* to *Boſton*, where they were to negotiate the exchange of priſoners, and to inform themſelves in what condition the negotiation between the *Engliſh* and the *Abenaquis* ſtood, or how the *Engliſh* governor was affected as to the propoſed reconciliation between the *Abenaquis* and the *Iroquois*. The latter had of late committed ſome hoſtilities againſt the *Miamis*, of whom they had killed a number. Notwithſtanding this, the *Iroquois*, in general, were well diſpoſed towards peace, and the earl of *Bellamont* omitted nothing to render himſelf the arbiter of it. It happened that *Callieres* had obtained a duplicate of the orders the earl had received from his maſter, by which he was inſtructed to oblige the *Iroquois* to diſarm themſelves. *Callieres* finding that he could not get the better of *Bellamont*'s intereſt with thoſe ſavages, ſent copies of this letter all over their cantons, that they might ſee the *Engliſh* regarded them only as their ſubjects. He likewiſe ſignified to them that they were to expect no aſſiſtance from *New York*, becauſe his *Britannic* majeſty had expreſly ordered his *American* governors to give them no aſſiſtance either directly or indirectly. At the ſame time, he gave them to underſtand, that it would be no difficult matter for him to reduce them to accept the terms propoſed by his predeceſſor, now that they were deprived of the aſſiſtance of the *Engliſh*. The cantons ſtill obſerved their former policy in endeavouring to live well, both with the *French* and the *Engliſh*, to whom they ſaid they would behave as brothers, but not as ſubjects, which the *Engliſh* appeared to be ſatisfied with; but *Callieres* ſtill perſiſted to preſs them to a deciſive reſolution to accept the terms propoſed by his predeceſſor. To evade this they endeavoured to gain time from the 21ſt of *March* to the month *July* 1700. Three months after this, a number of the *tauuais* landed at *Montreal* to juſtify their conduct towards *Iroquois*, whoſe cauſe *Callieres* eſpouſed. On the 18th *July* two deputies from the canton of *Onnontagué*, and r from that of *Tſonnonthouan*, had a very formal audi- e of the governor, to whom they made great profeſſions friendſhip, pretending that they had powers of depu- on from all the four upper cantons; and that the reaſon y no deputies were with them from the cantons of *Goyo- in* and *Onneyouth*, was, that they were gone to *New Eng- l* to enquire into the reaſons why the earl of *Bellamont* ſent *Schuyler* to diſſuade them from repairing to *Montreal*. ey then complained that while they thought themſelves under the treaty between *France* and *England*, in which were comprehended, they had been attacked by the *Ou- is*, the *Illinois*, and the *Miamis*, who had killed them hundred and fifty men, and they begged of the governor end along with them father *Bruyas*, *Maricourt*, and *Jon-*, who were in great credit with their cantons, and into ſe hands they would deliver all the *French* priſoners in country.

and conference with the Iroquois *deputies.*

ALLIERES, in anſwer, expreſſed his ſurpriſe that the ties of the *Goyogouins* and the *Onneyouths*, inſtead of com- long with their brethren, ſhould wait upon the *Engliſh* rnor upon a point that could require no farther explana- after the concluſion of the treaty between the *French* he *Engliſh*. He added, that what they had ſuffered was to themſelves, having at firſt attacked the *Miamis*, aving ſo long trifled with him in the affair of the peace, hat he had done all he could with his allies to prevent oſtilites during the negotiations. That he was ſorry that had happened, but that to prevent the like acci- in time to come he had ordered all his allies to ſend deputies in thirty days to treat; and that if they (the nis) were ſincerely inclined to peace they would like- order deputies from all their cantons to be preſent. in ſuch a caſe, all the war kettles ſhould be overthrown; eat tree of peace eſtabliſhed, the rivers cleaned, the made ſtrait, and that every one then might go and re- s he thought proper. As to the miſſionary, and the ficers they required, he conſented to their going along hem, but upon condition that they ſhould bring back hem deputies furniſhed with full powers to conclude a e peace; that upon their arrival at *Montreal* all the is priſoners ſhould be ſet at liberty; but that ſome of the deputies there preſent, ſhould remain as hoſtages with the three perſons who were to go along with the others. Upon this, four of the deputies offered to become hoſtages; and being accepted of, the reſt of the audience paſſed in good humour; only the *Abenaquis* and the Chriſtian *Iroquois* were far from being ſo complaiſant as the governor-general had been to the *Iroquois* deputies, but treated them with great freedom and many reproaches.

A French *embaſſy ſent to* Onnontague.

When *Callieres* took his leave of this aſſembly he declared that he would wait till the month of *September* for the grand deputation. The three *French* ambaſſadors, when they came to the canton of *Onnontague*, were received with unprecedented demonſtrations of joy, and conducted to the chief townſhip in triumph. *Teganiſſorens* on this occaſion acted as the mouth of the canton, and harangued them in the moſt polite, but friendly manner, which was the more agreeable to the embaſſadors, as they knew that he was ſincere. Being introduced under repeated diſcharges of a numerous muſketry into their grand council hall, they there found deputies from all the upper cantons. There father *Bruyas*, who was the ſpokeſman of the *French*, preſented them with three belts. By the firſt he intimated, that *Ononthio* was their father, and the *Engliſh* governor no more than their brother; and that therefore they ought in all events to behave to him as children, whether they were in friendſhip with the *Engliſh* or not. By the ſecond belt he ſignified the high regard, which his brethren the miſſionaries ſtill entertained for the *Iroquois* nation, notwithſtanding all the ſufferings they had undergone, and their condolence upon their loſing many of their chiefs of great diſtinction. The third belt expreſſed the ſincere deſire for peace, which they knew *Ononthio* had; and which he was willing to grant them, provided they acted by him with the ſame candor, and agreed to the conditions which he, the miſſionary, was ready to lay before them.

Proceedings of the great aſſembly of the Iroquois.

This ſpeech was received by the aſſembly with vaſt ſeeming ſatisfaction, and was ſucceeded by another from *Maricourt*, which turned upon the great power of *Ononthio*, and the inability they were under to reſiſt him if they ſhould reject his terms, which he held forth to be extremely reaſonable. As thoſe ſavages always require time to deliberate on the propoſitions made to them, they met next day in council, where a young *Engliſhman* and an old *Onnontagué* preſented themſelves from the earl of *Bellamont*, putting them on their guard againſt the practices of the *French*, and informing them that his lordſhip expected them in ten or twelve days at *Orange*, where they ſhould know his farther pleaſure.

So

imperious a meſſage, far from winning over the aſſembly, uſted them entirely. "I know not (ſaid *Teganiſſorens*) t my brother can mean in endeavouring to diſſuade us n hearing the voice of my father, and in ſinging the war g, at a time when every thing invites us to peace." This per of the aſſembly was improved by the miſſionary to his purpoſes. He animadverted on the haughtineſs of the *liſh*, who wanted to treat them as their ſubjects; and what were to expect ſhould they let ſlip the opportunity now red them, and this point was farther preſſed by *Joncaire*, obſerved that the view of the *Engliſh* in being ſo ſolicito diſſuade them from peace, could only be, that they ht weaken themſelves by war, ſo as to be unable to reſiſt tyranny.

OTHING deciſive ſeems to have happened that day; for the aſſembly's breaking up, *Joncaire*, who had his cabin ng the *Tſonnonthouans*, that is, who was adopted into canton, and had all the privileges of a native, ſet out er, and was received with the higheſt demonſtrations of d and affection. His buſineſs was to reclaim the *French* ners who were there, and whoſe liberty was immediately ted them. What followed, though extraordinary, is na-. Moſt, or all, of thoſe priſoners had been adopted like-; and the life of a ſavage was, in their eyes, ſo much rable to that of a *French Canadian*, that they refuſed turn to their country. This circumſtance may be eaſily unted for. Amongſt the ſavages they enjoyed in full t, not only that freedom, which they could not find *French* government, but, if they were induſtrious, more dance; becauſe, what they acquired by hunting and ſow-as their own, untaxed and unimpaired by the griping of power. Not to mention that the civil and military amongſt the *French* were more irkſome and laborious amongſt the ſavages. Some of thoſe captives, therefore, r than follow *Joncaire*, concealed themſelves, while s flatly told him they would remain where they were.

EAN time, the general council of all the *Iroquois* nation eaſſembled at *Onnontague*, to pronounce their definitive tion, and the young *Engliſhman* was preſent. *Teganiſ-* continued to be the mouth of the aſſembly, and de- to the *French* embaſſadors, that his nation was reſolved ar the voice of its father, and inſtantly to ſend two de- from each canton to *Montreal*. "I do nothing in ſe- ſaid he, (addreſſing himſelf to the *Engliſhman*, in the of his whole nation,) inform my brother *Corlar*, who hee hither, that I am ſetting out for *Quebec*, there to re-

Their reſolutions favourable to the French.

ceive the orders of my father *Ononthio*, and to plant the tree of peace. I, after that, will go to *Orange*, and learn the will of my brother *Corlar*." *Teganiſſorens* then laid five belts at the feet of the embaſſadors, and father *Bruyas* preſſed the aſſembly to diſpatch the deputation, that they might arrive time enough to confer with the deputies of the upper cantons. But though *Charlevoix*[q] has, in honour to his order, one of which was at the head of the embaſſy, repreſented this negotiation in a favourable light for the *French*, yet is it highly improbable that matters were carried on ſo ſmoothly as he has repreſented. The declaration which the earl of *Bellamont* had made by his maſter's order, that he would no longer ſupport the *Indians* againſt the *French*, no doubt made an unfavourable impreſſion upon thoſe ſavages; but it is plain that their real intention was not to break with the *Engliſh*, if they could avoid it; and, notwithſtanding all the jeſuits could do, the *Engliſh Iroquois* were at leaſt as well diſpoſed to proteſtaniſm as to popery; though the bulk of the nation was indifferent as to both. The jeſuits were alarmed when they underſtood that lord *Bellamont* had even prevailed upon them to receive proteſtant miſſionaries, who had been ſucceſsful in making proſelytes; and that they could not bring the natives to expel them. It muſt, indeed, be owned that the jeſuits, for the reaſons we have already given, were far more active, and more pains-taking than the proteſtants at this time. The zealous ſect of *New England* miniſters, who made the converſion of the *Indians* a work of conſcience, was now worn out, that colony being planted with men, who regarded religion chiefly as it was connected with intereſt; and the *Engliſh* divines lived too comfortably at home to hunt for danger in making converſions abroad.

The jeſuits alarmed.

Grand congreſs at Montreal.

THE *Onnontagué* and the *Goyogouin* deputies ſet out with the *French* embaſſadors on their return to *Montreal*. They were all of them conducted in great ſtate to *Gannentaha*, where they expected to be joined by the *Onneyouth* deputies; but that canton, which it ſeems did not chuſe to part with their priſoners, only ſent them a belt, pretending that their chief deputy was indiſpoſed. Soon after, *Joncaire* joined them with ſix deputies from the *Tſonnonthouans* and three *French* priſoners, which were all he could deliver. While the embaſſadors and the deputies were ready to embark, a *Tſonnonthouan* arrived at *Gannentaha* from *Orange*, with an account that the governor of *New York*, irritated at the proceedings of the *Iroquois*, had not only put in irons an *Onneyouth*, who was ſuſpected of

---

[q] Charlevoix, Vol. III. p. 357.

ving killed an *Engliſhman*, but had ſeized upon all the ſurs
onging to the *Iroquois* at *Orange*; that he had hoiſted a
l flag, had ordered the *Mahingans* to begin the war againſt
cantons, and threatened to come in perſon to chaſtiſe
em. The *Iroquois* pretended to the *French*, that they re-
ved thoſe menaces with indignation. When they came
Montreal, where the deputies of the upper cantons were
iting, they were received under a diſcharge of artillery,
ich gave offence to the ſavage allies of the *French*. When
aſſembly met, the *Iroquois* orator magnified the vaſt defe-
ce which their cantons had paid to *Bruyas*, in having, at
deſire, ſuſpended all hoſtilities againſt their enemies. He
affected to treat the *New York* governor's menaces with
tempt; but artfully added, that as it was probable their
on muſt now go to war with the *Engliſh*; they hoped to
at *Catarocouy* not only the merchandizes they uſed to be
iſhed with at *Orange*, but arms and ammunition for their
nce. The anſwer which *Callieres* made to this harangue
very civil, and he gave the deputies to the month of *Au-*
the following year for releaſing the remaining *French* pri-
rs, and thoſe of the *French Indian* allies. In the mean
e, he required them upon no account to revenge any pri-
quarrels amongſt themſelves, but to refer them to him,
promiſed to do all he could to obtain a like order on the
of the earl of *Bellamont*. As to their requeſt about fort
rocouy, he ſaid he ſhould lay it before the king his maſter,
that in the mean while he would ſend thither an officer
ſome merchandizes, and a ſmith.

A proviſional treaty.

HIS anſwer highly pleaſed the aſſembly, and a proviſio-
eaty was agreed on conformable to what had been com-
cated by the governor-general. The manner in which
treaty was ſigned was very particular. After *Callieres*
is officers, civil and military, with the eccleſiaſtics, had
eir hands to it, each of the ſavage nations ſigned it with
icular figure peculiar to themſelves. The *Onnontagueſe*
Tſonnonthouans delineated a ſpider. The *Goyogouins*, a
et or pipe of peace; the *Onneyouths*, a piece of cleft wood
a ſtone in it; the *Agniers*, a bear; the *Hurons*, a bea-
the *Abenaquis*, a kid, and the *Outaouais* a hare (K).
treaty is dated the 8th of *September* 1700. It appears

Remarkable ſignatures.

Charlevoix acknowledges
ither the *Agniers* nor the
uths had any deputies at
ngreſs; what degree of
ity therefore is due to
their ſignatures, unleſs it appeared, which, it does not, that they had commiſſioned ſome one to ſign for them.

that the earl of *Bellamont*'s views were not to excite a war between the *Iroquois* and the *French* or their allies, but to prevent thoſe ſavages from uniting under the *French* government, whoſe territories lay much more convenient than thoſe of the *Engliſh* did for effecting ſuch an union. *Callieres*, on the other hand, whoſe views were really pacific, knew the vaſt advantages, in caſe of another rupture between *France* and *England*, that ſuch an union would produce to the former. Thus the whole diſpute was a kind of a trial of ſkill between the two governors rather than the two crowns.

CALLIERES, in purſuance of this plan, laboured to make it as extenſive as poſſible. He diſpatched *Courtemanche*, and another agent, to the moſt diſtant tribes in the north and the weſt, to perſuade ſuch of them as had not ſent their deputies, to accede to the proviſional treaty, and to ſend deputies to the meeting, which was to be held the following *Auguſt*, that it might be general, in order to conclude a definitive treaty.

Views of the French *and* Engliſh.

Thoſe meaſures being reſolved on, *Callieres* gave advice of them to *Pontchartrain*, and informed him, that it would be poſſible, in the approaching congreſs about boundaries, to get ſome ſignal advantages to *France*. If during the courſe of the negotiation ſhe could not obtain the property of the *Iroquois* country, it ought at leaſt to be declared neutral; and that it ſhould be unlawful either for the *French* or the *Engliſh* to make any ſettlement upon it. With regard to miſſionaries, he thought there could be no danger to the *French* intereſt to admit the *Engliſh* miniſters to act as ſuch amongſt the ſavages.

Bad policy of the Engliſh *governor.*

Lord *Bellamont* perhaps on this occaſion did not act with ſo much moderation, or indeed juſtice. The *Engliſh* had always ſought to avail themſelves of the ceſſions of lands made to them by the ſavages, who paid very little regard to ſuch deeds, and often pretended that they had been outwitted or intoxicated when they agreed to them, having received for them no valuable conſideration. Though there ſometimes was but too good foundation for thoſe remonſtrances, yet it is certain the *Engliſh* were far more juſtifiable in that reſpect than the *French*, the latter having never given any conſideration for their vaſt poſſeſſions in *America*, while the moſt conſiderable of the *Engliſh* had been purchaſed and duly paid for to the natives. The earl of *Bellamont* demanded (we muſt think very impoliticly, if true, for we have it only upon *Charlevoix*'s word) that the *Iroquois* ſhould hang all the jeſuit miſſionaries who came amongſt them, and he propoſed to build forts in the cantons of *Agnier*, *Onneyouth* and *Onnontagué*; and one particularly at the mouth of the river *Choguen*, lying near lake *Ontario*. But the natives ſeemed to be ſo much ſhocked

at

hoſe propoſitions, that his lordſhip did not think proper nſiſt upon them. About this time, *Riverin* attempted to ſtabliſh his fiſhery at mount *Lewis*; but through the rice and villainy of thoſe he was concerned with, his pro- again fell to nothing. We are now to attend affairs in other parts of *Canada*.

His adminiſtration.

THE *Engliſh* ſtill continued to fiſh upon the coaſts of *A- a*, but it appears as if the *French* court had cooled in its for the re-eſtabliſhment of that colony. A ſon or re- n of *le Borgne*, whom we have already mentioned about time of the peace of *Ryſwick*, in right of his predeceſſors at name claimed the property of all the peninſula of *Aca-* reaching from cape *les Mines* towards *L'iſle Verte* to the ; and in conſequence of this claim the *Engliſh*, notwithding the peace, continued ſtill to trade upon the coaſt of *dia*, on pretence of being authorized by *le Borgne*, to whom paid fifty crowns for each ſhip. All that *Villebon* could was to erect fort *de Naxoat* on the river *St. John*; but reng no aſſiſtance from *France*, it was of very little uſe. continued, however, to make ſuch repreſentations to the *ch* court, that an engineer was ſent over, by whoſe ad- in the year 1700, the inhabitants of *Naxoat* were tranſd to *Port Royal*. No care, however, being taken to for- that ſettlement, or any part of the coaſts of *Acadia*, the *iſh* ſtill went on to engroſs the fiſhing trade there, and harged by the *French* with the ſame practices they them- s have ever been charged with by the *Engliſh*, and in almoſt ame terms. Upon the breaking out of the war in the 1702, no care had been yet taken to fortify *Port Royal*, he other poſts on the coaſt of *Acadia*; but the importance at province appeared now ſo evident to the *French* court, *de Callieres* received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that new onaries ſhould be ſent to *Acadia* for converting the na- , and that proper meaſures ſhould be taken for peopling colony with *French*. The biſhop of *Quebec*, who was in *France*, undertook the former province, as the court he latter; but ſuch was the ſtate of the *French* affairs in *pe*, that both projects fell to the ground.

Brouillan *governor.*

this time *Villebon* was dead; but was ſucceeded in his rnment of *Acadia* by *de Brouillan*, who had been gover- f *Placentia*. He found the affairs of his province in a miſerable ſituation. The *Boſtoners* and the *New England* had ravaged all the ſea-coaſts, and had either driven the itants into the woods, or carried them priſoners to *Boſ-* rom whence they ſent moſt lamentable complaints of uſage. An order had come from the *Engliſh* government, that none of the *French* priſoners there ſhould be exchanged; and a *French* captain, one *Baptiſte*, was threatened with hanging, on pretence of his being a pirate. *De Brouillon* upon this, ſent an expreſs, acquainting the *Engliſh* governor of *Boſton*, that he would make uſe of repriſals, in caſe he ſhould put his threats in execution againſt *Baptiſte*; which ſaved the captain's life. This meſſenger did a more important ſervice to the *French* in *America*; for while he was at *Boſton* he diſcovered that the *Engliſh* were making preparations for attacking *Quebec*; and upon his return *de Brouillan* ſent advice of the ſame to the governor-general of *New France*, by which means he had ſo early an intelligence, that the expedition miſcarried. It is certain that the affairs of the *Engliſh* government were at that time very ill managed on the coaſts of *North America*, where a ſquadron of their men of war was commanded by admiral *Graydon*, a corrupt brutal officer, and a diſgrace to the marine ſervice of his country. It is true, the *New England* men found their account in ravaging the *French* coaſts; but only a few particulars were benefited; for the national ſervice was neglected. It may be proper to inform our readers, that we have carried the affairs of this province thus far, that they may not interfere with the more general hiſtory of *Canada*, to which we now return.

Quarrel amongſt the ſavages.

DE CALLIERES continued his indefatigable endeavours to effect his favourite meaſure of uniting all the ſavages of *North America*, and thereby eſtabliſhing a general peace amongſt them; but an unforeſeen accident had almoſt ruined his labours. The *Iroquois*, after their deputies had returned to their own country, had gone to hunt upon lands which had been appropriated immemorially to the huntings of the *Outaouais*, and had there deſtroyed ſome beaver huts. The *Outaouais*, provoked by ſo unjuſt an invaſion of their property, fell upon a party of the *Iroquois* hunters, killed ſome of them, and carried off their chief, priſoner. The *Iroquois* in their turn reſented this hoſtility, and would immediately have made ſevere repriſals, had not their deputies put them in mind of their promiſe to refer all their differences to *Onon:thio*. This pacified them for the preſent, and a freſh deputation was nominated, which, on the 2d of *March*, 1701, reached *Montreal*, where they found the governor, and laid before him their grievances, praying that he would interpoſe for the delivery of their chief, who had been carried priſoner to *Michillimakinac*. *Callieres* endeavoured to excuſe the *Outaouais* for what had happened, as the party who had committed the hoſtility did not then know of the treaty that had

been concluded. He promiſed, at the ſame time, to
ure the releaſe of their chief, and aſſured them, that they
ld not ſuffer by referring their complaints to him. The
ties found no fault with this anſwer. But on the 5th of
y, *Teganiſſorens*, attended by a good number of *Iroquois*
s, arrived at *Montreal*. Their buſineſs was not only to
w the complaints againſt the *Outaouais*, but to be inform-
hether there was any truth in the report, that the gover-
general intended to make a ſettlement upon the ſtrait,
communicates between lake *Huron* and lake *Erie*, which,
ay of eminence, is called *Detroit?* and whether the war
ready to break out again in *Europe* between *England*
France? With regard to the *Outaouais*, *Callieres* anſwer-
s he had done before; but the ſettlement was a matter
ore importance, becauſe it was a meaſure he actually
eſolved upon. All he would ſay was, that he could not
ive how either the cantons or the *Engliſh* could take any
age about *Detroit*, as it belonged to himſelf. That all
eant by eſtabliſhing ſuch a ſettlement was to preſerve all
ations in peace, and that he had given orders to the per-
ho was to act for him at the ſettlement in queſtion, to
mmodate all the differences that might happen amongſt
ies. During the courſe of this converſation, it appear-
t lord *Bellamont* had at that time the very ſame deſign,
hat *Detroit* was one of the places he had mentioned to
oquois deputies for erecting a fort. The knowledge of
ndered *Callieres* ſtill more obliging to the deputies; aſ-
them that he would treat them as his own children;
hat all he was doing was for their good. *Teganiſſorens*
l nothing on this head, and frankly owned that the
of his canton would report his anſwer to the *Engliſh*;
Callieres made very light of that circumſtance, and
o direct anſwer to another requeſt made by *Teganiſſo-*
hat in caſe the war ſhould be renewed between the
owns, the cantons might not be obliged to take any
n it. *Callieres*, upon *Teganiſſorens* leaving *Montreal*, ſent
ree former embaſſadors along with him to *Onnon-*
both to do him honour, and to aſſiſt in bringing back
rench priſoners, who ſtill remained in that canton.
nbaſſadors were ſurprized when they arrived at *Onnon-*
to find *Engliſhmen* mingled with the ſavages who came
neet them. The truth was, that an *Engliſhman*, whom
oix calls *Abraham*, had arrived at *Onnontague*, on the
lord *Bellamont*, to endeavour to diſſuade the elders of the
from ſending their deputies to the *Auguſt* congreſs; and
ſome

Apology of Callieres *who is preſſed by the* Indian *deputies.*

ſome of this *Abraham*'s retinue had gone out with the ſavages to meet the embaſſadors.

Proceedings of the Onnontaguese, *concerning the priſoners.*

The latter were conducted into the principal village with the ſame honours as before, and the embaſſadors were introduced alone into the aſſembly of their elders. There, father *Bruyas* ſpoke very ſharply on their negociations with the *Engliſh*, and threatened that *Onontbio* would no longer treat with the *Iroquois*, if they did not ſend their deputies along with thoſe of the other nations to the grand congreſs, which was to eſtabliſh a general peace amongſt them all. He added, that very poſſibly wars might be renewed between the *French* and the *Engliſh*, but that the intereſt of the cantons led them to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality. It was three days after this ſpeech was made, before the ſubject of the embaſſy was reſumed; and the *Engliſh* were introduced into the meeting, where *Teganiſſorens* immediately preſented a belt to *Abraham*, exhorting him not to oppoſe the accommodation that was ready to be concluded between the canton and the *French*. He then laid another belt at the feet of *Bruyas*, giving freedom to all the priſoners in the canton, and expreſſed the reſolution it had come to, in the following lively terms, "I open all my gates, (ſaid he, ſtill ſpeaking in the character of his canton,) I ſtop no body. I want to live in good correſpondence with my father *Onontbio*, and my brother *Corlar*; I hold each of them by a hand, and am reſolved hereafter never to divide myſelf, either from one or the other. Five deputies are to go to *Montreal*, and two others to *Orange*. For my own part, I will lie ſtill on my mat, to convince all the world, that I take no party, and that I am reſolved to obſerve an exact neutrality."

This declaration from the mouth of *Teganiſſorens*, who was known to have ſo much authority in his canton, and to be a firm friend to the *French*, gave great pleaſure to *Bruyas* and *Maricourt*, who had already ſent *Joncaire* to *Tſonnonthouan*, as they had another *Frenchman*, one *la Chauvignerie*; to *Onneyouth*. Soon after *Villedonné*, a *French* officer, arrived with the agreeable news, that the deputies of all the nations were on the road to *Montreal*. This intelligence, however, was ſomewhat qualified by the return of *Chauvignerie* from *Onneyouth*, with an account that he had found that canton in a very bad diſpoſition towards the *French*; and that he was not able to bring from thence a ſingle priſoner. This was likewiſe the caſe with the *Onnontagueſe*. *Teganiſſorens* declared to the deputies, that all the *French* who lived in the canton had been adopted by the natives, and moſt part of them

being

ıg married, their friends and relations refuſed to conſent to
ir releaſe; and they themſelves being equally averſe, no-
ıg could be done in the affair; and that he was much griev-
to find himſelf under the diſmal neceſſity of being worſe
ı his word to his father. The embaſſadors knew the cha-
er of *Teganiſſorens* and his canton too well to endeavour,
eaſon either the one or the other out of what had been re-
ed on. They were therefore obliged to diſſemble, other-
all the credit of *Teganoriſſens* could not have prevented
ountrymen from throwing themſelves into the hands of the
liſh. The whole of this negociation appears to have been
lucted by the ſavages with exquiſite addreſs, and proves
hat ſingular advantage their perſonal independency upon
ıperiors was to them in the affairs of government; be-
e if their deputies ever exceeded their inſtructions, or
luded any thing diſagreeable to their conſtituents, the
r always thought themſelves at liberty to withhold their
ent.

Succeſs of Joncaire with the Onnontagueſe.

HE embaſſadors, for obvious reaſons, ſtill concealed their
ntent, but *Joncaire* ſucceeded better with the *Goyogouins*
he *Tſonnonthouans*, from whom he brought deputies with
al priſoners; and their example had ſuch an effect upon
Onnontagueſe, that they gave up five *French* captives. The
youths likewiſe ſent deputies, and the embaſſadors, attend-
two hundred *Iroquois*, arrived at *Montreal*, the 21ſt of

We have already mentioned *Courtemanche* and father
ran having been ſent by *Callieres* to *Michillimakinac*,
e *Anjelran* treated with the *Outaouais* and the *Hurons*,
Courtemanche went to the river *St. John*, where he
l the *Miamis*, the *Pouteouatamis*, the *Sokokis*, the *Outa-*
, the *Hurons*, and the *Mahingans*; and moſt of them
ring to go to war with the *Iroquois*. *Courtemanche*
tened them, the *Miamis* in particular, with the gover-
eneral's indignation if they did not alter their intention,
which they not only countermanded their warriors, but
ed their war-parties. He had more difficulty in perſuading
to give up the *Iroquois* priſoners, whom they had adopted,
ſucceeded even in that; and all of them promiſed to ſend
ies to the general congreſs. *Courtemanche* then viſited the *Il-*
all of them, excepting the canton of *Kaſkaſkias*, were like-
preparing to go to war with the *Iroquois*, but he recon-
them to more pacific intentions by the ſame arguments
d uſed with the *Miamis*; as he likewiſe did the *Ouya-*
, a *Miamis* nation, who were going to war with the
and the *Iroquois*; and all of them, in like manner,
ſed to ſend deputies to *Montreal*. He had the ſame ſuc-
ceſs,

ceſs, but with more difficulty, with the *Maſcontins*, amongſt whom he arrived the 5th of *May*. He then continued his route to the bay of *Puantes*, where he arrived the 14th, and there found the *Sakis*, the *Otchagros*, the *Malhomines*, the *Outagamis*, the *Pouteouatamis*, and the *Kicapous*; and, reconciling all differences amongſt them, he perſuaded them likewiſe to ſend their deputies to *Montreal*. On the 2d of *July*, he returned to *Michillimakinac*, after travelling above four hundred leagues. Every thing there having been ſettled by *Anjelran*, he ſet out for *Montreal*, with two *Iroquois* priſoners, whom he had recovered out of the hands of the *Outaouais*, while *Courtemanche* remained at *Michillimakinac*; from whence he ſet out for *Montreal* with a fleet of a hundred and eighty canoes carrying between ſeven and eight hundred ſavages: but thirty of the canoes were ſent back with their ſick. When they arrived, on the 2[illegible] of *July*, at *Montreal*, they were received under a diſcharge of the artillery; and the *Rat*, in the name of all the other ſavages, complimented the governor-general.

Policy of Callieres.

CALLIERES thought proper, before he held the general congreſs, to ſound all the deputies one by one; and then a kind of preliminary congreſs was held, in which an *Outaouais*, called *John the White* from the fairneſs of his complexion, made preſents to *Onontbio*, and harangued him with great applauſe. He was followed by other *Algonquin* chiefs. The drift of all their ſpeeches was, that he ſhould diminiſh the prices of the *French* merchandizes, and take off their hands the ſmaller furs, becauſe the beaver-ſkins were becoming ſcarce. The *Rat*, on whom *Callieres* depended greatly for the ſucceſs of this congreſs, then preſented his *Iroquois* priſoners, but demanded why all the reſt of the nations had not done the ſame. The chiefs of the *Pouteouatamis* then, in the name of all the weſtern ſavages, declared, that their nations were ſo zealous to fulfil the will of their father *Onontbio*, that they had not been deterred from it, even by the report of a contagious diſtemper reigning at *Montreal*. The *Miamis* chief made his harangue to the ſame effect. He then drew forth a calumet or pipe of peace for all the nations to ſmoke at, declaring, that, if he made peace with the *Iroquois*, it was not becauſe he feared them, but in obedience to his father's will. The deputy of the *Sakis* next, by means of *Onanguice*, the *Miamis* chief, made preſents of atonement for a *Frenchman* they had killed. The general gave many other ſeparate audiences, and acquitted himſelf with great dexterity with all, but *John the White*, who was too clear-ſighted to be ſo eaſily ſatisfied as the others were. When the *Iroquois* deputies made their earances before him, their orator endeavoured to ſhew how poſſible it was for his nation to ſend back all their priſoners, ny of whom, being taken in their infancy, knew no other ents, but thoſe who adopted them. He then inſinuated, t he thought ſuch a reſtitution immaterial, becauſe *Ma-urt* and *Joncaire* had not much inſiſted upon it. This logy gave great diſtaſte to ſome of the other cantons, and was for ſome time before they could be reconciled.

The general conferences opened.

THE conferences opened on the firſt of *Auguſt*; and while *Huron* chief was haranguing, the *Rat*, who had been the ncipal inſtrument in effecting this wonderful congreſs, fell to the great concern of *Callieres*; but, being ſomewhat re- ered, he was placed in an elbow-chair in the middle of the mbly. As he was the greateſt orator and the moſt acute of all the *American* ſavages, they flocked round to hear ; and he delivered a diſcourſe upon the benefits of peace, ch drew the loudeſt applauſes from all preſent. At laſt, voice failed him, and he never ſpoke more in public, for lied ſoon after the breaking up of the conference. *Char- ix*[r] ſpeaks of this ſavage, as if he had been an ornament uman nature, and ſuperior in wit even to the *French* them- s. At the time of his death, he had the rank and pay captain in the *French* army, and therefore received a e military funeral; at which the governor-general and he chief officers aſſiſted. *Joncaire* on this occaſion co- d him, that is, made preſents to his nation on account is death, at the head of ſixty warriors of the fall of *St. is*. The inſcription upon his tomb-ſtone was, "Here the *Rat*, a *Huron* chief." His death was an irreparable to the *French*; but his countrymen promiſed to follow xample in an inviolable attachment to *Onontbio*.

Death and magnificent burial of the Rat.

HE ceremonies of the *Rat*'s burial, which took up ſome , being over, the *Iroquois* complained of their being diſ- d in the affair of their priſoners, and promiſed that, if governor-general would give them back their captive trymen, he ſhould have no reaſon to repent of having ed them. *Callieres* had, before the *Rat*'s death, conſulted upon that ſubject; and it was not only his opinion, that ſhould be gratified, but he brought over ſeveral of the ties to the ſame. *Callieres* therefore, after endeavouring ake the *Iroquois* ſenſible how unreaſonable both their laint and requeſt were, promiſed to lay the latter before eneral aſſembly of the deputies; which he did, and they ing to it, he truſted them, and was juſtified by the event.

---

[r] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. Page 411.

Mean time, an epidemical diſtemper breaking out amongſt the ſavages ſwept off great numbers of them, of the *Hurons* particularly, who attributed it to witch-craft, and applied to the jeſuits for deſtroying the enchantment. According to *Charlevoix*, all who died were baptized. This accident, however, obliged the governor to preſs the finiſhing of the treaty, and on the 4th of *Auguſt*, it was agreed that the articles ſhould be ſigned, and the peace publiſhed with the greateſt ſolemnity. For this purpoſe, a theatre of one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, and ſeventy-two broad, was erected on a plain without *Montreal*. At the end of this theatre was raiſed a large box for the ladies, and all the people of faſhion in that city. *De Callieres* was attended by *Vaudreuil*, and all his principal officers, and 1300 ſavages were ſeated in order within the rails of the theatre, which were ſurrounded by ſoldiers under arms.

Progreſs of the congreſs.

THE meeting was opened with a ſpeech made by *Callieres* upon the benefits of peace, and of their being under the protection of their father the great *Ononthio*, and his words were repeated to the ſeveral nations by proper interpreters, and received with the higheſt acclamations. This being finiſhed, each chief received a belt of wampum, and riſing one after another they marched gravely up in their long fur robes to the governor-general, and each preſented him with his priſoners, and a belt, beſides their compliments, ſome of which are ſaid to have been very fine; but all of them took great care to make him ſenſible how much they ſuffered in their private intereſts, by their compliance with his will in truſting the *Iroquois*, whom they neither feared, nor expected to be grateful. *Callieres* received each in the moſt gracious manner, and conſigned the priſoners as he received them, to the *Iroquois*. The finery of the ſavages, their different manners of addreſs, the oddities of their devices in their attire, and the whimſical ſtate they aſſumed when they ſpoke to the governor, formed a ſcene of ridicule, that exceeded all belief. *Charlevoix* has been very minute in deſcribing them. The ingroſſed treaty of peace was then brought, and ſigned by thirty-eight deputies, but with other devices than thoſe they made uſe of when they ſigned the former treaty. They brought at the ſame time, the great pipe of peace, out of which the governor-general ſmoaked firſt, the intendant after him, and then *Vaudreuil*, and laſtly, all their chiefs and deputies, each in his turn. After this, *Te Deum* was ſung, and then the great kettles were produced, in which thirty oxen had been boiled. The meat was ſerved up to each in order, without noiſe or confuſion, every thing paſſed with great chearfulneſs, and

And a peace concluded.

d the whole ceremony was concluded by diſcharges of ar-
lery both great and ſmall, bonfires and illuminations.
Two days after, *Callieres* had a particular conference with *Con-*
e deputies of the upper nations, whom he warned againſt *ferences*
mmitting any depredations upon the *French*, in which caſe *with the*
threatened to chaſtize them ; but, in the mean while, he *deputies.*
ve them preſents in the name of the king. The *Outaouais*
ged that he would ſend with them father *Anjelran* and
cholas Perrot, to which the governor agreed. Their de-
y then moſt earneſtly begged of the governor, that he
uld ſuffer no brandy to be imported amongſt them, on
ount of its fatal effects upon their youth. This requeſt
highly applauded by all preſent, except one *Huron* chief,
o, being a great drunkard, had provided himſelf with a
e ſtock of that liquor. Next day, *Callieres* gave audience
he deputies of the *Iroquois* cantons, whom he ordered to
ver their priſoners into the hands of *Joncaire*, who was
eturn with them, and promiſed, that if any of them ſhould
re to return to the cantons they ſhould have full liberty;
aving granted the ſame to the *Huron* priſoners. He then
mmended to them a ſtrict neutrality between the *French*
the *Engliſh*; and endeavoured to make them ſenſible
much it was againſt their intereſt that the *Engliſh* ſhould
d any forts upon their lands. He next informed them,
the ſettlement at *Detroit* was far advanced under the
ction of *La Motte Cadillac*, who had with him a hundred
and a jeſuit; adding that his motive for making this
liſhment was to be beforehand with the *Engliſh*, who in-
ed to do the ſame. Every thing being thus amicably
led, the deputies took their leave of the governor, but
ely were they gone, when deputies came from the *Ag-*
, who had ſent none to the congreſs, and ſigned the trea-
Soon after *Joncaire* returned, but brought with him very
priſoners; the captives, for the reaſons we have already
refuſing to attend him. Next year the *Iroquois* ſent a 1702.
n deputation to *Callieres*, and the upper nations did the
, to thank him for having given them peace. The
ois even requeſted him to ſend jeſuits amongſt them.
gave great pleaſure to *Callieres*, who, for many rea-
had not ventured to offer them any of thoſe fathers;
e moſt paſſionately deſired, that they would voluntarily
for them. Thoſe deputies informed him at the ſame
of the death of *Garakonthie*, who, to his laſt, had con-
l faithful to the *French* intereſt, and preſented to the
nor his nephew, who offered to ſupply the place of his
, which the governor agreed to. The requeſt of the
deputies

deputies for the jeſuits was inſtantly complied with, and *Maricourt* introduced them to the cantons, where, even (according to *Charlevoix*,) their buſineſs was rather that of ſpies than miſſionaries.

War declared between France *and* England.

BY this time the war was declared between *France* and *England* in *Europe*, and *Callieres* received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from his court that *Acadia* ſhould be peopled and fortified. This was the only province of *New France*, that gave *Callieres* diſquietude, becauſe, now that the *Iroquois* were ſecure, it was the moſt expoſed to the invaſion of the *Engliſh*. This project went ſo far with the court of *France*, that the biſhop of *Quebec*, who was then there, was endeavouring to provide a plentiful ſupply of eccleſiaſtics, without being obliged to part with any in *Canada*, for the new colony. This paſſion for the eſtabliſhment of *Acadia* ſoon cooled, and it ſtill remained expoſed to the ravages of the *New England* men. It was not long before the *Iroquois* grew heartily tired of their new alliance with the *French*, and not only they, but ſome of the *French* ſavages, by their agency, renewed their intrigues with the *Engliſh*. The truth is, that, though the meaſures *Callieres* had taken were wiſe and happily executed, and though he had greater abilities than any governor of *New France* ever had, yet it was not in his power to keep thoſe ſavages in the *French* intereſt, for this plain reaſon, among many others; becauſe his *Canadians* were ſo miſerably needy, that the barbarians could get nothing by trading with them; ſo that mere indigence, had there been no other cauſe, obliged them to trade with the *Engliſh*. *Callieres* in vain repreſented to his court, that the ſource of all the danger of his government lay in its poverty and weakneſs, which could only be remedied by ſupplies from *Old France*. But, while he was endeavouring to encreaſe the fortifications of *Quebec*, to diſconcert the intrigues of the *Engliſh* amongſt the *Iroquois*, and to re-eſtabliſh the ſyſtem he had ſo wiſely planned, he died on the 26th of *May*, 1703.

Death of Callieres, 1703. *who was ſucceeded by* Vaudreuil.

VAUDREUIL, who was then governor of *Montreal*, took upon him, of courſe, the government of *New France*, till the pleaſure of his court ſhould be known, He had great experience in the manners of the ſavages, had always diſcovered reſolution and addreſs in every thing he undertook; and, by his his polite, generous, and affable behaviour, he had gained the eſteem and affections of all the colony, who unanimouſly applied to the *French* court, that he might ſucceed *Callieres*. *Champigny*, the late intendant, having now returned to *France*, and given over all concern in *American* affairs,

irs, the marquis *de Vaudreuil* was without a competitor ; the *French* king, who had a perſonal knowledge of *dreuil's* courage in *Europe*, ſhewed great ſatisfaction in ointing him to the government of *New France*, the news which was received with raptures by the *Canadians*, whom ad endeared to himſelf by his government during the r-reign. His firſt care was to make ſure of the *Tſonnon-ns.* This canton had ſent a deputation to him upon the of *Callieres* ; and, when the deputies returned, they accompanied by *Joncaire*, who brought back one of chiefs. This ſavage, after making many compliments the governor's taking his canton under his protection, ared highly offended that the *Onnontagueſe* had not ſent overnor-general a deputation likewiſe to pay him their liments, and this he attributed to the bad deſigns they

Falſities of the French *hiſtorians.*

According to *Charlevoix*, whoſe relation, on this oc-1, is not only unauthenticated, but improbable, the de-made a formal ceſſion of the property of the *Tſonnon-* canton to *Vaudreuil*, but in ſo ſecret a manner, that but themſelves were to know any thing of the matter ; or this purpoſe, he preſented the governor with three the firſt ſignifying the abſolute ceſſion of their country ; the ſecond, to expreſs that his countrymen would loſe their lives than ſuffer any harm to come to the ; and the third, to obtain permiſſion for *Joncaire* to ng with them and ſpend the winter. *Vaudreuil* granted equeſts with better will than they were aſked. We owever, to obſerve that the ſavage, in making the of his country to the *French*, ſignified that he expected ter would protect him in all the differences he might ith his neighbours. Upon the whole, therefore, it is ble to believe, that there either never was ſuch a ſham , or that it was made entirely for the conveniency of ages, who had already ſufficiently diſclaimed all ſuch tions, if found inconſiſtent with the general good. e jeſuit had a view in entering ſuch claims, which, ab-they were, were afterwards often inſiſted upon by the rs of his court merely from his authority in the *Ame-*ſputes between the *French* and the *Engliſh*. Soon after uty's return to his own country, *Teganiſſorens* arrived *treal.* This ſavage, though ſtrongly attached to the ſhewed the greateſt affection for his country. He ho-old the governor, that " the *Europeans* were a wicked eople ; that when they made a peace, a very nothing hem take up the hatchet again. We, continued he,

Diſguſt of the ſavages.

Irruption of the French *into* New England.

do not act in that manner. When we once have ſigned a treaty, we muſt have very important reaſons for breaking it." He then declared that his canton would take no part in the war, either on one ſide or the other. *Vaudreuil* approved of this reſolution, and *Teganiſſorens* promiſed that the miſſionaries ſhould remain in his canton. For that reaſon, and leſt any pretext ſhould ariſe for breaking the neutrality, *Vaudreuil* delayed ſending any expedition againſt *New York* for that time. Mean while, the *Boſton* men had endeavoured to engage the *Abenaquis* into a like neutrality; but without effect. *Vaudreuil* had engaged a party of them to make an irruption into *New England*, and had joined to them ſome *French* with a *French* officer, one *Beaubaſſin*, at their head. The *French* hiſtorians ridiculouſly ſay, that this party, in the incurſion they made, killed three hundred *Engliſh*; but, that otherwiſe they did very little damage to the colony. *Beaubaſſin* might make ſuch a report upon his return; and very poſſibly none contradicted it. But beſides the ſilence of the *Engliſh* accounts, it is well known, that, had ſuch a ſlaughter happened, the booty muſt have been very conſiderable to a people ſo needy as the *French Canadians* and ſavages were, and in a colony ſo rich and flouriſhing as that of *New England*. But, in reality, *Vaudreuil* had ſcarce any view in this expedition, but that of exaſperating the *Engliſh* againſt the *Abenaquis*, ſo as to render them irreconcileable enemies to each other. Towards the end of autumn, the *Engliſh* repaid the viſit by invading the country of the *Abenaquis*, where they put many of thoſe ſavages to death. The latter, upon this, applied to *Vaudreuil* for aſſiſtance; and he ſent them, in the winter-time, two hundred and fifty men commanded by one *de Rouville*, who, as *Charlevoix* pretends, killed a great number of the *Engliſhmen*, and took a hundred and fifty priſoners. We ſhall here, once for all, obſerve, that any one who knows the ſpirit of the *Engliſh* coloniſts in *North America*, how apt they are to exaggerate the loſs they ſuffered from the *French*, and to call out on their mother-country for protection and aſſiſtance, will eaſily ſee the improbability of thoſe *French* accounts, as no ſuch loſſes are to be met with on the face of the *Engliſh* hiſtory, or even in the common gazettes of the time, which are always very full of ſuch incidents.

The ſavages break with the French.

In the year 1704, amidſt all thoſe fancied triumphs over the *Engliſh*, *Vaudreuil* was alarmed by the diſpoſitions which the *Hurons* of *Michillimakinac*, who went to viſit *Detroit*, diſcovered againſt the *French*. They were headed by a chief who was nick-named *Forty-pence*, and who was a friend of the *Engliſh.* The *Outaouais*, part of whom likewiſe viſited *Detroit*, and the *Miamis*, were equally exaſperated, and wanted to renew the war againſt the *Iroquois*, who, they thought, were the only gainers by commerce with the *French.* The *Outaouais* even attacked a party of the *Iroquois* under the cannon of fort *Catarocouy*, and killed a conſiderable number of them. Upon this, *Schuyler*, governor of *New York*, an active *Engliſh* officer, but of *Dutch* extraction, had no great difficulty in perſuading the *Iroquois* to break with the *French*, after ſo notorious a violation of all their promiſes of protection. He carried his views ſo far that he ſtartled a great number of the Chriſtian *Iroquois*, who had been in a manner naturalized with the *French*, and who inſiſted upon their chief's repreſenting, what had happened, to the governor-general, and demanding ſatisfaction. *Ramezay*, the governor of *Montreal*, did what be could to avert the blow; but all muſt have been in vain, had it not been for the *Abenaquis*, who were then at *Montreal*, and repreſented the *Engliſh* as not being Chriſtians; which deterred thoſe pious ſavages from all communication with them. *Joncaire* had been again ſent by *Vaudreuil* along with father *le Vaillant*, where they learned that *Schuyler* had ſucceeded in obtaining a general aſſembly of all the *Iroquois* at *Onnontague*; where the following capital points were to be inſiſted upon. Firſt, that the cantons ſhould baniſh all the miſſionaries. Secondly, that the *Abenaquis* ſhould be obliged to diſcontinue their hoſtilities. Thirdly, that the *Mahingans*, who had for ſome time been ſettled in the country of the *Agniers*, ſhould be obliged to return to their former habitations near *Orange*. And, fourthly, that a free paſſage ſhould be given through their cantons for the upper ſavages to trade with the *Engliſh*. But this intelligence was not the only ſubject of vexation which the *French* governor had at this time. Some of the ſavages at *Detroit* had viſited *New York*, where they were greatly careſſed, while others ſet fire to *Detroit* fort, which was ſaved from being burnt down with ſome difficulty. The meeting of the aſſembly, that was ſummoned to *New Orange*, was put off on the news of the hoſtility committed by the *Outaouais* at fort *Catarocouy*; and the *Tſonnonthouans*, who had been the ſole ſufferers, ſent *Vaillant* and *Joncaire* to *Vaudreuil* with complaints of what had happened. So dutiful, but ſo unexpected, a proceeding gave great pleaſure to the governor-general, and he promiſed the *Tſonnonthouans* ample ſatisfaction. It now appeared that the building the fort at *Detroit* had given riſe to the quarrel between the *Outaouais*

and

aud the *Iroquois*; and the governor general came to a reſolution to abandon it. He deſired the *Tſonnonthouans* and the *Onnontagueſe*, of whoſe fidelity he now was well aſſured, by all means, to repair to the meeting at *New Orange*, that they might oppoſe any reſolution propoſed to the prejudice of the *French* intereſt. They managed ſo well, that even the baron *de Longueil*, who had ſucceeded his brother *Maricourt*, now dead, as reſident with the *Onnontagueſe*, *Joncaire*, and father *Vaillant* were admitted to the aſſembly, notwithſtanding all that *Schuyler* could do to prevent it; ſo that the meeting broke up without coming to any reſolution. *Schuyler*, upon his return to *New Orange*, happening to meet ſome *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis*, engaged them by preſents to follow him to *Corlar*. There, after mentioning that they had been the authors of the war, he offered them lands if they would ſettle within the *Engliſh* government, and preſented them with a belt for their own village, and two others for thoſe of the mountain and the Recollect-fall, by which he exhorted them to remain in peace, and to open a correſpondence with him. Thoſe belts were delivered to the ſeveral villages; but *Ramezay*, coming to the knowledge of the tranſaction, dealt ſo effectually with their elders and their chiefs, that they were ſent back without any anſwer, and three villages agreed to raiſe men to make war upon the *Engliſh*.

The Abenaquis *relieved and ſettled.*

SOME time before this, the *Engliſh* having ſurprized and killed ſome of the *Abenaquis*, the latter demanded aſſiſtance from *Vaudreuil*, who ſent them the ſieur *de Montigny* and four or five *Canadians*. *Montigny* ſoon put fifty of the *Abenaquis* in arms, and, leading them againſt the *Engliſh*, he pillaged and burnt a fort, (more probably a farm-houſe) and carried off ſome priſoners. At this time, other *Abenaquis* were ſo cloſely hemmed in by the *Engliſh*, that, receiving no ſupplies from the *French* ſettlements, they were in danger of periſhing through famine. *Vaudreuil*, hearing of their ſituation, immediately reſolved to execute a deſign, which he had formed ſoon after he came to his government. He propoſed to the ſavages, that they ſhould come and live in the colony, to which they conſented, and they were ſettled on the river *Bekancourt*, where they ſerved as a very uſeful barrier againſt the *Iroquois*, when the latter were perſuaded to take arms for the *Engliſh*. Though this was not eaſy for the *Engliſh* to bring about, yet *Vaudreuil* plainly ſaw that the great drift of the *Iroquois*, the *Tſonnonthouans* in particular, in ſo ſtrictly adhering to their neutrality, was, that they might be able to hold the balance between the *French* and the *Engliſh*, whom they made it a point of honour to include in the neutrality[s] (L). Nothing could be more eaſy than this, but it croſt *Vaudreuil's* views, and he ſent to his court for inſtructions how to behave. He was anſwered in terms perfectly conformable to his own inſidious intentions; "that, if he thought he could make war with ſucceſs, without engaging the king his maſter in any extraordinary expences, he was to reject the propoſal of the *Iroquois*, otherwiſe he was to conclude the neutrality. But it was by no means for the honour of the crown of *France*, that he ſhould make the firſt advances, and far leſs that the *Iroquois* ſhould be the ſole mediators." The miniſter, therefore, propoſed that the miſſionaries ſhould deal with the ſavages to perſuade the *Engliſh* to deſire a neutrality, in which caſe, *Vaudreuil* was to hear what they had to offer; but he was to conclude nothing without orders from court.

THE tentative propoſed by the miniſter proving of no effect, all that *Vaudreuil* could do was to endeavour to keep the *Iroquois* in good humour, and a very happy incident for that purpoſe preſented itſelf. The chief of the *Outaouais* party, which had attacked the *Iroquois* under fort *Catarocouy*, in his return to his own country paſſed near fort *Detroit*, where he diſplayed the trophies of his victory, and ſummoned all the *Outaouais* ſettled there to join him. *Tonti*, who commanded there in the abſence of *la Motte Cadillac*, to chaſtiſe this groſs inſult, ordered an officer with twenty men to attack the barbarians, who, though they were ſupported by their countrymen at *Detroit*, were put to flight and obliged to leave behind them all their priſoners; who were immediately delivered back to the *Tſonnonthouans*. This ſeaſonable check not only eſtabliſhed the *French* intereſt amongſt the ſavages, but entirely diſconcerted the meaſures of the *Engliſh*, who were equally unfortunate in other parts of *Canada*.

Inſtructions to Vaudreuil *from* France.

---

[s] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. Page 436.

(L) We have here followed *Charlevoix*, who has inadvertently diſcovered the meaning of a *French* neutrality in *North America* to be no other, than that the *Indians* ſhould abſtain from attacking them, but, if required, ſhould aſſiſt them in cutting the throats of the *Engliſh*. The ſavages, in the paſſage before us, appear very ſenſibly to have conſidered this as no neutrality; and that they could not be neutral, unleſs they were ſo between the *Engliſh* and the *French*, which bound them up from attacking the former as well as the latter; nor indeed were they ſafe unleſs the *Engliſh* were comprehended in the neutrality

1704. Port Royal *attempted by the* Engliſh.

IN the the year 1704, *July* the 2d, ſome *Engliſh* ſhips appeared in the baſon of *Port Royal*, where they had ſet ſome men on ſhore who made ſeveral of the inhabitants priſoners. This armament, according to the *French* accounts, conſiſted of ten veſſels; one carrying fifty pieces of cannon; one of thirty; a *Boſton* galley of eight; and ſeven brigantines; but other *French* accounts make the *Engliſh* force upon this expedition to be almoſt double: nor indeed are the accounts of the *Engliſh* themſelves conſiſtent with each other; becauſe all parties were aſhamed of their management. There is reaſon, however, to believe that the *French* have greatly exaggerated both the *Engliſh* force and their own valour on this occaſion. This formidable fleet ſeems to have been no more than a few *Boſton* veſſels, with five hundred and fifty volunteers on board, commanded by major *Church*, who viſited *Penobſcot*, *Paſſamaquady*, and *les Minas*, and attempted *Port Royal*, but could not take it; though they carried off about a hundred priſoners, *Charlevoix* preſents us with a detail of noble actions performed by the *French* governor, and the inhabitants of *Port Royal* againſt the *Engliſh*, whoſe numbers are repreſented to have been 1600; and who, after being defeated in repeated attacks, re-imbarked with about fifty priſoners on the 21ſt of *July*. Before the *Engliſh* ſailed, they ſet on ſhore one of their priſoners to acquaint the inhabitants, that they had nothing to fear provided they kept themſelves neutral. Soon after this, *de Brouillan* died, and was ſucceeded in his government by M. *de Subercaſe*, who had been governor of *Newfoundland*, where he had done infinite damage to the *Engliſh*. M. *de Vaudreuil* was ſtill governor-general of *New France*, and, it is ſaid he had privately entered into a correſpondence with captain *Rowſe*, an *Engliſhman* of *Charles Town*, for furniſhing the *French* of *Acadia* with proviſions, which *Rowſe* did under colour of carrying flags of truce into their harbours for exchanging priſoners.

Subercaſe *governor,*

Subercaſe, on his part, loſt no advantage, which the ſupport of *Vaudreuil*, and the friendſhip of the *Abenaquis*, (who ſpread their ravages all over *New England*) afforded (M). At laſt, *Dudley*, the governor of *New England*, reſolved upon an expedition for driving the *French* entirely out of *Canada*. His preparations for this purpoſe were carried on with the utmoſt ſecrecy. Two regiments of militia; thoſe of *Wain-*

(M) The neglect of the *Engliſh* writers in mentioning few or none of thoſe expeditions, here mentioned (the author of *The Britiſh Empire in America*, particularly) is unaccountable.

wright and Hilton were embarked on board tranſports under the command of colonel *March*; and covered by the *Deptford* man of war, and the *Province* galley. The entrance of what is called the baſon of *Port Royal* is very narrow, and *Subercaſe* had placed there, in a watch-tower, fifteen men, with orders to alarm *Port Royal*, on the firſt appearance of ſhips approaching the baſon. On the 16th of *June*, perceiving the *Engliſh* ſquadron, they retreated to the fort of *Port Royal*, but had ſcarce entered it, when the *Engliſh* ſquadron was ſeen at anchor within a league of the place. Next day, according to *Charlevoix* [t], the *Engliſh* landed 1500 men on the ſide of the fort, and 500 on that of the river, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into the garriſon, that it was with difficulty they could be kept to their arms; eſpecially as the fort had ſeveral breaches in its walls. The *Engliſh*, who had landed, had very thick woods to paſs through before they could attack the place, and *Subercaſe* having called in to his aſſiſtance all the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, a reſolution was taken to harraſs and cut off the *Engliſh*, on their march, in detached parties. This ill-adviſed march, however, of the *Engliſh*, though not taken notice of by the *French* hiſtorian, was occaſioned by the obſtinacy and want of diſcipline of the officers of the *Deptford* man of war, who refuſed to come nearer the fort; and, to ſay the truth, the marine of *England* was then under a miſerable direction. It was no wonder, if this diſagreement between the ſea and land forces rendered this expedition, as it has ſince done many others, ineffectual. The *Engliſh*, in marching through the woods, were dreadfully harraſſed, and loſt many men without being revenged on the inhabitants, who were provided with canoes, that, whenever they were preſſed, carried them back to the fort. At laſt, the five hundred *Engliſh*, who had landed, with great difficulty, arrived on the banks of a river, which they had ſtill to paſs; while the governor, and a *Canadian* officer, one *de la Ronde*, kept the main body of the *Engliſh* in play, but, at laſt were obliged to retreat into the fort, which was now in excellent order, all its breaches having been repaired.

Defeats the English *expedition againſt* Acadia.

Loſs of the Engliſh.

THE *Engliſh* had ſuffered ſo much in their march, and had ſo ill an opinion of their ſeamen, who ought to have covered the ſiege, that they loſt all ſpirit, and for two days remained entirely unactive. So that it was the night between the 10th and 11th of *June*, when they broke ground before the place. Next day, the governor ordered fourſcore of the garriſon, who were beſt acquainted with the country, to march out, and to intercept a convoy of ſix hundred *Engliſh*, who were bringing in live cattle. This detachment, which conſiſted of *Indians* as well as *French*, placed themſelves in ambuſcade ſo conveniently, that they interrupted the march of the *Engliſh*, and forced them back with ſome loſs to their camp. We are not, however, to imagine that the *Engliſh* detachment was ſo numerous, as they are repreſented to be by the *French*. Every thing contributed to diſappoint the *Engliſh* in this expedition. Some pretended *French* deſerters, who had gone over to them, had given them great hopes of a mutiny in the garriſon; but had concealed from them, that the breaches had been repaired. The *Engliſh*, therefore, imagining that the place was in a very bad ſtate of defence, attempted to ſtorm it in the night of the 16th, but were received by ſo briſk a fire of the *French* great and ſmall arms, that they were obliged to retire from the aſſault. Notwithſtanding this diſappointment, they completely inveſted the place, and muſt have taken it, had they not been ſeized with a pannic on ſeeing the *French* governor ſtill hold it out, which they thought he would not venture to do, if he had not ſome dreadful mine to ſpring when they approached the walls. This apprehenſion grew ſo ſtrong, that, having in vain attempted to deſtroy ſome *French* ſhipping, which was at anchor under the cannon of the fort, they returned to their camp by day-break, and next day reimbarked on board their ſhips. The loſs of the *Engliſh* in this ill-concerted expedition was about a hundred men, and it is certain that *Port Royal* owed its deliverance to ſixty *Canadians* under the baron *de St. Caſtin*, who had thrown themſelves into the fort, the day before the enemy appeared in the baſon.

---

[t] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. IV. p. 17.

The *Engliſh* fleet on its return to *Boſton* touched at ſome of their ſettlements, where they underſtood the people of *Boſton* had been ſo confident of ſucceſs, that they had made public rejoicings upon the reduction of *Port Royal*. This determined colonel *March* to remain at *Caſco-bay*, till he ſhould clear up his conduct to the governor and aſſembly of *New England*. He accordingly wrote them an account of the expedition, in which he vindicated his own conduct, laying the whole blame upon the diſobedience of the forces under him, in which they were encouraged by their officers, who never could be brought to make a general aſſault. Notwithſtanding this apology, it was thought that if *March* had landed at *Boſton*, the populace would have torn him to pieces. The governor and the aſſembly were more juſt; and, upon enquiry, acquited the colonel from all charge of miſbehaviour, but ſent him orders not to ſuffer the troops to land, and to remain where he was, till, he ſhould hear from the aſſembly. There the governor *Dudley* repreſented the danger, as well as diſgrace of letting the expedition drop, and offered to go in perſon, and take the command upon himſelf; adding, that he rather would die, than that *Acadia* ſhould not be reduced to the ſubjection of the crown of *England*. The aſſembly did not think proper to accept of the governor's propoſition of heading the expedition in perſon; but, having confirmed colonel *March* in his command, and cleared him from all imputation of miſconduct, they re-inforced him with three large ſhips, and five or ſix hundred men, with orders not to return before he had made a freſh attempt upon *Port Royal*. At the ſame time, to give the greater ſpirit to the expedition, the governor's ſon and ſeveral of the principal members of the aſſembly undertook to aſſiſt perſonally in it. On the 20th of *Auguſt*, the *Engliſh* ſquadron appeared once more before *Port Royal*; a ſight which ſtruck the garriſon with ſuch conſternation, that *Subercaſe* the governor was almoſt ſingle in his opinion to defend the place. His reſolution, at laſt, was approved of; and, though many of the inhabitants were twenty miles diſtant from the town, the aſſurance of conqueſt which the *Engliſh* entertained from their armament gave *Sabercaſe* time for making proper diſpoſitions for a defence. All that the *Engliſh* had ſuffered in their late attempt had not taught them experience. *Subercaſe*, as before, placed ambuſcades of *Indians* in their way, which cut off ſome of them, while others were taken priſoners; and from the latter he underſtood that the *Engliſh* were to bring up their artillery under cloud of night before the fort. This intelligence enabled *Subercaſe* to diſconcert his enemies, who undoubtedly acted in a very unſoldierlike manner, and inſtead of making one great effort againſt the town, threw away ſix or ſeven days upon little attacks and ſkirmiſhes, in which they generally had the worſt. On the 30th of the ſame month, the *Engliſh* all reimbarked; but next day landed again to attack the place on a different quarter. Their advanced guard, however, as before, fell into an ambuſcade of a hundred fifty *French* and *Indians*, commanded by *St. Caſtin*, who did ſo much execution, that *Subercaſe* was in hopes of forcing the *Engliſh* intrenchments. In this he was diſappointed; but he ſucceeded ſo far as to oblige his enemies with no little precipitation to re-imbark on board their fleet.

Defeat of the Engliſh, *and the ſiege of* Port Royal *raiſed*.

Upon the whole, nothing can be imagined worſe conducted than this expedition was, nor indeed is it to be much wondered at, that it is ſcarcely mentioned in the *Engliſh* hiſtories of *America*. The *French*, however, perhaps are not a little partial

Their miſmanagement.

partial to themſelves when they magnify, as they do the valour and good conduct of their governor and countrymen, who they ſay had only three men killed and fifteen wounded, but killed great numbers of the *Engliſh*. The diſtreſſes of *France* in her wars in *Europe*, prevented her from making any great advantage from the defeat of the *Engliſh* expedition. The colony and garriſon who had behaved ſo nobly, remained neglected by their mother-country ſo much, that they had not even the neceſſaries of life; and the complaints which *Subercaſe* wrote to his court on this head ſhew to what a poor paſs *France* was then reduced; but thoſe were not the only checks the *Engliſh* received at this time.

Le Grange's *expedition to* Newfoundland

ONE *le Grange*, a *Frenchman*, an excellent ſailor, and had ſerved under *Iberville* in *Hudſon's Bay*, fitted out two barks at *Quebec*, and manned them with one hundred *Canadians*, with an intention to ſurprize ſome *Engliſh* ſhips, which he knew had lately arrived at *Bonaviſta* in *Newfoundland*. When he came within twelve leagues of that port to prevent diſcovery, he left his barks, and ſhifted himſelf and his men on board two large floats or lighters, in which he entered the harbour in the night time, and according to *Charlevoix*, boarded and made himſelf maſter of a frigate of twenty-four pieces of cannon laden with fiſh [w] (N). He then burnt two veſſels, each of between two and three hundred tons, ran a ſmall frigate aſhore, and carried off his prize with a great number of priſoners. There was, at that time, ſix hundred *Engliſh* in fort *Bonaviſta*, who appeared next day, but too late. *Le Grange* had in the mean while, rejoined his barks, and was under ſail for *Quebec*, where he ſold his cargo, and freighted his prize for *Old France*. In his voyage thither, he was attacked and taken by the *Engliſh*; but after ſo brave a reſiſtance that he afterwards was raiſed to a conſiderable rank in the *French* marine.

Subercaſe's *expedition to the ſame iſland.*

THE ſucceſs of *le Grange* encouraged *Subercaſe* to reſume *Iberville*'s and *Brouillan*'s ſcheme for driving the *Engliſh* entirely out of *Newfoundland*, and which was approved by his court. *L'Epinay*, commander of the *Waſp*, a *French* ſhip of war then at *Quebec*, had orders to take on board one hundred *Canadians*, and to carry them to *Placentia*, under the command of M. *de Beaucourt*, who had twelve officers under him; amongſt whom was *Montigny*. On the 15th of *Jan.* 1705, *Subercaſe* ſet out from *Placentia* at the head of four hundred and fifty men, all of them reſolute and well armed, and each of them carrying proviſions for twenty days. In their march they met with four rivers which they were obliged to wade through; the ice not being ſtrong enough to bear them, and encountered other terrible difficulties; but at laſt they fell into the heart of the *Engliſh* ſettlements at *Rebou*, where all the inhabitants ſubmitted without reſiſtance. Here they found plenty of proviſions, and, after ſufficiently reſting and refreſhing themſelves, they marched to *Little Harbour*, an *Engliſh* poſt within three leagues of *St. John*'s. Here they left the priſoners they had made at *Rebou* under a guard of forty men on the 31ſt of the ſame month, in hopes of being able to ſurprize the garriſon of *St. John*'s, but they had uſed ſo little precaution in their march, that the *Engliſh* there were alarmed, and ready to receive them. Being arrived before *St. John*'s, they attacked the largeſt of the two forts they found there; but meeting with a brave reſiſtance, and their powder, part of which had been wetted in their march, failing them, they were obliged to give over their attempt, and to to be contented with deſtroying all the *Engliſh* habitations in the neighbourhood of *Little Harbour*. It was the fifth of *March* before they began to move by the coaſt ſide towards *Forillon*, another *Engliſh* ſettlement, which they deſtroyed, and made all the inhabitants priſoners. This ſtruck ſuch a terror into the defenceleſs *Engliſh*, that they ſuffered *Montigny*, who commanded the ſavages in this expedition to ravage all their coaſts as far as *Bonaviſta*; ſo that the *Engliſh* trade of *Newfoundland* was for that year almoſt ruined. 1705.

---

[w] CHARLEVOIX, Vol. III. p. 438.

(N) This is a very ſurprizing lading for a ſhip of ſuch force, and furniſhes us with freſh evidence of the jeſuit's art of amplifying every circumſtance in favour of his countrymen, though, upon the main, there is no reaſon to doubt that this attempt was made and ſucceeded.

Biſhop of Quebec *taken by the* Engliſh, *and the* Canadians *loſe a million of livres.*

THE *Engliſh*, however, received ſome indemnification for thoſe loſes by their taking the *Seine*, a large *French* ſhip, which was commanded by the chevalier *de Maupeon* bound to *Quebec*, and having on board the biſhop of that city, a great number of eccleſiaſtics and laymen of large fortunes; ſo that the whole of the cargo amounted to about a million of livres. This prize, which was made by the convoy of the *Virginia* fleet, gave a dreadful blow to the affairs of the *Canadians*, but in the end contributed to their advantage; for the loſs they had ſuſtained obliged them to apply themſelves to the linnen manufacture, and to raiſe hemp and flax, which anſwered wonderfully well on their ſoil. As to the biſhop, he remained eight years a priſoner in *England*; her *Britannic* majeſty inſiſting upon the provoſt of *Liege*, whom the *French* had made a priſoner, being exchanged for him. All this while

Vaudreuil, and *Dudley* the governor of *New England*, were treating about the exchange of priſoners. *Dudley*, for that purpoſe, ſent a gentleman, one *Levingſton*, to *Quebec*, and *Vaudreuil* ſent *Courtemanche* to *Boſton* with his terms, the chief of which was, that no *Engliſh* priſoner ſhould be releaſed untill all the *French* priſoners, and thoſe of their *Indians*, were ſet at liberty in *New England*, and till ſecurity was given for the releaſe of thoſe who had been ſent to *Europe*, and the *American* iſlands A negotiation enſued upon this, and young *Dudley*, the governor's ſon, was diſpatched in a veſſel to *Quebec* to finiſh the cartel; but according to *Charlevoix*, in reality, to take the ſoundings of the river about *Quebec*, and to obſerve the ſtate of the fortifications; for which that jeſuit highly blames *Vaudreuil*'s inattention.

Difficulties of Vaudreuil,

NOTWITHSTNDING the *Tſonnonthouans* had recovered their priſoners from the *Outaouais*, yet they inſiſted upon further reparation for their dead, to which they were, it ſeems, ſtrongly inſtigated by *Schuyler*, the governor of *New Orange*. This was a very perplexing ſituation for *Vaudreuil*, as the young *Outaouais* were clamorous for war, and the nation in general refuſed to treat any more with the *Iroquois*. He therefore diſpatched *Louvigny* to *Michillimakinac*, who, with great difficulty, perſuaded the *Outaouais* there to put into his hands ſome *Iroquois* priſoners, whom he conducted to *Montreal*, and was in expectation of being followed by deputies from the *Outaouais*. This induced the governor to propoſe an interview between the *Outaouais* and the *Iroquois* at *Montreal*; to which the latter conſented, and waited till the beginning of *Auguſt*. No *Outaouais* then appearing, the *Iroquois* were returning to their own country, when the *Outaouais* arrived at *Montreal*. They behaved before the governor in the moſt ſubmiſſive humiliating manner; and their orator in the name of the reſt applied for pardon both to him and the *Iroquois*, who were ſo much touched with their expreſſions, that a reconciliation was ſoon brought about by the governor-general ordering the *Outaouais* to cover the dead, and feaſting both parties. Upon this, all the ſavages left *Montreal* in perfect good humour with one another.

and diſtreſſes of the Canadians.

TWO dreadful evils, at this time, afflicted the province of *New France*, litigiouſneſs and nakedneſs. The two *Raudots*, father and ſon, had ſucceeded *Beauharnois* as intendant of *Canada*. The ſon applied himſelf to the marine, as his father did to the civil, department. The latter found the inhabitants were daily ruining themſelves in law-ſuits, inſomuch that their lands lay uncultivated; upon which he very laudably abridged the forms, and retrenched the expences of the courts, and even applied himſelf to compromiſe differences amongſt the inhabitants, without putting them to law charges. As to the other evil, that of nakedneſs, he endeavoured to remedy that likewiſe, by applying to the *French* court for leave that the inhabitants ſhould manufacture the hemp and flax they raiſed, into linnen and ſtuffs; thoſe imported from *France* being ſo exceſſively dear that they were unable to purchaſe them. The miniſter, in his anſwer to this application, refuſed to grant ſuch a permiſſion, becauſe it tended to injure the manufactures of the mother country. He, however, greatly extolled the inhabitants for the attention they, at laſt, had paid to the cultivation of their lands; recommended to them ſhip-building, and the improvement of their fiſheries, and concluded by giving the poor leave to manufacture their own hemp and flax. This permiſſion was, in fact, the greateſt benefit that the *French Canadians* had ever yet received from their mother-country; and, in a ſhort time, they ſet themſelves to manufacture their own linnens and ſtuffs, from which the colony reaped vaſt advantages.

Attempt of the Outaouais *againſt the* Miamis.

THE *Outaouais*, notwithſtanding all their profeſſions of repentance, had never yet performed their promiſes to the *Iroquois*, and even the miſſionaries found them ſo untractable, that, after burning their own habitations, they came down to *Quebec*. The *Iroquois*, on the other hand, prepared to do themſelves juſtice by force of arms; but *Vaudreuil*, by employing *Joncaire* amongſt the latter, and *Montigny* amongſt the former, ſoon reconciled all differences. Scarcely was this affair made up when another quarrel, of a ſtill more intereſting nature, broke out amongſt the ſavages. The *Miamis* had killed ſome *Outaouais*, who, on applying for ſatisfaction, received a very ſlighting anſwer from the elders of the former, and they even killed another *Outaouais*, one of the chief of the nation, for whoſe death they likewiſe refuſed to give any atonement. The *Outaouais* upon this, applied to *de la Motte Cadillac*, the *French* commandant at *Detroit*, where were three townſhips of *Miamis*, *Outaouais* and *Hurons*. Soon after, *Cadillac*, having occaſion to go to *Quebec*, told the *Outaouais* at parting with them, that as long as his wife continued at *Detroit* they had nothing to fear, but if ſhe ſhould leave them they muſt take care of themſelves. About two months after his departure ſhe left *Detroit*, which ſtruck the *Outaouais* with the notion that their ruin was reſolved on, in revenge of the hoſtilities they had committed againſt the *Iroquois*; for as thoſe barbarians themſelves never ſincerely forgive, they imagine all other men, in that reſpect, like themſelves. In the mean while, an officer, one *Bourgmont*, arrived

The Outaouais *maſſacre the* Miamis.

arrived at *Detroit*, to relieve *Tonti*, *Cadillac*'s lieutenant there, and upon the *Outaouais* coming as uſual to pay him their compliments, he told them for news, in a rough manner, that *Cadillac* would return in the ſpring well attended. This redoubled the ſuſpicion of the ſavages, and it was confirmed by ſome words of diſcontent at his being recalled, that fell from *Tonti*. In ſhort, they took no pains to conceal their apprehenſions. *Bourgmont*, underſtanding how matters went, aſſembled them, and propoſed that they ſhould march with the *Miamis*, the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons*, upon an expedition againſt the *Sieux*. They appeared to conſent; but they were, in their own mind, convinced, that the propoſal was made with an intention to cut them off in their march, and that the *Iroquois* were parties in the deſign. Every trifling accident now confirmed them in their belief; and though the wiſeſt amongſt them were for applying to the *French* for an explanation, yet the general voice was for putting all the *Miamis* to death by way of prevention, but in the mean time to ſeem as if they were ready to ſet out on their march againſt the *Sieux*; and they actually began it. Having reached a wood, their chiefs, who were in the ſecret, acquainted the common men with what they intended, and all of them marched back with a full reſolution to maſſacre all the *Miamis* who fell in their way, but without doing any violence to the *French* or the *Hurons*. Five of the *Miamis*, whom they met on their return, were immediately put to death, others took refuge in the fort, which fired upon the *Outaouais*, who, in their fury, inadvertently killed a recollect, and another *Frenchman*. Upon this, *Bourgmont* ordered the gates of the fort to be ſhut, and thirty of the *Outaouais* were ſhot dead by the fire of the fort, or by that made upon them by the *Miamis* and the *Hurons*. While this diſorder was at the higheſt, the *Outaouais* unexpectedly retired to their townſhip, as did the other ſavages to theirs.

Conduct of Vaudreuil *on that occaſion.*

VAUDREUIL, who was then at *Quebec*, hearing of this diſturbance, was at a loſs how to behave. His perplexity was encreaſed by a deputation he received from the *Iroquois*, who required him to abandon the protection of ſo faithleſs a nation as the *Outaouais* were, and declared that they were ready to make war upon them. By this time, *Cadillac* had returned to *Detroit* with all his family and a large convoy of men and proviſions; ſo that *Vaudreuil* could not conſult with him. All he could do was to talk to the *Iroquois* in ſo reſolute a tone, that he diverted them from their deſign to the great diſappointment of the *Engliſh*. At the ſame time, he reſolved not to ſuffer the *Outaouais* to be ruined or driven to deſpair, becauſe of their importance to the fur trade. Soon after, one of the chiefs of that nation came to *Quebec*, and acquainted him that all the *Outaouais* had removed from *Detroit* to *Michillimakinac*, where they were well received by their brethren there, and that they were reſolved to ſtand or fall by one another. Notwithſtanding this important advice, *Vaudreuil*, as a mark of his reſentment, ordered all the *French* at *Michillimakinac* to withdraw into the colony in hopes that ſuch an order might divide the ſavages; and he commanded *Cadillac* to act upon the defenſive only, till it could be known what turn affairs would take. Thoſe orders came too late to have effect. While he was upon his march he had heard what had happened at the fort, and he ſummoned the *Tſnonnonthouans* and the other *Iroquois* chiefs, as if he intended to have exterminated the *Outaouais*; but the latter growing bold by deſpair, he diſmiſſed the *Iroquois*, and remained quiet. In the month of *June* 1707, a deputation, headed by *John the White*, who had been very active in the affair of *Detroit*, waited upon *Vaudreuil*, and made a moſt artful apology for all that had paſſed. *Vaudreuil*'s anſwer was, that the deputies muſt repair to *Detroit*, and there make reparation for their fault; that he would ſignify his pleaſure to *Cadillac*, and that they muſt obey whatever he ſhould injoin them to do. He then diſmiſſed the deputies, but without accepting the belt they offered him, and ſent *St. Pierre*, one of his officers, along with them to *Detroit*.

1707.

Imprudence of la Motte Cadillac.

WHEN they arrived, there *Cadillac* told them that they had no mercy to expect unleſs they put into his hand *Peſant*. This was the name of a ſavage *Outaouais*, whom *John the White* accuſed of being, as he really was, the main author of the *Miamis* maſſacre; for which reaſon, his countrymen would not ſuffer him to go along with the deputation. Perceiving in what ſituation they were, they offered to return to *Michillimakinac*, and either ſend the criminal to *Detroit*, or take off his head there. They accordingly ſet out attended by *St. Pierre*, and, in a few days, the *Outaouais* brought *Peſant* to *Detroit*. He was at firſt put into irons, but the chiefs of his nation interceeding for him upon their knees, he was moſt injudiciouſly pardoned by *Cadillac*, inſtead of being given up to the juſtice of his own nation. This ſtep was the more impolitic, becauſe it gave a handle for the *Miamis* to reproach *Cadillac* for breach of promiſe, and diſappointed them of their revenge; from which they were not to be ſo eaſily diverted. Their principal ſettlement was on the river *St. Joſeph*, above one hundred leagues from *Detroit*, from whence *Cadillac* had recalled the miſſionary *Aveneau*, who had great intereſt with them; not chuſing that a jeſuit ſhould have ſo much influence with ſo diſtant a nation. After this recall, all the *Miamis* united in demanding juſtice upon *Peſant*, and finding that *Cadillac* trifled with them, they killed three *Frenchmen*, and committed ſome other diſorders in the neighbourhood of *Detroit*. *Cadillac* was preparing to chaſtize them when he diſcovered, that the *Iroquois* and the *Hurons* had joined them in a conſpiracy to maſſacre all the *French* in *Detroit*; and this obliged him to clap up a diſhonourable peace with the ſavages. The *Miamis* obſerved the terms of this treaty ſo ill, that the *French* commandant took the field againſt them at the head of four hundred men, and obliged them to throw themſelves at his feet. They were pardoned, but it was judged proper to ſend back the miſſionary, who alone was able to moderate their paſſions, and to keep their ſallies within bounds.

Succeſs of Joncaire *with the* Iroquois.

JONCAIRE, all this while, behaved with ſo much addreſs, and activity amongſt the *Iroquois* cantons, whoſe language he ſpoke as if he had been a native, that he diſconcerted all the intrigues of the *Engliſh*. *Schuyler*, at the ſame time, was playing the ſame game amongſt the Chriſtian *Iroquois*, who had been colonized in *Canada*. They had for ſome years ſenſibly relaxed in their piety, which was attributed to the ſtrong liquors furniſhed them by the *Engliſh*, in defiance of all the orders of their king and governor, to the contrary. The plan of an expedition was now formed againſt *New England* in a great council at *Montreal*, at which the chiefs of the Chriſtian ſavages aſſiſted. It was to conſiſt of them, the *Abenaquis*, one hundred choice *Canadians*, and a conſiderable body of volunteers, many of whom were officers, the whole amounting to four hundred men; the *French* to be commanded by Meſſ. *de St. Ours des Chaillons*, and *Hertel de Rouville*, and the ſavages by M. *le Sieur Boucher de la Perriere*. The two former were to march by the river *St. Francis*, together with the *Algonquins*, the *Abenaquis* of *Bekancourt* and the *Hurons* of *Loretto*. The latter were to take the route of lake *Champlain*, and the general place of rendezvous was to be lake *Nikiſipique*, where they were to be joined by the neighbouring ſavages of *Acadia*. They ſet out on the 26th of *July*, but when *Chaillons* and *Rouville* came to the river *St. Francis* they were informed that the *Hurons* had returned, from a ſuperſtitious panic they had conceived upon one of their number being killed. The *Iroquois*, who were marching with *Perriere* by lake *Champlain*, followed their example, under pretence of ſome of their number being ſick, and that the reſt of the army were in danger of being infected.

VAU-

Expedition *againſt the* Engliſh, *and* Haverhill *taken by the* French

VAUDREUIL, who had advice of thoſe deſertions, ordered the commanders, by all means, to proceed, even though they ſhould be abandoned by all the remaining ſavages; and rather than return without doing any thing, to attack ſome lone place. When *Chaillons* communicated the governor's letter to the ſavages they ſwore they would follow him to death, and after a moſt fatiguing march of fifty leagues they arrived at lake *Nikiſipique*; but there they were diſappointed in meeting with any ſavages. Hearing of an *Engliſh* village in the neighbourhood, called *Haverhill*, conſiſting of twenty-five or thirty well built houſes, under the protection of a fort garriſoned by thirty ſoldiers, who had been ſent thither a few days before by the governor of *New England*, on his being informed of the *French* irruption, the *French* and their ſavages attacked this fort, took it, and ſet it on fire with all the houſes, and in them a number of *Engliſh*, beſides about one hundred who were put to the ſword. There is, however, great reaſon, as we have often hinted before, for diſtruſting the *French* accounts of their expeditions, when they are ſupported by no other evidence than the report of the officers who carried them on. They tell us that after performing this brave exploit, they perceived by the drums and trumpets [x] (O) of the neighbouring forts and villages, that they were in danger of being ſurrounded, that they prepared to retreat, carrying along with them a conſiderable number of priſoners, and a ſufficiency of proviſions to ſubſiſt them in their return; but that, as for plunder, they never thought of it, till it was conſumed in flames. After marching a little way, they were attacked by ſeventy *Engliſh*, who lay in ambuſh at the entrance of a wood, and ſoon found themſelves ſurrounded by numbers of horſe and foot. Notwithſtanding this, they puſhed forward, and, after killing or taking priſoners all the ſeventy *Engliſh*, excepting ten or twelve, who ran away, they returned to *Montreal* with the loſs of no more than five *French* and three ſavages killed, and eighteen wounded. We are to obſerve, however, that of all the boaſted number of priſoners that were made, they brought very few to *Montreal*, the reſt having made their eſcape. Upon the whole, there ſeems to have been no other truth in the account of this pompous expedition, than that a body of *French* and ſavage rangers attacked a little out-ſettlement of the *Engliſh* under the guard of a block-houſe, garriſoned by twenty five or thirty men; and that they moſt inhumanly burnt the place, and butchered or carried into captivity the inhabitants. Neither the *French* nor their ſavages are ſo regardleſs of plunder, as to ſet it on fire when they can ſecure it to themſelves.

---

[x] Charlevoix, Vol. IV. p. 36.

(O) A ſlight view of the map muſt convince any one of the improbability of this relation. *Haverhill*, or as *Charlevoix* calls it, *Hevreuil* lies conſiderably to the north of lake *Nikiſipique* according to his own map and conſequently on the borders of *French Canada*, without any *Engliſh* ſettlement near it.

Intrigues of Schuyler *againſt the* French.

THE true ſecret why the *Iroquois* had abandoned *la Perriere* in this expedition now appeared to be the intrigues which *Schuyler* had carried on with the Chriſtian *Iroquois* of the fall of *St. Lewis* and the highlands. But *Schuyler* ſeems to have depended too much upon the aſſurances they had given him, that neither they nor any of their nation ſhould ſerve any more againſt the *Engliſh*. All this intelligence came from an *Engliſh* priſoner, who had been taken at *Haverhill*; and *Vaudreuil*, who was perfectly well acquainted with the nature of thoſe ſavages knew ſo well how to pique their pride by affecting a neglect and contempt for all they could do, that, inſtead of obſerving their promiſes to *Schuyler*, they took arms, and joining the *Abenaquis*, they filled all *New England* and *New York* with their ravages. *Vaudreuil* complained of *Schuyler*'s tampering with the colonized ſavages of *New France*, and of his inſtigating the other ſavages to take arms, while he himſelf was willing to grant *New York* a neutrality, which was as advantageous to that colony as to *New France*. *Schuyler* honeſtly avowed that the reaſon of his correſponding with the ſavages for a neutrality, was from the Chriſtian motive of preventing their committing thoſe exceſſes in war which were ſhocking to humanity itſelf, and which his own mind could not bear to reflect on without pain and horror. The reply of the *French* to this candid declaration conſiſted not in denying the facts, but in recriminating upon the *Engliſh* for the encouragement and protection they had formerly given to the *Iroquois* againſt the *French*. We may here remark one particular ariſing from this altercation, which is, that *Schuyler*, and perhaps, all the *Engliſh* in *North America*, were of opinion, from experience, that the heathen ſavages were far from being ſo barbarous as the popiſh. But in the main, however the *French* may recriminate on this head, it is certain that they themſelves were the fundamental aggreſſors; and that they were, at this very time, eſtabliſhing their colony of *Louiſiana* upon lands that were the undoubted property of the crown of *England*. It ought, therefore, to be no ſurprize if the government of *Old England* did endeavour to form a party amongſt the *French American* allies. With regard to the *Iroquois*, of whom the *French* complained ſo much as their being

His honeſt declaration.

General view of the French *and* Engliſh *government in* North America.

being inſtigated to their barbarities by the *Engliſh*, nothing could be more groundleſs than that charge. The *Engliſh*, it is true, had bargained and honeſtly paid for great part of their lands, and therefore had a right to claim a property in them, as well as to account thoſe ſavages, who remained upon them, and had put themſelves under the protection of their government, ſubjects to the crown of *Great Britain*. But they enforced even this claim ſo gently, that their *Indians* ſcarcely felt ſubjection, and they had treated the *Ircquois* as a free and independent people, even when they were paying them for ſerving in the field. The *French*, on the other hand, on the ſtrength of the fictions of their miſſionaries, the impudent aſſertions of their miniſters, with a thouſand other deluſions and fallacies, claimed a direct dominion over all the *Indians* in *North America*, even over thoſe, who, by length of time, had become naturalized ſubjects of *Great Britain*; becauſe they were of nations who had formerly ſubmitted to the *French* government.. Having eſtabliſhed this ſyſtem of power, their next ſtep was to endeavour to perſuade not only the ſavages but the *Europeans* into a notion that all the ſettlements of the *Engliſh* in *North America* were ſo many uſurpations and encroachments upon their property. To ſupport thoſe unwarrantable claims, they invented boundaries. They changed the names of places, and even delineated charts with ſuch fictitious longitudes, latitudes, and ſituations, as beſt ſuited their views.

St. John *in* Newfoundland *taken and demoliſhed by the* French.

THE importance of the *Newfoundland* fiſheries becoming every day more evident, a *French* officer, one *St. Ovide*, a lieutenant of *Placentia*, and nephew to *Brouillan*, formed a project, which he communicated to another *Frenchman*, one *Coſtebelle*, then governor of *Placentia*, for deſtroying all the remaining *Engliſh* ſettlements in the bay of *St. John*; and, that too, at his own expence. The project was approved of, and *St. Ovide* ſoon muſtered about one hundred and twenty-five men, excluſive of twenty-four of the garriſon of *Placentia*, lent him by *Coſtebelle*. On the 14th of *December* they began their march, on the 20th they came to the lower end of *St. Mary*'s bay, and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome ſhipping, ſent them by *Coſtebelle*, they arrived on the laſt day of the year, within five leagues of *St. John*'s, without being diſcovered. As the commandant (who it ſeems had ſome ſecret ill wiſhers amongſt the adventurers) could hope to ſucceed only by ſurprize, he advanced within three hundred feet of the firſt palliſade he was to attack, and though ſome ſhot were fired at him, puſhing forward, he entered by the gate which had been left open, and calling out *Vive le Roy*, the *Engliſh* were ſo diſpirited,

rited, that he and his friends had time to fix their ſcaling ladders to the main body of the place, which they mounted, and became maſters of, after a very faint reſiſtance on the part of the *Engliſh*, who begged for quarter; ſo that in leſs than half an hour the *Engliſh* governor of fort *William* being wounded they took poſſeſſion of both forts. This was the more extraordinary as one of them mounted eighteen pieces of cannon and four mortars, beſides other artillery, and had a garriſon of one hundred men under a good officer. In the other fort were ſix hundred inhabitants; but according to the *French* accounts, they could not force open the door of a ſubterraneous paſſage, which communicated with the firſt fort time enough to come to the aſſiſtance of the garriſon there. A third fort, which was likewiſe well provided with artillery, and a garriſon lying on the other ſide of the harbour, ſurrendered upon being ſummoned. *St. Ovide* diſpatched an account to *Coſtebelle* of this ſucceſs; but in the mean time without his order he ſent off one *Deſpenſens* in a ſmall veſſel he found in the harbour with a like account to *Europe*. His triumph was of no long continuance; for he received orders from the governor of *Placentia* to diſmantle the forts, and to return to *Placentia* by the end of *March* at fartheſt. *Coſtebelle*, at the ſame time, ſent a frigate to bring the *Engliſh* governor and the garriſons of the forts, with all the ammunition, of which there was a great quantity, to *Placentia*; which, had ~~not~~ *St. John*'s not been ſurpriſed by *St. Ovide*, was to have been attacked by three hundred *Engliſh*, who had their magazines there. *St. Ovide* was obliged to obey thoſe mortifying orders, and it is ſaid that the *French* court afterwards repented their having approved of the advice of *Coſtebelle* for demoliſhing *St. John*'s.

The conqueſt of Quebec *reſumed by the* Engliſh.

WE have, in the hiſtory of *New England*, mentioned a ſcheme that was formed by the whig miniſtry for the conqueſt of *Quebec*, and the reaſon why it was then laid aſide. It is to the reproach of the *Engliſh Americans* that they have taken ſo little care of aſcertaining their tranſactions at this period, that we muſt, in a great meaſure, depend upon the *French* for our information. We ſhall proceed as cautiouſly as poſſible where any thing occurs that claſhes with the *Engliſh* accounts. Before the news of *St. Ovide*'s ſucceſs in *Newfoundland* reached *Quebec*, *Vaudreuil* had been alarmed with advices from all hands of the vaſt preparations that were making in the *Engliſh* ſettlements againſt *Canada*. Father *Moreville*, the *French* miſſionary at *Onnontagué*, had endeavoured for ſeveral months paſt to put *Vaudreuil* upon his guard; but his intelligence was diſregarded on account of the great opinion the governor-general had of an *Iroquois*, who was the ſecret agent of the *Engliſh* in his canton. Notwithſtanding this, all the *Iroquois* cantons, except the *Tſonnonthouans*, entered into a treaty at *Onnontagué*, and ſet up the war-ſong againſt the *French*; ſo that it was with vaſt difficulty that father *Moreville* eſcaped to *New Orange*, where, though he was a priſoner, he was treated by *Schuyler* with the utmoſt indulgence and humanity. In the month of *June* 1710, *Vaudreuil* having now certain intelligence of the deſigns of the *Engliſh*, put every thing into a poſture of defence at *Quebec*, and repaired to *Montreal*, from whence he ſent *de Rouville* with a party of two hundred and fifty men, to reconnoitre towards lake *Champlain*, where the *Engliſh* were expected; but *Rouville*, hearing nothing of them, returned, without doing any thing, to *Montreal*. On the 10th of *May* colonel *Vetch*, whom we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *New England*, and who was joined with governor *Nickolſon* in ſolliciting the expedition againſt *Canada*, arrived from *England* at *Boſton*; from whence he proceeded to *New York* to expedite the levies that were deſtined againſt *Montreal*. We ſhall not here examine the detail given us by *Charlevoix* concerning the views of the whig miniſtry in fitting out at this time an armament againſt *Canada*; becauſe they are of very little importance, and all he ſpeaks of them is uncertain. There is no doubt that they would have been extremely glad to have carried it into execution; and there is as little, that when they ſaw it fall into the hands of their enemies they took but ſmall concern in its ſucceſs. Two thouſand *Engliſh*, and an equal number of ſavages, were to attack the government of *Montreal*, and their rendezvous was fixed to the river of *Chicot*, two leagues from lake *Champlain*; from whence they were to fall down, in canoes and boats, to *Chambly*. *Vaudreuil*, upon this intelligence, reſolved in a grand council of war to march a conſiderable body of troops towards *New York*, there to diſſipate the gathering ſtorm. *Ramezay* offered his ſervice to command in this expedition; but, ſeveral differences ſubſiſting between him and *Vaudreuil*, it was not accepted of till ſome time after. He then underſtanding that the *Engliſh* were actually upon their march gave *Ramezay* the command of 1500 men; of whom one hundred were regulars, and the reſt militia and ſavages. The governor then went down to *Quebec*, where he laid an embargo upon all the ſhipping in that harbour. It was the 28th of *July* before *Ramezay* began his march with his army, which was commanded by the beſt and moſt experienced officers in *Canada*; but each envied the other, and there was neither ſubordination nor authority amongſt the com-

1710.

Miſcarriage of Ramezay *againſt the* Engliſh;

commanders. It is true they marched forty leagues in three days; but when they were upon the point of entering upon action, a thouſand falſe reports were ſpread, and difficulties occurred, which determined the ſavages not to advance farther. *Ramezay*, who thought himſelf ſecure of his blow, would have proceeded, notwithſtanding the report that 5000 *Engliſh* were well entrenched only a few miles diſtant; but the backwardneſs of the ſavages, and the dread of not being obeyed by his own officers, determined him to a retreat. While he was upon his march in the middle of *September*, he received advice by an *Iroquois* from the *Engliſh* camp, that 2500 men had been detached to build a fort at the extremity of lake *St, Sacrament*, and that ſix hundred *Engliſh* and their allies had been ſent to take poſt upon lake *Champlain* at a place from which they were no more than two days journey from *Chambly*. To this place *Vaudreuil* immediately repaired with a conſiderable body of regulars and militia: but after remaining there for ſome time he heard nothing of the enemy, and this brings us to the hiſtory of the *Engliſh* in this their unfortunate expedition.

and of the Engliſh *againſt* Montreal.

THE four *Iroquois* cantons, who had pretended to declare for the *Engliſh*, were ſo far from being ſincere in their profeſſions, that they intended nothing more than to follow their old policy, and to render themſelves ſo neceſſary to both parties, that they could always caſt the balance between them. This maxim was ſo forcibly explained by the orator of the *Onnontagué*, or one of their elders, that a reſolution was taken to remain inactive till they could ſee what turn affairs would take, and then to follow that courſe that could moſt effectually contribute to their intereſt and independency. In conſequence of this plan they indeed joined the *Engliſh* army; but finding that it was ſtrong enough to take *Montreal*, thought of nothing but how they could moſt effectually deſtroy it. According to *Charlevoix*, (who had his information from father *Morevllie)* the *Iroquois*, to compaſs this end, threw the ſkins of all the creatures they killed in hunting into the river, on which the *Engliſh* lay, a little above the place of their own encampment; and this infected the water ſo much that above 1000 *Engliſh* died of drinking it. But without having recourſe to ſo extraordinary a fact, we may without any breach of probability ſuppoſe, that the *Iroquois* began to cool in their zeal for the *Engliſh* ſo viſibly, that the latter were diſheartened from proceeding; that diſeaſes making havock in their camp, that the numbers of the *French* coming to attack them being exaggerated, and that miſunderſtandings prevailing amongſt themſelves, determined them to retreat to

New York, which they did. But the moſt probable reaſon of all ſeems to have been the failure of their appointment with their fleet and the people of *Boſton*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain that *Canada* was then delivered from a moſt dreadful blow. When the *Engliſh* returned to *New York*, they underſtood that their fleet, which was deſtined for the ſiege of *Quebec*, was not yet arrived at *Boſton*, and was employed in *Portugal*, where that king, without their aſſiſtance, muſt have otherwiſe been reduced to make a ſeparate peace with *Spain*.

The Onnontaguese *and* Agniers *received into favour by* Vaudreuil.

IN the following winter the *Onnontagueſe* applied by their deputies to *Vaudreuil*, begging him to receive them again into favour, and even apologized for the conduct of *Schuyler*, and the people of *New York*, who had obliged them to break the peace. It is probable that *Vaudreuil* was fully ſenſible of the treachery of the *Iroquois* towards the *Engliſh*; for he gratified the barbarians in all they required, and particularly in an exchange of priſoners; but he told them at the ſame time, that the reſt of the allies had long demanded his permiſſion for making war upon them, and, if they would avoid that deſtruction, they muſt live in peace, otherwiſe, he would moſt certainly let looſe all his children upon them. The *Onnontagueſe* were ſcarcely gone, when a deputation came from the *Agniers* with the like profeſſions, and proteſting that they never would, from that time forward, take up the hatchet againſt the *French*. Though *Vaudreuil* was ſenſible that their connexions with the province of *New York* were ſo ſtrong they could not fulfil their promiſes, yet he was extremely civil to the deputies, and ſent them away in very good humour.

Affairs of New-foundland

THE news which arrived from *Hudſon's Bay* ſomewhat damped the joy of the *Canadians* upon the diſappointment of Mr. *Vetches*'s expedition againſt *Montreal*. *Mantet* had undertaken, with a party from *Canada*, to render himſelf maſter of fort *St. Anne* in that bay, but failed, and was killed in the attempt, through the cowardice of the party he commanded, and his own imprudence in not having ſufficiently reconnoitred the place. Things were more happily managed on the part of the *French* in *Newfoundland*. The only poſt of conſequence which the *Engliſh* now held there was the iſle of *Carboniere*, which *Coſtebelle* laid down a ſcheme for reducing, in which he was promiſed to be ſupported by the *French* court, if he could entirely drive the *Engliſh* from that coaſt. But as the reinforcements from *Old France* were long upon their voyage, *Coſtebelle* reſolved to attempt their reduction with the force he had with him; of which he made two detachments, the one to march by land, the other to be carried in two ſmall ſloops by ſea, and the whole to be under the command of one *Bertrand*, a *Placentian*, a man of courage and experience. The two detachments were fitted out, and proceeded with ſo much ſecrecy, that they arrived at *Trinity bay*, which is in the neighbourhood of *Carboniere*, without being diſcovered. Here they found an *Engliſh* frigate carrying thirty cannon, and one hundred and thirty men. The *French* ſloops, who had on board but five and twenty men a piece, immediately boarded and took the frigate; but with the loſs of their leader *Bertrand*, whoſe place was ſupplied by a reſolute young man, named *Dacarette*. Soon after, two *Engliſh* pirates came in ſight. One mounted twenty-two guns, and the other eighteen, and making up, began to fire upon the prize. *Dacarette* would willingly have engaged them both: but his crew being diſcouraged by the death of their leader refuſed to ſtand by him; ſo that all he could do was to cut his cables, and to run out of the bay; by which he cleared himſelf of the two pirate ſhips. The other detachment all this time were waiting on ſhore; and ſeeing no probability of their being joined by thoſe on board, they fell upon the defenceleſs inhabitants, whoſe houſes they demoliſhed and plundered, and then retired to *Placentia*, where the two ſloops arrived ſoon after. Such were the unmanly expeditions of the *French* againſt the *Engliſh*, and indeed both courts were at this time highly blameable with regard to their *American* ſettlements. The poſſeſſion of the fiſheries of *Newfoundland* were acknowledged by *French* writers to be of infinitely more value than all *Canada*, and yet the efforts they made to keep poſſeſſion of them were deſpicable beyond expreſſion. The *Engliſh*, on the other hand, were as ſenſible, as the *French* were, of the value of thoſe fiſheries; but ſuffered their ſhips to lie rotting in their harbours, and their ſea-commanders to prey upon their *American* ſubjects rather than make any national efforts to ſecure ſo invaluable a treaſure. Upon compariſon, therefore, the *Engliſh* appear moſt to blame, being far ſuperior to the *French* in wealth and numbers upon the continent of *America*, not to mention the ſuperiority of their marine both there and in *Europe*.

Miſconduct of the French *and* Engliſh.

Port Royal *conquered by the* Engliſh.

In the year 1710 ſix men of war [y] with a bomb ketch, and ſome troops, arrived at *Boſton* upon a new expedition againſt *Acadia*; which, if ſucceſsful, was to have been the prelude to the conqueſt of all *New France*. *Subercaſe*, on the other hand, invited to *Acadia* all the freebooters, pirates, and men of deſperate fortune on the continent of *America* and its iſlands, with a view of making a ſtrong ſettlement at *la Heve*;

---

[y] Charlevoix, Vol. IV. p. 58.

but his project was diſappointed by the inability which *Old France* was under to ſupport them. He had better ſucceſs in ſpiriting up the *Abenaquis* and the ſavages of *Canada* againſt the *Engliſh*, whom they murdered wherever they had an opportunity. According to the beſt accounts, the court of *England* was much better informed than that of *France* was with regard to the importance of *Acadia*; which queen *Anne*'s miniſtry continued in their reſolution to conquer, coſt what it would. *Subercaſe* was not ignorant of this, and had ſent repeated advices of the danger of that province to *Vaudreuil*, the governor of *New France*, and to the court of *Old France*, but with very little effect; ſo that *Subercaſe*, though undoubtedly a very able officer, became indifferent as to the fate of the province. The *Engliſh*, ignorant of his diſpoſitions, continued to make preparations at a vaſt expence for the reduction of *Acadia*; and in *July* 1710 general *Nicholſon* arrived at *Boſton* from *England* with ſome *Britiſh* officers, and colonel *Reading*'s marines. He brought with him inſtructions for all the governments in *New England* to aſſiſt him in his expedition; and adjutant general *Vetch* was joined with him in the command. In *Auguſt* an *Engliſh* man of war of ſixty guns, with a brigantine, and a ſloop, blocked up *Port Royal* in ſuch a manner that it could receive no ſupplies by ſea, which obliged the garriſon, who every moment expected a general attack, to perform very ſevere duty. On the 18th of *September* the grand armament ſailed from *Boſton*[z]. It conſiſted of the *Dragon*, *Falmouth*, *Leoſtaff*, and *Feverſham* men of war, the *Star* bomb, and the *Maſſachuſet*'s province-galley, with tranſports, in all thirty-ſix ſail; the land forces aboard, were, one regiment of marines from *England*, two regiments of *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, one regiment of *Connecticut*, and one regiment of *New Hampſhire* and *Rhode Iſland*, commiſſioned by the queen, and armed by her gift. On the 5th of *October* the whole armament, amounting, according to the *French* accounts, to fifty one ſhips arrived in the baſon of *Port Royal*, and threw anchor before the fort. *Subercaſe*, who very juſtly thought he had been neglected by his court, made no diſpoſitions for defence, and ſuffered the *Engliſh* to land next day without oppoſition. He had under his command no more than three hundred effective men, but all of them as well as the inhabitants of the place diſaffected to a ſervice, in which they conſidered themſelves as being ſacrificed. The beſiegers, on the other hand, are ſaid to have amounted to 3400 men, excluſive of officers and ſailors; ſo that *Subercaſe* only thought of making ſuch a defence as might

---

[z] DOUGLASS's Summary, Vol. I. Page 308.

enable

Terms of the capitulation.

enable him to come off with honour. As ſoon as the *Engliſh* came up to the fort he made a general diſcharge of his artillery, which obliged them to retire. A briſk cannonade on both ſides then followed, and ſome bombs were thrown into the place from the *Engliſh* bomb ketches. One of their fire-ſhips blew up, in attempting to enter the harbour, with all its crew, conſiſting of forty men. On the 10th, the bombardment again began; but with very little effect. The inhabitants, however, knowing that the place was not defenſible, above fifty of them left it: and they who ſtaid behind preſented a petition to the governor, requeſting him to take their ſituation into his conſideration, and expreſſing their apprehenſions, that they would be put to the ſword, in caſe the place was taken by ſtorm. *Subercaſe*, upon this, ſummoned a council of war, where it was concluded to make the beſt terms they could with the *Engliſh* general. At firſt, they demanded liberty for all the women to leave the fort, which being refuſed, *Subercaſe* deſired an interview with *Nicholſon*, and the latter ſent into the fort a ſubaltern, who regulated the articles of capitulation; the circumſtances of which are differently related by the *French* and the *Engliſh*. According to the *Engliſh*[a] they were, that all the *French*, being four hundred and eighty one perſons within the *Banlieu*, or three miles of the fort, ſhall be put under the protection of *Great Britain*, upon their taking the proper oaths of allegiance; the other *French* ſettlers left to diſcretion; that, in caſe the *French* make incurſions upon the frontiers of *New England*, the *Britiſh* ſhall make repriſals upon the *French* in *Nova Scotia*, by making ſome of their chief inhabitants ſlaves to their *Indians*. The garriſon was allowed to march out with ſix cannon and two mortars; but the inhabitants having driven away all the cattle, *Subercaſe* could only retain one mortar, and was obliged to ſell the reſt to *Nicholſon* for about 350*l.* ſterling. According to the *Engliſh* accounts, the garriſon conſiſted of two hundred and fifty-eight ſoldiers, with their officers and other inhabitants, in all four hundred and eighty one perſons, male and female. The *French* hiſtorian ſays, that the garriſon conſiſted only of one hundred and fifty-ſix men, and that *Nicholſon* repented of having granted a capitulation to a place, which, upon taking poſſeſſion of it, he found muſt have ſurrendered in twenty-four hours for want of proviſions. The garriſon were ſent to *Rochelle* in *France*, but were replaced by two hundred *Engliſh* marines, and two hundred and fifty *New England* volunteers, while the name of *Port Royal*, in compliment to queen *Anne*, was converted into that of *Annapolis Royal.* The charge of this expedition coſt the people of *New England* 23,000 l. ſterling, which was afterwards repaid by parliament.

---

[a] DOUGLASS's Summary, page 309.

Diſputes relating thereto.

SOME diſputes between *Nicholſon* and *Subercaſe* happened with regard to the capitulation. *Nicholſon* ſent major *Livingſton*, and *Subercaſe* the baron *St. Caſtin*, to *Vaudreuil*, then governor-general of *New France*, with a copy of the capitulalation. *Livingſton* inſiſted that all the country, except that part which was within reach of the *Port Royal* artillery, was excluded from any advantage of the capitulation; and that the reſt of the province with its inhabitants was at the diſcretion of the *Engliſh*. *Livingſton* added great complaints upon the cruelties of the *French* ſavages, and threatened, that, if they ſhould continue to exerciſe their barbarities on the ſubjects of *Great Britain*, repriſals would be made on the *French* inhabitants of *Acadia*, and then he propoſed an exchange of priſoners. It muſt be owned, that, if Mr. *Livingſton* made thoſe demands upon the *French* governor, in conſequence of *Nicholſon*'s inſtructions, the latter was not a little unacquainted with the rules of war, unleſs he could have proved that the cruelties committed by the *French Indians* were either perpetrated by the orders of the *French*, or could have been prevented by them. *Vaudreuil* took care to inform *Livingſton* of this, and appealed to the good treatment which the *Engliſh* priſoners had always met with from the *French*, and imputed all the miſeries that had happened, in the courſe of the war, to the *Engliſh* having formerly rejected a propoſal for a neutrality between the ſubjects of the two nations in *America*. *Livingſton* had threatened that a number of *French* priſoners equal to thoſe of the *Engliſh* ſhould be put into the hands of the *Engliſh Indians*. *Vaudreuil* threatened to do the ſame by putting his *Engliſh* priſoners into the hands of the *French* ſavages.

Policy of the French.

VAUDREUIL, on this occaſion, wrote both to *Nicholſon*, and *Dudley*, governor of *New England*; and ſent his letters by the two beſt partizan-officers he had, that they might have an opportunity of ſeeing the country. In the mean while, he nominated the baron *de St. Caſtin*, then commandant at *Pentagoet*, to be governor of all that remained to the *French* in *Acadia*. Mr. *Vetch* was the *Engliſh* governor of *Annapolis*, and the *French* inhabitants of *Acadia* made lamentable complaints of his ſeverity. It muſt be acknowledged, that the *French* governors and officers on this occaſion, acted with more policy and wiſdom than the *Engliſh*. The latter had little or no intelligence of the weak ſtate of their enemies, and were at an immenſe expence, which they might have ſpared, in guarding againſt them. The *French* knew the real ſtrength of the *Engliſh*, whom they took care to keep in ignorance of their condition. *Vaudreuil*, however, perceived that all his art could not conceal from his ſavage allies the weak condition of his government; and was obliged to have recourſe to his miſſionaries for fixing them in his intereſt, in which he ſucceeded beyond expectation, notwithſtanding the great power of the *Engliſh*, and the vaſt preſents they laviſhed amongſt the ſavages.

Defeat of the Engliſh.

ON the 4th of *Auguſt*, 1711, *Vaudreuil* received a letter from one of the *French* miſſionaries, informing him that forty ſavages, having defeated a numerous party of *Engliſh*, had joined with ſome *French*, and that they had inveſted the fort of *Port Royal*, where above half the garriſon had died during the winter. Upon this intelligence, *Vaudreuil* detached the marquis *D'Alogniers*, at the head of twelve of his beſt officers and two hundred men, to preſs the ſiege; but while they were upon their march, advice came of the *Engliſh* preparations againſt *Quebec*, and they were countermanded. Nothing is more certain, than that, had the *Engliſh*, at this time, acted with common ſenſe in *North America*, the *French* might have been entirely driven out of it. *Pontchartrain*, in all his diſpatches addreſſed to the *French* officers there, manifeſted the utmoſt uneaſineſs at *Port Royal* being in the hands of the *Engliſh*, and preſſed *Vaudreuil* to raiſe all the force of *Canada* to retake it, which the latter offered to do, provided he was aſſiſted only by two ſhips from *Old France*; but ſo deſperate were the affairs of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty at that time, that that requeſt, deſpicable as it was, could not be complied with. *Pontchartrain*, however, from time to time, received from the *French Acadians* the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their affection to the crown of *France*, and that neceſſity alone obliged them to ſubmit to the *Engliſh*. Upon this, he negotiated with the merchants of *Rochelle*, *Rochfort*, *St. Malo*, *Nantes*, *Bayonne*, and other places for erecting a company ſtrong enough to people *La Heve* and *Chedabouctou*, and to recover *Acadia* from the *Engliſh*. But, though his moſt Chriſtian majeſty offered all the encouragement that was in his power to give to the adventurers in ſuch an undertaking, the credit of his crown was then ſo low, that the project came to nothing. In the mean while, ſo artfully had the *French* miſſionaries ſpirited up their ſavages, that they acted with the moſt determined inveteracy againſt the *Engliſh*. The latter, in conſequence of the ſurrender of *Port Royal*, conſidered themſelves as maſters of *Acadia*; and the *Engliſh* governor there ſent out ſixty of his ſoldiers, under the command of captain *Pigeon* with proper officers, in canoes to burn the habitations of the *French*, who refuſed to ſubmit to the *Engliſh* government. The ſavages, hearing of this, watched their opportunity, and formed an ambuſcade, which cut off all the *Engliſh* party, but one man. This ſucceſs encouraged the *French* and their ſavages ſo greatly, that in the month of *June*, five hundred of them inveſted the fort of *Port Royal*, and one of their miſſionaries offered to be reſponſible for taking the place, if *Coſtebelle*, the *French* governor of *Placentia*, would ſend him a proper officer to command the ſiege. This could not be obtained; upon which the *French* and ſavages broke up the ſiege; though the garriſon was reduced by ſickneſs from five hundred, to one hundred and fifty, men. Notwithſtanding this, the *French* inhabitants continued to harraſs the *Engliſh*, whenever they had an opportunity.

Acadia *yielded by the treaty of* Utrecht.

At laſt, the government of *England* began to open their eyes with regard to the neceſſity of conquering *Canada*. The acquiſition of *Port Royal* had ſtruck the ſavages with terror, and many, even of the *French* Chriſtian converts, began to look coldly on the intereſts of *New France*, which occaſioned *Vaudreuil's* encreaſing the number of miſſionaries and agents, amongſt them, to rekindle their zeal. He ordered all the well affected to his government, that lived amongſt the northern and weſtern ſavages, to rendezvous at *Montreal*, to which he himſelf repaired on the ice. This was the more neceſſary, as he had intelligence, that the governor of *New York* was endeavouring to engage the *Iroquois* in an offenſive league againſt the *French*, and none could anſwer for the conſequences. The baron *de Longeiul*, lieutenant for the king at *Montreal*, attended by *Joncaire* and *la Chauvignerie*, undertook to treat with the *Iroquois* to preſerve their neutrality. But, though the cantons of *Tſonnonthouan* and *Onnontague* ſent deputies to *Montreal*, they gave them no great ſatisfaction as to the other five cantons, who, they ſaid, were intimidated by the ſucceſs and debauched by the preſents, of the *Engliſh*. Preparations for war went on at a great rate in *New York*, which, *Vaudreuil* being no ſtranger to, he iſſued the moſt vigorous orders for putting *Quebec* in a ſtate of defence, and he effected a reconciliation between the two *Iroquois* deputies, and the upper ſavages, who had come down to *Montreal* to the number of about five hundred. It was not long before *Vaudreuil* had accounts from *Coſtebelle* of general *Nicholſon* arriving from *England* at *Boſton*, with two ſeventy gun ſhips, which were to be followed by the grand armament deſtined for the conqueſt of *Quebec*; the particulars of which are to be found in the preceding volume. The news of this force arriving before *Boſton* was carried by a *Martinico* privateer to *Placentia*, and ſoon after *Vaudreuil* had intelligence of its having left *Boſton*, and that two hundred battoes were ready at *New York*; beſides a hundred more daily expected for embarking two thouſand *Engliſh*, who were to proceed againſt *Montreal*, while the fleet and the land forces from *Europe* were acting againſt *Quebec*.

Expedition of the English *againſt* Quebec.

VAUDREUIL, on this occaſion, omitted no duty of a brave and prudent officer. He confirmed the two *Iroquois* cantons in their neutrality; and, notwithſtanding the great advantages, which the upper ſavages had in trading with the *Engliſh*, they joined the colonized *Indians* in the war ſong againſt the *Engliſh*; and the governor-general even obtained hoſtages from the *Algonquins* for their fidelity, as he did from the *Abenaquis*. All which pieces of good fortune for the *French* government, *Charlevoix*, (perhaps, not without reaſon) aſcribes to the labours of the miſſionaries. When *Vaudreuil* returned to *Quebec*, he not only found the fortifications in excellent order through the ſkill and application of *Beaucourt*, who ſerved as engineer, but the place provided with every thing for holding out a long ſiege, and the garriſon with the inhabitants, even to the women, reſolved to defend themſelves to the laſt. All the proper diſpoſitions being made by the governor-general, who placed his own ſon in the moſt dangerous part, on the 25th of *September*, advice came of the *Engliſh* fleet being ſeen to the number of ninety-ſix ſail; but, ſome days after, intelligence came of their having returned. The particulars may be ſeen in the preceding volume. At laſt, it was reported, that the fleet had been ſhipwrecked near the *Seven Iſlands* in the river *St. Lawrence*; upon which *Vaudreuil* ſent thither ſome veſſels, who found the hulks of ſeven or eight large ſhips, but with all their guns and furniture taken out, and printed copies of the manifeſto, that general *Hill* was to have diſtributed amongſt the *Canadians* and the inhabitants of *New France*.

THIS is a curious piece, but far from being well drawn up. It roundly aſſerted, in general terms, that all *North America* originally belonged to the crown of *Great Britain*, which, from time to time, had portioned part of it to that of *France*, in the nature of fiefs; that the *French*, having broken the terms of thoſe conceſſions, had forfeited all their right to the country, which the queen of *England*, as paramount of the ſame, had now ſent to take poſſeſſion of; and, that ſhe looked upon all the *French Canadians* to be as much her ſubjects, as if they were born in the dominions immediately depending on herſelf. There is nothing very particular in the remaining part of this manifeſto, which is of an uncommon length, but heavy charges brought againſt the *French* and their *Indians* for their unheard of cruelties upon the *Engliſh* ſubjects. Nothing could be more injudicious, or more ſhocking to the deſcendants of the original natives, than the terms of this manifeſto; for whatever encroachments the *French* might have been guilty of with regard to the *Engliſh*, it was highly imprudent in the latter to pretend that they had a direct dominion over the lands of the original proprietors, and contrary to the tenor of all the ſettlements they had made amongſt the natives. In ſhort, the miſchief which this ill-judged manifeſto did to the *Britiſh* intereſt in *America* is inconceivable. *Charlevoix* blames the diſtruſt and obſtinacy of the *Engliſh* admiral for the loſs of his ſhips; but he undoubtedly exaggerates, when he ſays that 3000 *Engliſh* were found dead upon the ſhores; the loſs not amounting to above eight hundred men. The *Engliſh* were equally unfortunate in their expedition by land; for, though no fewer than ſix hundred *Iroqouis* had joined the *Engliſh* under general *Nicholſon*, yet they all left him, even before they heard that the *Engliſh* fleet had miſcarried.

It miſcarries.

THE chief object of the *Engliſh* armament was *Quebec*; its ſecondary one was *Placentia*; the conqueſt of which by the people of *England* was deemed, of the two, to be by far the moſt practicable and profitable for them. When the New-*Engliſh* fleet was under ſail for *Quebec*, it intercepted a packet from *Coſtebelle* to *Pontchartrain*, complaining of the diſmal ſtate of *Placentia*, and of the *French* in general in *Newfoundland*, where, he ſaid, he could not muſter a hundred men in all the iſland. It is certain, that when the *Engliſh* returned to *Spaniſh Bay*, they had on board above ſeven hundred and fifty men; and, granting their proviſions could not have laſted for above ten weeks, the conqueſt of *Placentia* could not have coſt them above three days. But, when a council of war was ſummoned, as if the members of it had been more than infatuated, they not only voted againſt any attempt being made upon *Placentia*, but that *Nicholſon* ſhould be ordered to deſiſt in his expedition by land againſt *Montreal*, which accordingly came to nothing. All the advantage the *Engliſh* derived from this expenſive expedition was the preſervation of their new conqueſt of *Port Royal* in *Acadia*, the recovery of which became now to be a very ſerious conſideration with the *French* miniſtry. *Pontchartrain* again preſſed *Vaudreuil* to undertake it with the force he could raiſe in *New France*;

As does their deſign upon Newfoundland.

Vaudreuil, to ſhew his zeal, had nominated the marquis *d'Alognies* to the command of ſome troops, who were to aſſiſt the ſavages and *French* of *Acadia* in a kind of blockade, they had formed of *Port Royal*, but upon the news of the *Engliſh* invaſion he was recalled.

1712. Quebec *new fortified.* In the beginning of the year, 1712, the merchants of *Quebec* raiſed the ſum of 50,000 crowns for compleating the fortifications of that city. The late miſcarriage of the *Engliſh* had now rendered the *French* more reſpectable than ever in the eyes of the ſavages. The deputies of the *Iroquis* made, in the name of their cantons, the moſt ſincere profeſſions of their attachment to the *French*, and *Vaudreuil* anſwered them with a tone of authority; but, before he diſmiſſed them, gave them conſiderable preſents. It was about this time, that the *Outagamis*, (vulgarly called the *Foxes*,) who for twenty-five years had ſcarcely been heard of, began to make a great figure in *North America*. They were accounted to be more fierce, reſolute, and vindictive, than even the moſt ſavage of the *Iroquois*, and, by mingling with them, they had come over to the intereſt of the *Engliſh*, to whom they promiſed to ſurprize fort *Detroit*, and to put it into their hands. With this view, they lay very near the place, and omitted no opportunity of inſulting the garriſon, which was commanded by one *Du Buiſſon*. Two other ſavage nations, the *Kicapous* and the *Maſcontins* were confederated with them in the ſame deſign, which was diſcovered to *Du Buiſſon*, by one *Joſeph*, a chriſtian *Outagamis*, who informed him that they were farther exaſperated by their receiving intelligence that a hundred and fifty *Maſcontins* had been cut off, as they were coming to join them, by the *Outaouais*. *Buiſſon*, who had but twenty *Frenchman* in the fort, ſent out to inform the *French Indians* of his danger; but they were gone a hunting. At laſt, having taken all precautions againſt a ſurprize, he underſtood that they were on their march to relieve him. They conſiſted of the *Outaouais*, headed by a chief, one *Saguima*, who had cut off the *Maſcontins*; the *Hurons*, the *Pouteouatamis*, the *Sakis*, the *Malhomines*, the *Illinois*, the *Oſages*, and the *Miſſourites*; each of whom had a particular ſtandard. "See'ſt thou that ſmoke, *Saguima*, ſaid the *Hurons* to him, (to animate him the more to vengeance,) it riſes from the flames that are now conſuming thy wife." When the confederates approached the fort, *Du Buiſſon* ordered them to be admitted, and, after addreſſing them in a moſt affectionate pathetic manner, they were furniſhed with refreſhments of all kinds, beſides powder and ball.

THE *Outagamis* had reared a fort within muſket-ſhot of that of *Detroit*, where they waited for their enemies with the moſt aſtoniſhing intrepidity, till they were inveſted on all hands, and attacked with a very briſk fire. The brave defence they made obliged the aſſailants, at laſt, to raiſe two ſtages, each twenty-five feet high, from whence they battered the *Outagamis*, who now ſuffered every extreme of hunger and thirſt. So great, however, was the affection of thoſe poor wretches for the *Engliſh*, that they hoiſted red coverlets by way of colours upon their paliſadoes, calling out with all their might, that they had no other father but the *Engliſhman*, who would not fail to come to their relief, or revenge their death; at the ſame time, they adviſed the confederates to follow their example. It appears, as if thoſe exclamations had made no inconſiderable impreſſion upon the reſt of the ſavages; and, of this *Du Buiſſon* was ſo apprehenſive that he ordered all converſation between the aſſailants and the beſieged to be broken off. This could not be done before the latter had ſheltered themſelves in an adjoining houſe, againſt which *Du Buiſſon* ordered cannon to be brought. After this, the *Outagamis* demanded a parley, which he would not grant without conſent of the chiefs of his allies, whoſe opinion, upon conſultation, was for it, that they might draw from their hands three of their women, whom the beſieged held priſoners. Next morning *Pemouſſa*, the chief of the *Outagamis*, was admitted into the aſſembly of the confederates, where he preſented *Du Buiſſon* with two captives and a belt, and the chiefs with the ſame, and begged for a delay of two days, that they might conſult their elders upon the means of appeaſing their father's wrath. The manner in which he ſpoke touched the ſavages ſo much, that they were dumb, till *Du Buiſſon* told *Pemouſſa*, that he could enter into no farther treaty with his people, till they ſent him the three women, one of whom actually was the wife of *Saguima*. *Pemouſſa*'s anſwer was, that he could ſay nothing on that head, till he had conſulted the elders; and, having obtained a farther reſpite, he returned with a white flag in his hand, attended by two *Maſcontin* chiefs, and the three women whom he preſented to the governor, who referred him to the chiefs of his allies, for what was farther to be done, upon the *Ougatamis* demanding liberty to be gone. Upon this, the chief of the *Illinois* gave *Pemouſſa* to underſtand that his people were to expect no mercy unleſs they ſurrendered at diſcretion; but he gave them liberty to enter the fort, and to make the beſt defence they could. They accordingly did ſo, and the fire on both ſides being renewed, the beſieged made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that, by

Deſperate defence of the Outagamis,

diſcharging arrows with lighted matches, they ſet on fire ſeveral houſes in the *French* ſettlement, which obliged the beſiegers to cover the remaining with ſkins. This reſolute defence ſo greatly diſpirited the *French* and the ſavages, that the latter were on the point of re-imbarking for *Michillimakinac.* *Du Buiſſon* found means to detain them by preſenting them with every thing he was maſter of, and then the war-ſong was renewed, which gave the beſieged to underſtand that they had now no ſafety to expect, unleſs they accepted of the terms propoſed. They begged for ſome farther time, and they were permitted to ſend a freſh deputation to the camp of the beſiegers, who, notwithſtanding all their earneſt inſtances, ſtill inſiſted upon their ſurrendering at diſcretion; and it was with great difficulty that *Du Buiſſon* hindered his ſavages from putting the deputies to death. They were ſuffered to return to their fort, from whence all of them eſcaped under the ſavour of a tempeſtuous night, after enduring for nineteen days, under all the preſſures of nature, a moſt vigorous ſiege by very ſuperior numbers.

who are ſubdued.

In the morning, the *French* and their ſavages purſued them, and found them entrenched on a little tongue of land near the iſland of *St. Clare.* Here they were again beſieged; but their defence for four days was ſo brave, that the *French* commandant was obliged to bring up the heavy artillery to force their entrenchments, upon which they ſurrendered at diſcretion. All who were found in arms were immediately put to death; the others were divided as ſlaves amongſt the confederate *Indians*, who cut their throats likewiſe; ſo that few or none eſcaped the maſſacre; and it was computed, that upon the whole about 2000 of thoſe brave ſavages were cut in pieces. It is impoſſible to read even the account in *Charlevoix* of this little campaign, without horror. The *Outagamis* appeared to have done nothing farther than to have declared themſelves friends to the *Engliſh*, which was crime enough for their ſavage enemies, leſs barbarous than their *French* commander, under whoſe orders they acted, to put them to a general maſſacre after performing actions, that muſt have entitled them not only to pardon, but to eſteem, from any but *Frenchmen*, or a *French Canadian.* Perhaps the reader will ſcarcely believe, what is true, that this horrible maſſacre has, with the *French* hiſtorian, raiſed *Du Buiſſon* to the character of a good officer, and a man of honour.

State of New France *at the time of the treaty of* Utrecht.

NEW FRANCE being now delivered from all its dangers, *Vaudreuil* applied himſelf to the re-eſtabliſhment of the poſt of *Michillimakinac*, which had ſuffered greatly during the late commotions; and to which he ſent proper officers and agents, to re-unite the ſavages in one common intereſt; in which they ſucceeded in appearance, but failed in reality. The natives there could not be perſuaded to forbear their traffick with the *Engliſh*, in which they found ſo great advantage, and in which they were followed, even by the colonized ſavages; while the ſtate of the *French* affairs in *Europe* was ſo low, that they could receive from thence no relief. The goods ſent from *France* to *Canada* were ſo trifling in their value, that the merchants there had no returns to make equal to the furs imported by the ſavages, who, for that reaſon, were obliged to throw into the hands of the *Engliſh* by far the greateſt part of the fur trade. Before the treaty of *Utrecht*, in the year 1713, was concluded, the governors of *New France* and *New England* received poſitive orders from their reſpective ſovereigns to deſiſt from all hoſtilities. It cannot be diſſembled, that the concluſion of that treaty was highly for the intereſts of the *Engliſh* in *America*, where they had been miſerably miſmanaged. The *Abenaquis*, who remained firm to the *French*, were then carrying their ravages into the heart of *New England*; and, though by that treaty *Lewis* XIV. ceded his pretended ſuperiority over the *Iroquois*, yet, by that time, the *French* had obtained ſuch an aſcendancy over them, that they declared they would maintain their own independance upon the *Engliſh*. All that the latter could do was to build a fort at the mouth of the river *Choguen*, where it diſcharges itſelf into the lake *Ontario*, in the country of the *Onnontagueſe*; while the *French* obtained from the *Tſonnonthouans* a permiſſion to build another at the mouth of the river *Niagara*. As to the *Abenaquis*, whoſe land fell within the ceſſion of territory made to the *Engliſh* by the twelfth article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, as being comprehended within the limits of *Acadia*, or *Nova Scotia*, great difficulties occurred in the execution of that article. They were, of all the ſavages, the moſt irreconcileable to the *Engliſh* government, and the moſt wedded to popiſh abſurdities. Nothing was omitted on the part of the *Engliſh* to win them over. They erected a free-ſchool at the mouth of the river *Kennebeck*, and appointed a miniſter, who was to board and teach their young at the public expence. But all was in vain, ſo ſtrong was the deluſion of their miſſionaries. The governors of *New England* and *New York* very wiſely bore this with patience; ſo that the ſavages, by degrees, even encouraged the erecting of ſtore-houſes upon their lands, till they ſaw them multiply ſo faſt, that they expreſſed their jealouſy of them. The *Engliſh* then could not help ſignifying to them, that their whole country had, by treaty, become the property of the crown of *England*.

1713.

Diſputes between the Engliſh *and the ſavages.*

The ſavages, though amazed at this, very ſenſibly complained to *Vaudreuil*, who made uſe of an evaſion, unworthy a man of honour, and yet well adapted to encourage and confirm their diſlike of the *Engliſh*; for he told them that no mention was made either of them, or their lands, in the treaty of *Utrecht*. When the governor of *New England*, in a conference he had with them, had convinced them of the truth, one of their chiefs replied with great ſpirit, That his majeſty of *France* might diſpoſe of what was his own as he pleaſed, but that the *Abenaquis* held their land from nature, and that they would maintain their independency to the laſt child of their nation, who ſhould be left alive. After this, upon ſome differences in matters of property, which were fomented by the popiſh miſſionaries, their deputies were arreſted at *Boſton*; and this, about the year 1721, produced ſome warm remonſtrances on the part of the *Abenaquis*. The caſe was perplexing. There could be no doubt with regard to the ſpirit and meaning of the treaty of *Utrecht*; but, from the moment that peace was concluded, the government of *New France*, from conſidering the *Abenaquis* as ſlaves, affected to treat them as independent, and maintained amongſt them an intereſt ſeparate from the crown of *England*, which was extremely pleaſing to the natural vanity of thoſe ſavages. The *Engliſh*, on the other hand, could appeal only to the *French*, who denied their having had any authority over the ſavages, and maintained that they therefore could transfer none. They carried this inſolent evaſion ſo far, that when colonel *Shute*, then governor of *New England*, propoſed a friendly conference for accommodating all differences, two jeſuits and baron *St. Caſtin* propoſed to be preſent on the part of the ſavages; and, therefore the governor very properly refuſed to attend the conference in perſon. This *St. Caſtin* had great credit with thoſe ſavages. His mother being an *Abenaquis*, and he himſelf bred up all his life amongſt them, they had appointed him to be the commander in chief of their nation, and he affected on all occaſions to appear as an *Abenaquis*; but he wore a *French* uniform, as having a commiſſion from his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, whom he acknowledged to be his ſovereign. As his local allegiance undoubtedly was due to the crown of *England*, the governor of *New England* ordered him to be arreſted, and he was carried in a ſhip of war to *Boſton*; but ſo cautious were the *Engliſh* of offending the *Abenaquis*, that, though he talked in a very independent tone, he was releaſed.

Intrigues of a jeſuit. THE *Engliſh* found a ſtill greater obſtacle to the conformity of thoſe ſavages, in the perſon of one *Raſle*, an active zealous jeſuit, who had long reſided amongſt them as a miſſionary, and had got ſo entire a poſſeſſion of their affections, that they implicitly followed his dictates in every thing. Being an enthuſiaſt for his country, as well as religion, he omitted nothing that could keep up the averſion of the *Abenaquis* towards the *Engliſh.* It was in vain the latter, (who every day felt his influence with the ſavages,) inſiſted upon his being diſmiſſed out of their nation, and ſent to *Quebec*; and, at laſt, they were obliged not only to ſet a reward on his head, but to make an attempt to poſſeſs themſelves of his perſon, in which they failed. This attack upon their favourite jeſuit exaſperated the ſavages more than that which had been made upon their independency. They ſent deputies through all their brethren and allies to meet them at *Narrantſouak*, their chief village, which they accordingly did; and nothing now but the war-ſong was to be heard, from the *Hurons* of *Loretto* to the ſavages of *New England.* They began by demoliſhing the *Engliſh* ſettlements on the banks of the rivers, where they deſtroyed all the lands and houſes, but without offering any farther violence to the perſons of the inhabitants than by confining five of them as hoſtages for their deputies, who were priſoners at *Boſton.* It was impoſſible, and indeed would have been dangerous, for the *Engliſh* to have been longer paſſive. They broke into *Narrantſouak*, where they ſhot the peſtilent miſſionary dead, burnt the cabins, plundered the church, and killed ſome of the inhabitants, who oppoſed them, while others fled; and this ſeverity, for ſome time, reſtored tranquillity to *New England*, but was far from reconciling the *Abenaquis* to the *Britiſh* government. The *Engliſh* pretended they were in danger of loſing all the acquiſitions they had made in *Acadia*, and *Newfoundland*, by the treaty of *Utrecht*, through the inhabitants, *French* as well as ſavages, making uſe of the liberty which that treaty gave them, to retire to *Cape Breton*, and therefore they gave them ſuch indulgences, that they did not ſeem to remember, their having changed their ſovereign.

WHEN Mr. *Richards*, in 1720, took poſſeſſion of the government of *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*, he was aſtoniſhed to find part of his government living independent, not only of him, but of the crown of *England.* They openly traded with *Cape Breton*, then in the *French* poſſeſſion. They acknowledged neither laws nor language, but what were *French*, and their prieſts publicly performed their ſacerdotal functions, as if popery had been the eſtabliſhed religion of the country. *Richards* very ſenſibly endeavoured to abridge thoſe impolitic indulgences, both in *Acadia* and *Newfoundland*; but he was not 1720.

not ſupported in this wiſe meaſure, which, if executed, migh have prevented a vaſt effuſion of blood and treaſure, by the government at home. The truth is, king *George* I. at that time, had great connexions with the regent of *France*; but it was an unpardonable overſight to diſpenſe with the *French Canadians* and *Acadians*, as well as the ſavages, who had become ſubjects of *Great Britain*, taking an oath of fidelity to that crown (P). As we intend to give, under a ſeparate head, the hiſtory of the ſettlement on *Cape Breton*, which the *French* now projected, and carried into execution, as the moſt proper means for indemnifying themſelves for the loſs of what they had given up by the treaty of *Utrecht*, we ſhall only ſay, that that ſettlement, as well as that of the iſland of *St. John*, was left entirely to the care of *Coſtebelle* and *St. Ovide*; the latter of whom proved a very active agent for *France* in all her differences with *Great Britain*.

The force of Canada.

It is equally aſtoniſhing, that the province of *Canada*, planted by a great and numerous people, ſhould remain ſo long thinly inhabited, ſo poor, and ſo uncomfortable, as that it ſhould, after ſo long a war as that which was terminated by the peace of *Utrecht*, be able to make head againſt the *Engliſh*, who were able, at that time, upon the ſame continent, to bring 60,000 fighting men into the field. As to the ſtate of *Canada*, in the year 1714, we can have no better authority than the words of *Vaudreuil*, the governor-general, in his letter to *Pontchartrain*, the *French* miniſter [b]. "*Canada*, ſays he, contains actually no more than 4484 inhabitants, able to bear arms from the age of 14 to 60, and the 28 companies of marines, paid by the king, amount to no more in number, than 628 ſoldiers." In the ſame letter, he lays down a ſcheme, the particulars of which are immaterial here, for the better peopling of his government, by tranſporting thither convicts and galley-ſlaves; and his advice appears to have been followed with ſucceſs. His government, however, after the peace of *Utrecht*, was far from being tranquil. The *Outagamis*, notwithſtanding the blow they had received in the affair of *Detroit*, were more exaſperated than ever againſt the *French*. They infeſted all the communications

[r] Charlevoix, Vol. IV. Page 150.

(P) The argument, we have mentioned, about the danger of *Acadia* becoming uncultivated, in caſe the *French* had been forced out of it, has in it no manner of weight. Their ſettlements were all cultivated lands, conveniently ſituated, and well improved; and never could have been without occupiers, both from *Great Britain* and the continent of *America*.

between

War with the Outagamis, *who are unexpectedly ſaved,*

between the colony and its moſt diſtant poſts, robbing and murdering paſſengers, and in this they ſucceeded ſo well, that they brought over the *Sieux* to join them openly, while many of the *Iroquois* favoured them underhand. In ſhort, there was ſome danger of a general confederacy amongſt all the ſavages againſt the *French*. This made *Vaudreuil* reſolve, if poſſible, to exterminate the *Outagamis* out of *Canada*, and invited all his ſavage allies to join him. *Louvigny*, the king's lieutenant at *Quebec*, was named to command the expedition, and he was ſoon at the head of eight hundred men, ſo determined againſt the *Outagamis*, that the extirpation of the race was no longer doubted of. They were themſelves of the ſame opinion, and they lay intrenched, to the number of 500 warriors, and 3000 women, in a kind of paliſadoed fort, before which *Louvigny* formally opened trenches, having with him two field pieces, and a mortar for throwing grenades. The beſieged, at firſt, defended themſelves with great vigour; but, when *Lovigny* was preparing to ſpring a mine, they deſired to capitulate, and their terms were rejected. They afterwards propoſed others; *viz.* Firſt, that the *Outagamis* and their confederates ſhould make peace with the *French* and their allies. Secondly, that they ſhould previouſly releaſe all their priſoners. Thirdly, that they ſhould replace the dead by ſlaves, whom they were to make priſoners from the diſtant nations they were at war with; and, fourthly, that they ſhould pay the charge of the war. *Louvigny* had private inſtructions from his principals not to puſh matters to extremity. In this, they undoubtedly acted wiſely, and by making preſents to the chief leaders of his allies, he brought them to conſent to the terms propoſed. This, however, was an inſidious negotiation. He obliged the *Outagamis* to give ſix ſons of ſix of their chief leaders, as hoſtages for their ſending deputies to ratify the peace at *Montreal* with the governor-general; and the treaty, being ingroſſed, contained an expreſs ceſſion of their country to the *French*; of which, it is probable, the ſavages knew nothing. Unfortunately the ſmall pox, which raged next winter, carried off three of the hoſtages, together with the famous *Outagamis* chief, *Pemouſſa*, before the treaty was ratified. This alarmed *Vaudreuil* ſo much, that he went upon the ice to *Montreal*, from whence he diſpatched *Louvigny* to *Michillimakinac*, with an order to execute the terms of the treaty, and to bring the chiefs of the *Outagamis* to *Montreal*, together with all the rangers in thoſe parts, to whom his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had granted a free pardon for what had paſſed. *Louvigny* ſet out at the end of *May*, 1717, and very prudently carried along with him one of the ſurviving hoſtages, who had loſt an eye by the ſmall-pox, that he might bear teſtimony to his nation, with what tenderneſs he and his companions had been treated. As ſoon as he arrived at *Michillimakinac*, he diſpatched the hoſtage, attended by two *French* interpreters, with preſents for covering the dead hoſtages, to the *Outagamis*. This was ſo agreeable to thoſe ſavages, that they immediately raiſed the ſong of peace, or the calumet. They then declared to the interpreters their gratitude to *Onontbio*, but added, that, for ſome particular reaſons, they could not wait upon him till next year: that they never would forget that they owed their lives entirely to his clemency. The hoſtage and the interpreters then ſet out to rejoin *Louvigny* at *Michillimakinac*; but, after travelling about twenty leagues, he left them, it being proper, as he ſaid, to return home that he might keep his countrymen to their promiſe.

and diſlodge the Illinois. THE event ſhewed how little *Vaudreuil* and his aſſiſtants, notwithſtanding all their experience, underſtood the nature of thoſe ſavages. The hoſtage was never heard of after, neither did they ſend any deputies to the governor-general; ſo that all the fruit, which *Louvigny* and *Vaudreuil* reaped from this laborious journey, was the bringing back the *French* rangers, and engaging ſome of the ſavages to bring their furs in greater quantites to the colony, than they had done for ſome years before. The reaſon the *Outagamis* gave for this breach of faith, when they afterwards met with the *French* in their excurſions, was, that they had no idea an enemy, who had been provoked beyond a certain meaſure, could ever be a reconciled friend. They were afterwards beat in ſeveral encounters, and yet they forced the *Illinois* to abandon their ſettlements upon their river; where they formed a plantation, which rendered all communication between *Canada* and *Louiſiana* extremely dangerous, notwithſtanding all the loſſes they had ſuſtained. The reader is, however, to obſerve, that they had, by this time, formed an alliance with the *Sieux*, the moſt numerous nation belonging to *Canada*; and with the *Chichacas* or *Chickeſaws*, the braveſt nation in all *Louiſiana*. 1725. In the year 1725, *New France* enjoyed a tranquillity, that it had ſeldom known, and which greatly advanced both its populouſneſs and proſperity; but the loſs of the *Camel*, a *French* ſhip of war, which was wrecked near *Louiſbourg*, with every ſoul on board, gave it a great blow. Beſides its rich cargo, the intendant of *Canada*, *Louvigny*, who had been appointed to the government of *Trois Rivieres*, a ſon of *Ramezay*, who the year before had died governor of *Montreal*, together with a great number of the officers of the colony, and eccleſiaſtics of all denominations, periſhed in the wreck. To crown this misfortune, the marquis *de Vaudreuil* himſelf died in the *October* following, greatly lamented by the whole colony. He, as well as his predeceſſors, gave ſignal proofs of that ſecondary genius, which prefers the ſmiles of a court to all other conſiderations. Under vaſt diſadvantages, arriſing from the weakneſs or inattention of the *French* miniſtry, he moſt ſurprizingly upheld the credit and intereſt of his government; and, notwithſtanding the incredible diſproportion of force between *New France*, even taking it in its utmoſt extent, and the *Engliſh* ſettlements on the continent of *America*, he had the addreſs to conceal the weakneſs of his government; ſo that he left it, if not envied, yet reſpected, by its neighbours.

Death of Vaudreuil,

HE was ſucceeded in his government by the chevalier *de Beauharnois*, who had none of his predeceſſor's difficulties to ſtruggle with; and nothing occurs remarkable in the hiſtory of *Canada*, but that, by the tranquility it enjoyed, in the year 1751, its *French* inhabitants amounted to above 70,000. It does not belong to this part of our hiſtory to retrace the various ſituations of the courts of *France* and *England*, during this long interval; but, it is certain that the government of *England* was lulled into a moſt fatal ſecurity, whilſt that of *France* was making wide ſtrides towards a total acquiſition of *North America*. In the year 1746, the encroachments they made upon the undoubted property of the *Engliſh* in *America* awakened our government to a ſenſe of its danger. A *Britiſh* ſecretary of ſtate, by order of his majeſty, required all the *Britiſh* governors in *North America* to raiſe as many independent companies as they could, of a hundred men each. Thoſe of *New York*, *New Jerſeys*, *Penſylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, were to be formed into one corps, under the command of brigadier *Gooch*, lieutenant governor of *Virginia*. The colonies were to furniſh levy-money and victualling; but his majeſty was to be at the charge of arming, paying, and cloathing thoſe troops. It was no ſecret, that thoſe vaſt preparations in *America*, which were to be ſeconded by a ſuitable armament from *Europe*, were deſtined for the reduction of *Canada*; and that the whole was to be under the command of general *Sinclair*. The *Engliſh* colonies, therefore, proceeded with infinite ſpirit in their levies. *Virginia* ſent two companies, *Maryland* three, *Penſylvania* four, the *Jerſeys* five, and *New York* fifteen; all to be under the command of *Gooch*, and firſt to reduce *Crown Point*, and then *Montreal*. The yellow fever then prevailing at *Albany*, the place of rendezvous for the troops was appointed at *Saratago*, twenty miles

who is ſucceeded by Beauharnois.

miles higher up *Hudſon's* river. For this ſervice, *Maſſachuſet's Bay* raiſed twenty companies, *Connecticut* ten, *Rhode-Iſland* three, *New Hampſhire* two, in all thirty-five companies, who were to attack *Quebec*, under general *Sinclair*, while *Gooch* was proceeding againſt *Montreal*. It was the misfortune of the *Britiſh* government at that time, that few qualifications, beſides the date of a commiſſion, were required in a commander. *Sinclair* had age and rank to recommend him; but he had neither activity, ſpirit, nor capacity, for ſo arduous an expedition, the miſcarriage of which has never to this day been accounted for. The true ſtate of the matter ſeems to have been, that the general, not being very fond of the ſervice, did not expedite the preparations early enough in the year, and very poſſibly the miniſtry, even at that time, had their reaſons for not provoking *France* beyond certain bounds. *Leſtock*, the ſame officer who was ſo well known by his differences with admiral *Matthews*, was to command the fleet; but the public need not be informed, that the whole of the mighty preparations in *England* ended in a moſt ſcandalous puſillanimous attempt, under the ſame *Sinclair* and *Leſtock*, upon *Port L'Orient* in *Old France*.

Expedition of the duke D'Anville.

THE *French* were not ignorant of the ſtorm that was hovering over their *American* colonies. They ſent all the force they could ſpare from *Canada* to *Minas* and *Chiconecto*, and omitted no opportunity of harraſſing and deſtroying the *Engliſh* ſettlements. In the ſummer of 1746, the *Canadians* receiving intelligence of the vaſt preparations making againſt them in *England*, *Ramezay* arrived at *Minas* at the head of 1600 men, conſiſting of marine regulars, *Canadian* militia, wood-rangers, and *French Indians*. This body was to act in concert with a ſtrong ſquadron, then fitting out at *Breſt* under the duke *D'Anville*. That armament conſiſted of eleven line of battle ſhips, ſome frigates, two fire-ſhips, tranſports, &c. having 3150 land forces aboard. It was the 22d of *June*, before this ſquadron ſailed from *Rochelle*, and the public of *England* were amazed that it was ſuffered to proceed unmoleſted, though Mr. *Martin* was then lying with a ſtrong ſquadron of obſervation in the channel. The plan of *D'Anville's* inſtructions ſeems to have been formed upon thoſe of *Frontenac* and *Pontchartrain*. He was ordered to retake and diſmantle *Louiſbourg*, which was then in the hands of the *Engliſh*. He was then to proceed againſt *Port Royal*, now called *Annapolis Royal* in *Acadia*, which he was to take and garriſon. He was next to deſtroy *Boſton*; then to range along the coaſts of *North America*; and, at laſt, to pay a viſit to the *Britiſh* ſugar iſlands. *D'Anville*, ſetting ſail, detached three of his capital ſhips and a frigate, under the command of M. *Conflans*, to convoy the *French* trade to *Cape François* in *Hiſpaniola*. The orders of *Conflans* were to return, and join the grand ſquadron under *D'Anville*; but, after cruizing upon *Cape Sable* ſhore, between *Cape Negro* and *Cape Sambro*, without receiving any intelligence of *D'Anville*, he bore away directly for *France*; where, to the reproach of the *Britiſh* marine, he arrived in ſafety.

As to the main fleet under *D'Anville*, it was unfortunate *miſcarries*, almoſt beyond example. After undergoing a moſt tedious paſſage, and ſuffering in a ſtorm near *Cape Sable*, it arrived on *September* the 10th at *Chebucto* in *Nova Scotia*, where *D'Anville* himſelf died, as did half of his people of ſcorbutic putrid fevers and dyſenteries. Their faithful *Abenaquis*, now called the *Nova Scotia Indians*, paid them ſo many viſits, that they at laſt caught the infection of their diſeaſes, and were reduced almoſt one third. It would appear as if the *Britiſh* marine had been afraid of the infection likewiſe; for though an *Engliſh* ſquadron was then lying at *Cape Breton* under admiral *Townſhend*, the *French* remained unmoleſted at *Chebucto* amidſt all their diſtreſs. In the mean while the *Canadians*, under *Ramezay*, were highly careſſed by the *French* of *Nova Scotia*, who, as we have already obſerved, were, in fact, ſubjects to the crown of *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Utrecht*; but having ſpent the ſummer at *las Minas*, without receiving any intelligence of *D'Anville* or his ſquadron, they ſet out on their return for *Canada*. While they were upon their march *D'Anville* arrived at *Chebucto*, and immediately diſpatched an expreſs requiring them to return, which, about four hundred of them did, under *Ramezay*. About the end of *September* *Ramezay* encamped near *Annapolis* with a ſhew of beſieging it; but the *Cheſter* man of war of fifty guns, a frigate and a ſcooner being in the harbour, and the *French* fleet departing, ſhattered and inglorious to *France*, he decamped on the 22d of *October* and returned to *Minas*. There, and at *Chiconecto* he wintered, that he might be in readineſs to join the *French* fleet and land troops that were expected in the ſpring from *France*, to reduce *Annapolis*, which, by this time, was reinforced by three companies of volunteers from *Boſton*. *Maſcarene* was then the *Engliſh* governor of *Annapolis*, and laid a ſcheme for preventing the bad conſequences of *French* influence in that neighbourhood, by procuring 1000 men as a reinforcement from *New England*. The aſſembly of the *Maſſachuſet's Bay* accordingly voted five hundred, *Rhode Iſland* three hundred, and *New Hampſhire* two hundred. Of thoſe the *Rhode* iſlanders were ſhipped near *Martha's vineyard*. The

New Hampſhire men never arrived at the place of their deſtination; but the *Maſſachuſet's Bay* men, amounting in the whole to four hundred and ſeventeen, beſides officers, arrived under captain *Morris* at *Minas* on the 12th of *December*, after a fatiguing march of thirty leagues by land; which they performed in eight days, though each man had fourteen days proviſion upon his back.

The French *defeat the* Engliſh,

IT muſt be acknowledged that thoſe troops had more courage than diſcipline. They were commanded by one colonel *Noble*; but a detachment of them ſet out for *Annapolis* on the 29th of *January*, while the others were quartered at *Grand Pre* in a looſe, ſcattered, and unſoldier-like manner. The *French* were ſufficiently informed of this irregular cantonment, and on the 8th of *January* they ſet out from *Chiconecto*, and arrived at *Minas* the 31ſt of the ſame month. About three in the morning having diſtributed their force, which conſiſted of about ſix hundred, into ſmall parties of fifty or ſixty each, they attacked the *Engliſh* and murdered many of them in an inhuman manner. Colonel *Noble*, and the lieutenants *Lechemere*, *Jones*, *Pickering*, enſign *Noble*, with about ſeventy ſerjeants, corporals, and private men, were killed, and about as many taken priſoners. Deſpair, however, at laſt brought the *Engliſh* into a body, and they ſurrendered upon the following capitulation, firſt, to march off with arms ſhouldered, drums beating, colours flying, through a lane of the enemy with reſted firelocks. Secondly, to be allowed ſix days proviſion, one pound of powder with ball; and thirdly, not to carry arms within the bays of *Minas* and *Chiconecto* for ſix months. After this, the *French* retired to *Chiconecto*, where they lay moſt part of the ſummer in expectation of *Jonquiere*'s ſquadron, which was to bring a large reinforcement that was to enable *Canada* to give laws to all *North America*.

1747. *but are defeated at ſea.*

ACCORDINGLY in the ſpring of 1747 the junction of the *Breſt* and *Rochfort* ſquadrons was effected at *Rochelle*. Their deſtination was to the *Eaſt Indies* and to *Canada*. The fleet conſiſted in the whole of thirty-eight ſail, of which ſeven were ſhips of war from ſeventy-four to forty-four guns, and the *Invincible* of ſeventy-four guns, with a frigate of forty-four were appointed to convoy ſix *Eaſt India* ſhips, while the reſt, with the tranſports and merchantmen full of ſoldiers, ſtores, and goods, were deſtined for *Canada* and *Nova Scotia*. The equipment of this ſquadron was no ſecret in *England*; and as it was big with deſtruction to our *Aſian*, as well as *American*, ſettlements, the admirals *Anſon* and *Warren* failed from *Plymouth* to *Cape Finiſterre* on the coaſt of *Galicia*, and on the

3d of *May* they fell in with the *French* ſquadron. The latter immediately formed a line of battle, conſiſting of their chief ſhips of war, while the others, under the protection of their frigates, made all the ſail they could to the place of their deſtination. The *Engliſh* ſhips, in like manner, were drawn up in line of battle; but *Warren*, who, to all the virtues that any man could poſſeſs, added as much ability to the ſeaman as any one ever exerted, obſerved, that the real deſign of the *French* was rather to fly than to fight; and therefore he perſuaded *Anſon*, who was his ſuperior in command, to haul in the ſignal for the line, and to hoiſt out one for the chace. This proved a moſt maſterly manœuvre. The *French* fought bravely, but were at laſt obliged to ſtrike their colours. Six of their men of war were taken with all their *Eaſt India* ſhips, and between 4 and 5000 *French* were made priſoners; amongſt whom was *la Jonquiere* the admiral. About ſeven hundred of the *French* were killed and wounded, as were about five hundred of the *Engliſh*. *Ramezay*, who continued ſtill at *Minas* and *Chiconecto*, received advice of this dreadful defeat by ſome ſtraggling ſtoreſhips, which eſcaped. An end was now put to all his towering hopes of reducing *Nova Scotia*, and he was obliged to return to *Canada*, while the treaſure taken by the admirals *Anſon* and *Warren* was conveyed in twenty waggons to the bank of *England*.

They endeavour to re-eſtabliſh Canada.

It appears from the efforts made by the *French* towards the cloſe of the war, which was terminated by the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, that they at laſt became ſenſible as to the importance of *Canada*, and they even ſtrained their mother country to ſupport it. During the ſhort interval between that peace, and the eruption of the late war, they conſtructed a number of forts, which bade fair for engroſſing the whole of the *American* inland trade. One of their capital aims was to get poſſeſſion of *Nova Scotia*, and to annex that extenſive province to *Cape Breton* (Q). They founded this ſcheme chiefly upon the affections of the *French*, who remained in *Nova Scotia* after the treaty of *Utrecht*, and who acted ſo much as *French* ſubjects, that they refuſed to take the oath of allegiance to the government of *Great Britain*. They endeavoured to join the two colonies of *Canada* and *Louiſiana*, the former in *North* and the latter in [redacted] [redacted] by communications, which effectually cut the *Engliſh* from all the back ſettlements, and confined them to a very ſmall portion of terri-

---

(Q) See a very ſenſible work on this ſubject, intitled, "The Conteſt in *America* between *Great Britain* and *France*, with its conſequences and importance, &c." Printed for *Millar*.

territory on the ſea-coaſt; which in time they muſt likewiſe have been maſter of. For this purpoſe they ſeized upon the river *Ohio*, by which they bounded the *Engliſh* poſſeſſions in the South, as they had done before by *Crown Point* and *Niagara* in the North. In the year 1749, immediately after the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, they began to make good their unjuſt and ſcandalous claim upon that river, by ſending five hundred men under M. *Celeron* to take poſſeſſion of both ſides of it. The *Engliſh* had a preferable right; but the natives thought that none had a title to their country but themſelves, and therefore drove the *French* from their intended ſettlement. Upon this the *French* ſent numbers of their diſbanded ſoldiers to lake *Erie*, and formed ſettlements about *Detroit*, the river *Miamis*, and *Sandoſki*. The uncertain condition in which the limits of *Nova Scotia* was left by the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the ſhameful prevarications of the *French* commiſſaries concerning thoſe limits, with all the various eluſions they made uſe of, were the means they uſed for carrying their ambitious and treacherous deſigns into execution, in which they were ſo greatly aided by their mother-country, that at the time of that peace, the *Canadian* militia amounted to 12,000 men, beſides 1000 regular troops, and the marine companies. In ſhort, to bridle the *Britiſh* ſettlements, the following forts were erected; firſt, *Crown Point*, or *Fort Frederick*; which is an intruſion upon the juriſdiction of *New York*; ſecondly, *Fort Chamblais*, built upon a paſs from the *Engliſh* ſettlements to the upper *French* ſettlements in *Canada*: Third, *Fort Sorel*, where the river *Chamblais* enters that of *St. Lawrence*. Fourth, *Fort Frontenac*, commonly called *Catarocouy*, which we have already ſo often mentioned. Fifth, *Fort Denonville*, near the great cataract of *Niagara* between the lake *Ontario* and the *Erie*. Sixth, *la Trouette* at *les Detroits*, between the lake *Erie* and the *Hurons*. All, or moſt of thoſe forts have been occaſionally mentioned in the courſe of this work; but the uſes of them were never fully improved till the time of peace.

Their forts

and diſputes with the Engliſh *commiſſaries.*

BESIDES the forts we have already mentioned occaſional ſtockades were eſtabliſhed from *Canada* to *New Orleans*, and the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, which generally were garriſoned by a ſerjeant's command, and, at laſt, an annual patrole was ſettled, reaching all the amazing diſtance between *Quebec* and *New Orleans*, containing a journey of about ſix hundred leagues, comprehending the *Detours*. The government of *England* every week received freſh informations concerning the danger of their colonies from their *American* governors; but the imprudent, and indeed fatal ſtipulation of referring our territorial diſputes to commiſſaries, who were to meet at *Paris*, prevented any vigorous meaſures from being taken. The commiſſaries, on the part of *France*, were *Galiſſoniere*, who had been lately governor of *New France* and *la Houettes*. Thoſe on the part of *Great Britain* where Mr. *Shirley* and Mr. *Mildmay*; but the proceedings on both parts were contemptible beyond expreſſion. The *French* moſt impudently inſiſted upon the limits of *Nova Scotia* being confined to the peninſula of that name, while the *Engliſh* rightly claimed all the ancient *Acadia*, as ceded by the 12th article of the treaty of *Utrecht*, the limits of which are the ſouthern bank of the river *St. Lawrence* to the north, and *Pentagoet* to the weſt. The particulars of this diſpute are now immaterial; ſo that it is ſufficient to ſay here that the *French* were guilty during theſe ridiculous conferences, not only of prevarication but of forgery, to ſupport their claims, for they invented terms, limits, and charts, that never had any exiſtence but in their own pretenſions. But they did not confine their arguments to mere literary diſtinctions, for they ſupported them with arms. *Jonquiere*, then governor-general of *Canada*, actually ſent letters to the *Britiſh* commandant at *Nova Scotia*, and the governor of *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, by which he claimed great part of *Acadia*; and *la Corne*, a *French Canadian* officer was detached with three companies of marines, about four hundred *Indians* of *Canada*, *St. John's*, *Cape Sable*, and *Penobſcot*, ſome *Canada* militia and *Coureurs des Bois*, and *French* neutrals. The true deſign of this detachment, which was cantoned on the north ſide of *Chiconecto bay* and river, was to cover the building of forts, particularly thoſe of *Beauſejour*, and others near bay *Verte* and *St. John's* upon that narrow neck of land, ſo as to confine the *Britiſh* ſubjects entirely within the peninſula. All that the *Britiſh* ſubjects could do was to ſummon *la Corne* to retire. But without diſowning his quarters of cantonment to be within the *Britiſh* dominions, he pretended he reſided there only to protect and ſupport the *French Indians*. It ſoon appeared that the *French* had a more extenſive ſcheme in view. The governor-general of *Canada* formally intimated to the governors of *New York* and *Penſylvania*, that the *Engliſh* inland traders having preſumed to trade with the *Indians*, who were under the protection of his ſovereign, he would arreſt them wherever they could be found. This menace, though an infamous proceeding, was carried into execution by the ſeizure of three *Britiſh* traders, whoſe effects were confiſcated, while their perſons were ſent to *Quebec*, and from thence priſoners to *Rochelle*. There, with difficulty, an application from them found acceſs to the earl of *Albe-*

marle the *Britiſh* embaſſador at *Paris*; and they were ſet at liberty upon his lordſhip's remonſtrating againſt the illegality of the proceeding. It muſt be acknowledged that the reſentment of the *Britiſh* court at this time fell ſhort of the provocations it received. Mr. *Pelham*, who was conſidered as the firſt miniſter at the court of *London*, had himſelf upright intentions, and was perhaps a little too backward in believing that the *French* were ſo ill intentioned as their proceedings but too palpably proved them to be. The aſſurances of friendſhip and amity daily thrown out by the miniſtry of *Verſailles* contributed to this deluſion; but inſtead of being followed by ſuitable effects, their encroachments every day became more bare faced and intolerable. It unfortunately happened, that they received but too much encouragement from the conduct of the *Engliſh* themſelves, which makes a retroſpective narrative here neceſſary.

Account of the Ohio *company.*

SPOTSWOOD, the governor of *Virginia*, about the year 1716, was a man of ſenſe and ſpirit, and finding the *Outaouais*, now called the *Twightees*, extremely well affectioned towards the *Engliſh*, he propoſed to purchaſe ſome of their lands upon the river *Ohio*, and to erect a company for opening a trade to the ſouthward, weſtward, and northward of that river with the ſavages. This was at once a rational and a practicable ſcheme, but the execution of it depended entirely upon the favourable diſpoſitions of the natives for the *Engliſh*, which might have been ſecured by the punctual payment of the purchaſe money or effects. This noble project claſhed with the views of the *French*, who had, by this time, formed their great ſchemes upon the *Miſſiſſippi*, and the miniſtry of king *George* the Iſt, as we have already hinted, having reaſons for keeping well with that court, the project was not only dropt, but the *French* were encouraged to build the fort of *Crown Point* upon the territory of *New York*. Upon the concluſion of the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle Spotſwood's* ſcheme was revived: but the moſt prudent part of it was omitted; for no care was taken to conciliate the affection of the natives to the undertaking. Inſtead of that, certain merchants of *London* trading to *Maryland* and *Virginia*, being encouraged by the government upon their petition to undertake to ſettle the banks of the *Ohio*, provided they could exerciſe an excluſive trade with the *Indians*, employed a ſurveyor to take plans of the country, as far as the falls of that river. The natives, tho' pacific, were alarmed at this, and their natural jealouſy was inflamed by the *French*, who repreſented the conduct of the *Engliſh* in the blackeſt colours. Even the ſeparate traders of *Virginia* and *Penſylvania*, perceiving the gainful commerce carried on with the ſavages on the brink of ruin by a monopoly co-operated with the *French*; ſo that in fact the undertakers loſt all intereſt in that extenſive country, the moſt beautiful and fertile perhaps of any in *America*. The *French* were not inſenſible of this, and continued to ſtrengthen themſelves at *Niagara* and the lake *Erie*, upon lands that originally belonged to the *Britiſh* ſubjects. Mr. *Hamilton*, who was then governor of *Penſylvania*, repreſented theſe proceedings to the aſſembly of that province, and propoſed erecting truck houſes in the nature of ſmall forts upon the *Ohio* for the protection of the *Britiſh* traders there. But though the aſſembly agreed to this propoſal, diverſity of opinions and intereſts ruined the execution of it, while the *French* were every day becoming more and more formidable to the *Engliſh* ſettlements. Mr. *Dinwiddie*, the governor of *Virginia*, did not fail by many ſpirited ſpeeches, meſſages, and diſpatches to alarm the *Britiſh* goverment upon thoſe intereſting heads; and at laſt he ſent one major *Waſhington* with a letter to the *French* commandant of a fort built on the river *au Beuf*, which falls into the *Ohio*, not far from lake *Erie*, and which was unqueſtionably ſituated upon *Britiſh* territory, complaining of the encroachment, and requiring him to evacuate the place. The only anſwer which Mr. *Dinwiddie* received to his meſſage from the commandant, was, that he would tranſmit his letter to *Du Queſne*, the governor-general of *Canada*; but that it not being his buſineſs to examine into the property of the lands upon the *Ohio*, it could not be expected that he would leave his poſt. Mr. *Dinwiddie* upon this projected a fort near the forks of the river; but no care being taken by the *Virginians* for conciliating the affections of the natives, this ſerved to exaſperate them, though the province undertook to defray the expence, and the materials were actually provided.

Their practices on that river.

In the mean while, a noble deſign was formed at home for ſecuring the *Britiſh* ſettlements in *Nova Scotia* by building the town of *Hallifax* there. It is divided into thirty-five ſquares, each containing ſixteen lots, of forty by ſixty feet, one eſtabliſhed church, and one meeting houſe, and a ſmall number of houſes out of the regular ſtreets, which are fifty five feet broad. The town is ſurrounded with pickettings, and guarded by forts on the outſide. Along the river, to the ſouthward of the town, are buildings and fiſh flakes, for at leaſt two miles; and to the northward, on the river, about one mile; and behind theſe ſeveral lots of fifteen acres diſtributed; alſo a ſmall *Dutch* town, and a large ſpace of land behind the town beſides for a common. The river *Chebucto* is at the town three miles broad, and over-againſt the town is another ſmall town, called *Dartmouth*, up a cove; this is

Settlement of Hallifax.

very thinly inhabited, the *Indians* having often viſited it, and done conſiderable damage. This plan, however, has ſince received vaſt improvements, and the whole project was formed by the earl of *Hallifax*, then firſt commiſſioner of the *Britiſh* Trade and Plantations. The original deſign of it was to give tracts of land to ſuch officers and ſoldiers as were willing to go over and ſettle there. This ſcheme the government adopted, and began to execute in 1749; and the lords commiſſioners of trade and plantations iſſued a proclamation, by which fifty acres of land were offered to every ſoldier and ſailor, who would ſettle in that part of *America*, without paying any rent or ſervice during ten years, and no more than one ſhilling *per annum* for the fifty acres afterwards; to every ſoldier or ſailor, who had a wife and children; ten acres more were offered for every individual in his family, and for every encreaſe that ſhould afterwards happen on the ſame condition. To each ſubaltern officer eighty acres, and fifteen more for each of his family; two hundred acres to each enſign, three hundred to each lieutenant, four hundred to each captain, ſix hundred to each officer in rank above a captain, and thirty acres more for every perſon in his houſhold. The government alſo engaged to tranſport and maintain the new ſettlers one year at its own expence, and to furniſh them with ſuch arms, proviſions, utenſils, implements and tools, as ſhould be neceſſary to put them in a condition to clear and cultivate their lands, to build them habitations, and commence a fiſhery. The ſame conditions that were offered to ſoldiers and ſailors, were alſo offered to all carpenters, and other handycraftſmen; and ſurgeons were offered the ſame conditions as an enſign. Though this proclamation was publiſhed ſo late as *March*, yet in the beginning of *May* following no fewer than 3750 perſons embarked and eſtabliſhed themſelves on the borders of the bay of *Chebucto*; where, under colonel *Cornwallis*, who was appointed governor of the ſettlement, they built a city called *Hallifax*, in honour of the projector, and before the end of *October* the ſame year three hundred and fifty comfortable wooden houſes were built, as were many more during the winter. Nothing can more effectually ſhew the difference between the *Engliſh* and the *French* genius for colonizing, than the prodigious encouragement given by the *Britiſh* parliament to this infant ſettlement, which, in five years, amounted to a greater ſum than all that the *French* had expended for a hundred and fifty years upon their extenſive colony of *Canada*. The ſame year in which the firſt ſettlers were embarked, the parliament granted them 40,000l. ſterling, for the charge of that embarkation and other expences. In the year 1750 they granted

57,582l. 19s. 3d. 1q. for the ſame purpoſe, in 1751, 53,927l. 14s. 4d. in 1752, 61,492l. 19s. 4d. 1q. in 1753, 94,615l. 12s. 4d. in 1754, 58,447l. 2s. and in 1755, 49,418l. 7s. 8d. We have been the more particular with regard to this new ſettlement, becauſe it formerly lay within the province of *Canada*, and becauſe it was intended as a bulwark againſt the encroachments of the *French Canadians* in thoſe quarters. It cannot be ſaid that the ſucceſs of the ſettlement anſwered the ſanguine expectations of its patrons; and perhaps after-experience may prove that nothing is more hurtful to projects of that kind, than too great encouragement given by the government, as it tends to render the ſpirit of induſtry and agriculture, leſs neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants.

which is infeſted by the French

No ſooner was *Hallifax* peopled than the *French* clandeſtinely ſpirited up their *Indians* againſt the *Britiſh* inhabitants; ſome of whom were murdered, while others were carried priſoners to *Louiſbourg*, where they were ſold to the *French* for arms and ammunition. When the government of *England* complained of this to the *French* court, they pretended that their ſubjects carried on that traffic to preſerve the *Engliſh* from the cruelty of their *Indian* captors; but the futility of this pretence was fully demonſtrated, by the exceſſive ranſom which they obliged the *Britiſh* captives to pay. As it was notorious, that even the *Indian* parties were headed by the *French*, the *Britiſh* ſettlers made repeated complaints on that head to the governor of *Louiſbourg*; but all the ſatisfaction they received in anſwer was, that thoſe *French* officers were the inhabitants of *Annapolis*, who remained there after that country was ceded to the crown of *England*; and that conſequently they were the ſubjects of *Great Britain*. But at laſt thoſe very *French* of *Annapolis* avowed their attachment to the government of *Canada* by riſing in rebellion againſt that of *Great Britain*.

In the ſpring of the year 1750 the government of *Hallifax* detached major *Lawrence* with a ſmall party to reduce thoſe rebels; but upon his appproach they burnt their habitations, and fled for protection to *la Corne*, whom we have already mentioned, and who thereby found himſelf at the head of 1500 men well provided with arms and ammunition. The match therefore between him and *Lawrence* became thereby ſo unequal, that the latter was obliged to have recourſe to remonſtrances only, upon the perfidious part the *French* were acting. *La Corne*, as uſual, pretended that he could enter into no diſcuſſion of the rights of the two crowns: but he declared that he was reſolved to obey his orders, and to maintain his poſt. Upon this *Lawrence* found himſelf under a neceſſity to return to *Hallifax*, while the *French* neutrals, as they were called, renewed their depredations and murders upon the *Engliſh* ſubjects. Major *Lawrence* was then ſent with 1000 men by ſea to *Chignecto*; and though the rebels were advantageouſly poſted, he killed a conſiderable number of them, and beating them out of their entrenchments obliged them again to take refuge under *la Corne*, by croſſing a river, on the oppoſite bank of which he ſtood with his troops drawn up, and received them as friends and fellow ſubjects.

It cannot be diſſembled that the ſtate of parties in *England* at this time was unfavourable to any vigorous meaſures againſt the *French*. The *Engliſh Americans* were indeed warranted as to their hoſtilities againſt the *Indians*, and the *French* neutrals, who, in reality, were rebels; but they had not yet ventured to attack the *French* themſelves, and this forbearance laid them under inexpreſſible diſadvantages. All they could do was to act upon the defenſive, and they built a fort called *St. Lawrence*, oppoſite to the *French* fort of *Beauſejour* on the neck of the peninſula. Notwithſtanding this the *Indians* ſurpriſed the little town of *Dartmouth* on the other ſide of *Hallifax* bay, where they killed and ſcalped ſome inhabitants, and carried off others priſoners. Their manner of making war rendered it extremely difficult for the *Engliſh* to ſuppreſs them. Their natural ſwiftneſs and activity were favoured by the *French* lending their arms, ammunition, and canoes, which they did with all imaginable ſecrecy; and they were ſheltered by two additional forts on the neck of the peninſula, one called *Bay Verte*, and the other at the mouth of *St. John*'s river to the north of the bay of *Fundy*. The earl of *Albemarle* repeated his memorials at the court of *France* upon thoſe invaſions. He inſiſted upon *de la Jonquiere*, the *French* commander in chief in *Canada*, receiving orders to deſiſt from all hoſtilities; that fort *Niagara* ſhould be immediately demoliſhed; that all the *Britiſh* priſoners in *America* ſhould be ſet at liberty, and their captors ſeverely puniſhed. The *French*, in purſuance of their ſchemes, ſought to gain time. They ſent *Jonquiere* orders in the terms required by the *Britiſh* embaſſador; but gave him (as appeared by his art and their conduct) private inſtructions, not to mind them, and all the ſatisfaction *Great Britain* obtained was the deliverance of ſix *Engliſh* priſoners out of their dungeons.

The French *ſurprize* Loggſtown.

EVERY day brought freſh inſtances of the *French* encroachments and invaſions in *America*. They ſurprized *Loggſtown*, which the people of *Virginia*, for the conveniency of trade, had built upon the *Ohio*, on pretence that it was within the government of *Canada*, and plundered its warehouſes of ſkins and goods to the amount of 20,000l. Not contented with this booty, they murdered all the *Britiſh* traders but two, who eſcaped. In like manner, one *Coutrecœur*, a *French* officer, came from *Venango*, another of their uſurped forts on the *Ohio*, with 1000 men and eighteen pieces of cannon, in no fewer than three hundred canoes, and ſurprized a *Virginian* fort on the banks of the *Monongahela*. The certainty of thoſe, and many other hoſtilities arriving in *England*, the government there ſent orders for their *American* governors to endeavour to drive the *French* from the *Ohio*, and to oppoſe force to force; but experience taught the *Britiſh* miniſtry the great ſuperiority their enemies had ariſing from the conſtitutions of the two governments in that country. That of *Canada* or *New France* was moved by one direction, which gave it a force that rendered it more irreſiſtible than that of the *Engliſh*, who had ſeparate governments, and ſeparate, nay ſometimes contradictory, intereſts in view. This had been an evil long complained of, and it had viſibly rendered our ſuperiority of ſtrength on that continent ineffectual, even for our own preſervation. Two meaſures were neceſſary to be purſued to remedy this inconvenience. The firſt was a political confederacy amongſt all the *Britiſh* governments; by which their power ſhould be united in one; and the ſecond was to detach the *Indians* from their connexions with the *French*.

Treaty between the Engliſh *and the* Iroquois *ineffectual*

THE *Britiſh* coloniſts were ſenſible of the wiſdom of thoſe orders, but for the reaſons we have hinted at it was not eaſy to carry them into execution. The governor of *New York*, however, attended by deputies from the other governments, gave a meeting to the *Iroquois*, or, as they are now commonly called, the *Indians* of the *Six Nations* at *Albany*, where only a few of them attended, and it was evident that all of them were cooled in their affections towards the *Engliſh*. This was owing to the powerful, but ſecret practices of the *French* government, who, of late, had applied themſelves in good earneſt to the advancement of *Canada*, and had ſent thither immenſe ſtores of money, arms, and ammunition. The *Engliſh*, to counterwork them in the ſame way, had voted conſiderable preſents (the province of *Virginia* in particular raiſed five hundred pounds) to the ſavages of *Albany*; which they accepted of; but could be brought into no other meaſures for an alliance with the *Engliſh*, excepting that they were willing to renew their old treaties, and to join in driving the *French* from the poſts they had uſurped upon their lands. Major *Waſhington* had been diſpatched by governor

Dinwiddie to the *French* commandant upon the *Ohio*, requiring to know by whoſe authority and inſtructions he lately marched from *Canada* with an armed force, and invaded the king of *Great Britain*'s territories. An officer, called *St. Pierre* was the commandant, and he returned Mr. *Dinwiddie* an anſwer dated from the fort upon the river *au Beuf*, full of evaſions, but promiſing to tranſmit the governor's letter to the marquis *du Queſne* the governor-general of *Canada*. *Waſhington* having returned to *Williamſburg*, the *Britiſh* governors of *Virginia* and *New York*, came to a reſolution to ſend him with ſome men to maintain their poſts upon the *Ohio*. He accordingly encamped on the *Great Meadows*, and at firſt obtained ſome advantages, which were but confuſedly related in the *Engliſh* Gazettes, and the accounts publiſhed by their officers. *Waſhington* had with him about four hundred men, and had thrown up a haſty entrenchment for his own defence, upon what the *French* called their ground. A *French* officer, one *Villier*, then commanded at *Monongahela*, who, according to the *Engliſh* accounts, was at the head of nine hundred men; and *Waſhington* was expecting reinforcements from *New York* which never arrived. *De Villier* ſent one *Jamonville*, with a ſmall party, formally to require *Waſhington* to abandon his entrenchments, or as he called it, fort. But the whole detachment was deſtroyed or taken priſoners, if we may believe the *French*, in a moſt unſoldierlike manner. *De Villier*, upon this, advanced at the head of his main body, and began an attack, after killing all the *Engliſh* horſes and cattle in the meadows. *Waſhington*, for ſome time, defended himſelf with great intrepidity, and, notwithſtanding the inequality of the numbers, the *French* commandant offered him and his detachment a very honourable capitulation, by which both parties were to retire; the *Engliſh* towards *Wills's Creek* and the *French* back to *Monongahela*. *Waſhington* accepted of the terms, and ſent two officers as hoſtages for the re-delivery of ſome priſoners, who had been made of *Jamonville*'s detachment. The capitulation was ſcarcely ſettled, when a body of *French Indians* appeared, and though they were prevented from breaking it, which they were violently inclined to do, yet the *French* commandant very tamely ſaw them harraſs the *Engliſh* in their retreat, and plunder their baggage.

Defence of Waſhington.

THE *French* miniſtry, by this time, having ſent the full complements of reinforcements and ſupplies to *Quebec*, were at leſs than uſual pains to apologize for this flagrant and unwarrantable hoſtility, when complained of by the earl of *Albermarle*. The *Engliſh* colonies in *America*, inſtead of uniting againſt their common danger, ſeemed to be more divided than ever. The *Virginians* laid the blame of *Waſhington*'s misfortune, upon the people of *New York* not having fulfilled their engagements. At the ſame time, they differed upon ſome very immaterial points with their governor. The like diſputes happened between the government and the people of *Penſylvania*. The inhabitants of *New York* were exaſperated to the laſt degree, upon their diſcovering certain inſtructions, which they knew their new governor, Sir *Danvers Oſborn* had brought from *England*; and the other *Britiſh* colonies on that continent were in a very little better ſituation; but they all concurred in ſometimes blaming the backwardneſs, and ſometimes imploring the aſſiſtance, of their mother country. Orders were at laſt given by the court of *England* for raiſing two *American* regiments, the command of which was given to *Shirley*, governor of *New England*, and to Sir *William Pepperel*, a gentleman of that country, who both had ſerved in the ſame rank in the preceding war. Several ſtores were likewiſe diſpatched from *England*, for the defence of our *American* plantations, particularly of *Caſtle William* in *Virginia*; and notice on the 7th of *October*, was given in the gazette of the names of the officers, who were taken from the regular troops, that they might repair to their ſeveral ſtations.

Negotiations between France *and* Engliſh *at* London.

THE duke *de Mirepoix* was then the *French* embaſſador at the court of *London*, and was a nobleman of more than *Gallic* integrity. The *Engliſh* embaſſador at *Paris* being now dead, and *Mirepoix* being witneſs of the great preparations making in *England* for *America*; his court, who did not think that that of *England* would proceed with ſo much vigour, employed him to renew their aſſurances, that no hoſtilities were intended. They knew *Mirepoix*'s character too well, to believe that he would give inſincere aſſurances, and therefore carefully concealed from him their true intention, which made the embaſſador enter very earneſt proteſtations of his court's good faith; and offered to be anſwerable for it with his private honour. The *Britiſh* miniſtry had better intelligence than he imagined, and he was confounded when they anſwered all his proteſtations of cordiality, by producing copies of the orders ſent to the governor-general and their officers in *Canada*, which flatly contradicted him. The proofs were too flagrant to be denied, and all he could do was to upbraid the *French* miniſtry in perſon, but they referred him to the king, who ſent him back with orders from himſelf to aſſure the court of *England* of his pacific intentions. Before he could well reach *London*, undoubted intelligence arrived of a powerful *French* armament being ready to ſail from *Breſt* and *Rochfort*. Upon this, admiral *Boſcawen*, towards the end of *April*, 1755, ſailed with twelve men of war for *Plymouth*, where they were to take ſoldiers on board, and from thence to proceed to watch the progreſs of the *French* fleet. The latter appeared to be ſtronger than was at firſt apprehended; for it conſiſted of twenty-five ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, and had on board 4000 regular troops, commanded by baron *Dieſkau*, bound for *Canada* with vaſt quantities of warlike ſtores. Upon this intelligence, the *Britiſh* naval preparations were redoubled, and admiral *Holbourne* was ſent with ſix ſhips of the line and a frigate to reinforce *Boſcawen*.

French *fleet ſails for* Canada.

MACNAMARA was appointed to command the *French* fleet, and, in the beginning of *May*, he ſailed with it from *Breſt*, his courſe being directed for *Canada*; but, after ſeeing it out of the chops of the *Engliſh* channel, he returned with nine of the capital ſhips, while the reſt continued their courſe under the command of M. *Bois de la Mothe*. *Mirepoix* no longer depending upon the faithleſs *French* miniſtry for his inſtructions, ſtill continued his negotiations; but, being made acquainted that *Boſcawen*'s inſtructions were to act offenſively, he declared, that his maſter would conſider the firſt gun that was fired in a hoſtile manner, as a declaration of war, which would ſet all *Europe* and *America* in flames. It is foreign to our ſubject, to trace the many operations that were deſigned at this time, farther than they relate to *Canada*, and the war between the *French* and the *Engliſh* on that continent. *Boſcawen* arrived on the banks of *Newfoundland*, and took his ſtation off *Cape Race*. In a few days after, M. *Bois de la Mothe* arrived with his ſquadron upon the ſame coaſt; but the thick fogs prevented either ſquadron from diſcovering the other, by which, part of the *French* eſcaped up the river *St. Lawrence*, and part went round to the ſame river by the ſtraits of *Belleiſle*. Two of their ſhips, however, the *Alcide*, of ſixty-four guns, and four hundred and eighty men, and the *Lys* pierced for ſixty-five guns, but mounted only twenty-two, with four companies of land-forces on board, were ſeparated by the fog from the reſt of the fleet, and fell in with the *Dunkirk*, commanded by captain *Howe*, and the *Defiance*, commanded by captain *Andrews*, both of them ſixty-four gun ſhips; and, after a briſk engagement, they were both taken, with about 8000 l. on board[c]. Various were the accounts which party began the attack; but, though the diſpute is imma-

The Lys *and* Alcide *taken.*

---

[c] London Gazette, July 15, 1755.

immaterial, it is probable the *French* fired the firſt gun, though the *Engliſh*, it is ſaid, gave the firſt provocation.

Colonel Monckton *reduces the* French *forts in* Nova Scotia.

THE principal effect which this blow had (though it fell ſhort of the public expectation) was to alarm the *French*, as much as it animated the *Engliſh*. The two *French* miniſters, *Mirepoix* at *London*, and *Buſſy* at *Hanover*, (where his *Britannic* majeſty then was) were recalled, and the people of *Great Britain* being now convinced that their government was in earneſt in their war with *France*, their preparations, both by ſea and land, were continued with a ſpirit and expedition beyond example. The aſſembly of *Maſſachuſet's-Bay* prohibited all commerce with the *French* at *Louiſbourg*; and, early in the year, they raiſed a body of troops, which they ſent to the aſſiſtance of Mr. *Lawrence*, governor of *Nova Scotia*, who had formed a plan, the execution of which was committed to colonel *Monckton*, for driving the *French* from fort *Beauſejour*, and the other poſts they held upon the iſthmus. The *French* had foreſeen this attempt, and had made preparations, but ineffectually, to reſiſt it. While colonel *Moncton* was employed by land upon this ſervice, captain *Rous* was diſpatched up the bay of *Fundy*, with three frigates and a ſloop. The firſt reſiſtance the *Engliſh* met with was at a block houſe upon the river *Maſſaguaſh*, where about four hundred and fifty rebel *Acadians* and *Indians* were poſted with cannon behind a ſtrong breaſt-work of timber. From this poſt they were driven, in an hour's time, by the *Engliſh* provincials, and the paſſage of the river was left free. The colonel then on the 12th of *June* inveſted fort *Beaſejour*, which mounted twenty-ſix pieces of cannon, with ſtore of ammunition; and, after a bombardment of four days, before he had mounted a ſingle cannon upon his batteries, he obliged it to ſurrender, though his force was ſo ſmall, that he could not inveſt it. About a hundred and fifty regulars and three hundred inhabitants were found alive in the fort; the name of which the colonel changed into that of *Cumberland*. The capitulation granted to the garriſon was, that it ſhould not bear arms in *America* for ſix months; that they ſhould be ſent, at the king of *Great Britain*'s expence, to *Louiſbourg*; that the *Acadians*, in conſideration of their having been compelled by the *French* to rebel, ſhould be pardoned.

NEXT day, the colonel reduced the other *French* fort upon the river *Gaſpereau*, running into *Bay Verte*, which was chiefly conſiderable by the large magazines of proviſions it contained for the ſupply of the *Indians*. He then diſarmed the *Acadians*, to the number, as is ſaid, of 25,000. Captain *Rous* then ſailed with three twenty-gun ſhips and a ſloop, to look into *St. John's* river, where they found no ſhips; but the *French* in the fort there, upon their appearance, burſt their cannon, blew up their magazine, and marched off. The native *Indians* upon the place, next morning, invited captain *Rous* on ſhore, and gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they intended to live in peace and friendſhip with the *Engliſh*; and that they had refuſed to aſſiſt the *French*, though greatly preſſed by them to do it. We are now to attend another *Engliſh* expedition in *America*, which was as unfortunate, as that we have been deſcribing was ſucceſsful.

Vigorous Preparations of the Engliſh *againſt* Canada,

THE war with *France* being now declared, the *Engliſh* miniſtry, after almoſt ruining the *French* commerce by ſea, came to a reſolution of puſhing them with the utmoſt vigour by land. For this purpoſe, other expeditions were marked out; one under general *Braddock*, who was to be ſent from *England* againſt fort *du Queſne* upon the *Ohio*. Colonel *Johnſon*, a *Britiſh American*, and an excellent officer, was to march againſt *Crown Point*, while general *Shirly* was to attack their fort at *Niagara*. *Braddock* had little to recommend him, but great courage and ſome experience in war; tho' of a very different ſort from that required to ſucceed in *America*. In other reſpects he was very ill qualified to act in concert with the *Britiſh Americans*. It was agreed, that the general ſhould ſail from *Cork* in *Ireland*, with colonel *Dunbar*'s and Sir *Peter Halket*'s regiments of foot for *Virginia*, where he arrived before the end of *February*. This firſt part of his deſtination is thought to have been injudicious, and to have been owing to certain partialities at home for the *Virginians*. *Braddock* himſelf, as well as the public, knew that the ſucceſs of his attempt depended chiefly upon his being able to take the field early; but, when he arrived at *Virginia*, where the contractors with the government had engaged to provide him with proviſions, and carriages for his army, he found none in readineſs, which ſeems to have rendered him deſperate, and he was at very little pains to conceal his reſentment againſt the provincials. Encamping at *Wills's Creek* he had a hundred and thirty miles to march from thence to fort *du Queſne*, but the diſappointment of his proviſions and carriages, both which are very ſcarce in *Virginia*, retarded his army for ſome weeks. At laſt, the back ſettlers of *Penſylvania* were applied to, and they furniſhed ſome proviſions, but thoſe ſo bad, that they could ſcarcely be made uſe of, together with fifteen waggons, and a hundred draught horſes, inſtead of a hundred and fifty waggons, and three hundred horſes, which the *Virginians* had contracted for. All that the general, and the officers of the expedition, could do, in *are diſappointed,*

this caſe, was to apply to ſome private gentlemen of *Penſylvania*, whoſe zeal for the ſervice ſupplied him with what he wanted; though the principles of the *Penſylvanians*, in general, are known not to be very favourable to offenſive operations in war. *Braddock*, being now plentifully ſupplied with proviſions and carriages, on the 12th of *June*, ſet out upon his march, and paſſed the *Allegany* mountains at the head of 2200 men, till he came within five days march of fort *du Queſne*. Here he laboured under two great diſadvantages, which he could not remedy, beſides many that he could. In the firſt place, he could receive no certain accounts of the ſtate of the enemy's garriſon at *du Queſne*, or of their forts in the neighbourhood. In the next place, the advanced ſeaſon of the year had brought out the leaves of the trees, and the other verdure, which concealed the ambuſhes of the enemy [d]. With regard to the other diſadvantages he was under, they were owing chiefly to himſelf. Though he had been furniſhed by the duke of *Cumberland*, then commander in chief of the *Britiſh* forces, with a ſet of inſtructions, ſo wiſe and ſeaſonable, that it ſeemed as if his royal highneſs had foreſeen his conduct, and every ſtep that brought on his fatal cataſtrophe, yet he treated the *Indians* with the utmoſt contempt, without employing them in guarding againſt what his royal highneſs principally cautioned him, ambuſhes and ſurprizes. He even not only neglected and diſobliged the *Virginians*, but behaved with inſupportable haughtineſs to his own officers; and the rather, as they urged the neceſſity of a circumſpect march. When he came to the *Little Meadows*, where *Waſhington* had been defeated the year before, about twenty miles beyond fort *Cumberland*, at *Wills's Creek*, he received advice, that the *French* at fort *du Queſne* expected a reinforcement of five hundred men. Upon this, he left the greateſt part of his waggons, with about eight hundred men, under the command of colonel *Dunbar*, with orders to follow him as expeditiouſly as he conveniently could; and with the main body of the army, and twelve pieces of cannon, he encamped the eighth day of *July*, within ten miles of fort *du Queſne*. Sir *Peter Halket*, a brave but prudent officer, took that opportunity of putting the general in mind, that it was not even then too late to employ the few friendly *Indians*, that remained with them in the camp, in reconnoitering the woods and paſſages, and marching upon the flanks of the line. *Braddock* rejected this advice, not without ſome con-

---

[d] See the ſtate of the Diſputes in *Penſylvania* between the gonor and aſſembly.

and Braddock *defeated and killed.*

temptuous inſinuations, as to *Halket*'s caution; and, on the ninth, he continued his march, and fell into an ambuſcade of *French* and *Indians* in the woods, planted in a manner peculiar to the *Canadians* and their ſavages, ſo as that they could do execution, without being themſelves expoſed to danger. About noon, a general fire upon the front, and upon the left flank of the *Engliſh*, was the firſt intimation which the general had of the attack. By this time, he was in the very middle of the defile, where the ambuſh had been ſo artfully placed, that not a man of the enemy was to be ſeen; but where they could take unerring aim from behind trees and in thickets. The van of the *Engliſh* fell back upon their center; and the panic of the whole was proportioned to the ſuddenneſs of their danger, ſo that a general route enſued, and *Braddock* was left with only his officers, and a few brave men about him, who, in vain, attempted to engage an enemy they could not diſcern. The officers, who behaved on this trying occaſion admirably well, endeavoured to ſtop or to rally the men; but the general gave no orders for a regular retreat, or for bringing up his cannon to ſcour the woods and buſhes with great ſhot, which might have diſlodged the enemy. Inſtead of that, he remained on the ſpot, and ordered the officers and ſoldiers about him to form in regular platoons againſt the inviſible enemy, whoſe every ſhot did execution, eſpecially on the brave officers, who were known by their dreſſes. The general himſelf, after having five horſes killed under him, was ſhot through the arm and lungs, and he died on the fourth day after; having been carried off the field, with great affection and courage, by lieutenant colonel *Gage*, and another of his officers. Sir *Peter Halket* was killed on the ſpot, as were two captains and ten or twelve ſubalterns; and many other brave officers were wounded. In ſhort, the loſs of the *Engliſh* was about ſeven hundred.

Bravery of the Virginians.

IT is remarkable, that the *Virginians* and other provincial troops who were in this action, and whom *Braddock*, by way of contempt, had placed in the rear, far from being affected with the panic which diſordered the regulars, offered to advance againſt the enemy, till the others could form and bring up the artillery; but the regulars could not be brought again to the charge, where, as they ſaid, they were butchered without ſeeing their enemy. Notwithſtanding this, the provincials actually formed, and behaved ſo well, that they brought off the remaining regulars; and the retreat of the whole was ſo unintermitting, that the fugitives never ſtopt, till they met the rear diviſion, which was advancing under colonel *Dunbar*. All the artillery, baggage, ammunition, and papers, of the diviſion under the general, fell into the hands of the enemy, even to his own cabinet, with his letters and inſtructions. Colonel *Dunbar*, upon whom the chief command of that army then devolved, rendered unſerviceable all the artillery that remained with his diviſion; and the *French Indians*, after ſharing the booty, which fell into their hands, returned to *Canada*. This fatal defeat made no impreſſion upon the friendly *Engliſh Indians*, who, when they heard of it, ſaid, that they expected nothing elſe from the conduct of general *Braddock*, who was unacquainted with their manner of fighting.

It was naturally expected that the colonel would have paſſed the remainder of the ſummer at *Cumberland* fort, where he might have fortified his little army, and prevented the exceſſes of the *French Indians*, on the weſtern borders of *Virginia* and *Penſylvania*. But it is ſaid he found himſelf under two diſadvantages: the firſt was, that the panic continued ſo ſtrong upon the regulars, that they refuſed to remain in that inhoſpitable country, which had already proved ſo fatal to their brethren; and the next was, that they were in danger of periſhing for want of proviſions, which could be obtained only from *Penſylvania*, with great trouble, expence, and danger. He therefore left the ſick and wounded at that fort, together with two independent companies of the provincial militia, by way of garriſon, and returned with the remainder of the army to *Philadelphia*, where the general aſſembly of *Penſylvania* had voted 50,000 l. and 3000 men for defending the colony; but both were rendered ineffectual by the diſputes that were renewed between the governor and the aſſembly. Soon after, Mr. *Shirley*, upon whom by the death of *Braddock*, the command of the *Britiſh* troops in *America* devolved, ordered the troops under *Dunbar* to remove to *Albany* in *New York*; and thus *Virginia*, *Maryland*, and *Penſylvania* were, for the remainder of the year, left entirely expoſed to the barbarities of their enemies, who were not wanting in harraſſing them.

Diſcord amongſt the Engliſh *in* America.

It appeared evidently, from the conduct of the *Penſylvanian* aſſembly, that their members conſidered no evil ſo great as that of ſubmitting to their governor, who pretended that, by his inſtructions, he was diſabled from paſſing the bill for raiſing the 50,000 l. if the eſtates of the proprietaries were to be affected by it. Thus each party riſked the ſafety of its country to a foreign enemy, rather than comply in a few immaterial points with the other. The reſt of the *American* colonies obſerved a conduct ſomewhat more rational. Upon the defeat of *Braddock*, they ſaw the neceſſity of exerting themſelves. The people of *New York* voted the ſum of 40000 l. for the public ſervice; paſſed an act againſt all intercourſe or trade between the *French* and them in *America*; and the rendezvous of the troops deſtined for the reduction of *Crown Point* and *Niagara*, was appointed to be at *Albany*, where moſt of them arrived before the beginning of *July*. The *French* all this while, by their ſcalping parties, filled all the out-ſettlements of the *Engliſh* in *North America* with the moſt horrid murders, but after the rendezvous of the troops at *Albany*, it was perceived that the artillery and proviſions, with the battoes that were to carry them and the men, could not be ready before the eighth of *Auguſt*. As a great deal depended on the ſucceſs of this expedition, the *American* governments began to open their eyes to the neceſſity of poſtponing all the little differences amongſt themſelves, that they might purſue the wiſe plan of union recommended to them from *Great Britain*. The governments of *Boſton*, *Connecticut*, *New Hampſhire*, *Rhode-Iſland*, and *New York*, accordingly applied themſelves with great ſpirit; and Sir *William Johnſon* found at lake *George*, to which he ſet out from *Albany*, between 5 and 6000 men, beſides *Indians*, that had been raiſed by thoſe governments. Every thing then being ready for the grand expedition, *Johnſon*, after advancing about fourteen miles, choſe a ſtrong camp, defended on its flanks by ſwamps, in its rear by lake *George*, and in its front by a breaſtwork of trees. In this camp, he was to wait for his battoes, that he might proceed to *Ticonderoga*, the ſtrong paſs, that, when taken, was to open his way to *Crown Point*, from which it was about fifteen miles diſtant. He ſoon received intelligence, that a body of the enemy were on their march to attack fort *Edward*, at the carrying-place, in which was a garriſon of between four and five hundred *New Hampſhire* and *New York* men. *Johnſon*, having advertiſed *Blanchard*, the *Engliſh* commandant of that fort, of his danger, reſolved next morning to ſend out, under colonel *Williams*, a detachment of 1000 men, and about 200 *Indians*, which force he thought was ſufficient to cope with that of the *French* at fort *Edward*. They had ſcarcely left the camp when *Johnſon* and his men heard a regular firing; the meaning of which was ſoon explained by the detachment under *Williams* returning in the utmoſt confuſion, purſued by a regular body of the enemy, under general *Dieſkau*, who ſeemed to point their march to the very center of the *Engliſh* camp. Had thoſe *French* immediately attacked the wooden intrenchment, during the conſternation of the *Engliſh*, and before they had been able to draw up the heavy cannon for its defence, they probably would have ſucceeded in their attack, to the entire deſtruction of the *Engliſh* army. But, halting about a hundred and fifty yards from the breaſt-work, and beginning to fire at too great a diſtance to do execution, the *Engliſh* plied their great guns and muſketry ſo warmly, that the central body of the *French* regulars, who were all of them pickt men, began to flag in their fire, while the *Canadians* and *Indians*, who formed the flanks of their army, fled into the woods, from whence they could not be drawn to ſupport *Dieſkau*'s attack.

The French *defeated by Sir* William Johnſon.

THAT general varied his diſpoſitions. Finding he could make no impreſſion upon the center of the *Engliſh*, he made two different attacks on the right and left of the camp, and with vaſt obſtinacy he continued thoſe attacks from twelve at noon to four in the afternoon, till his fire became ſo feeble, that the *Engliſh* and their *Indians* compleated the rout of their enemies, by jumping over the breaſt-work, and, after ſlaughtering numbers, they took priſoner *Dieſkau* himſelf, whom they found leaning on a tree, and wounded in his leg and through both his hips. Of the *French* were killed in this action about eight hundred, but thoſe the flower of their troops. The greateſt loſs of the *Engliſh*, which in the whole did not amount to above a hundred and eighty men, fell upon the detachment under colonel *Williams*, who was himſelf killed, with his major, *Aſhley*, ſix captains and ſubalterns. Among the ſlain on the ſide of the *Indians* was old *Hendrick*, the great *Mohawk* ſachem, who, with his men, fought like a lion, and whoſe death was afterwards ſeverely revenged on the *French*. Of the *Engliſh* within the breaſt-work, few were killed, but among them was colonel *Titcombe*; and the general and major *Nichols* were wounded.

Conſequences of that defeat.

THIS action, however important in its conſequences, did no great honour to the military abilities of the *French* general. *Dieſkau*, like *Braddock*, bred a regular ſoldier, like him owed his defeat to a ridiculous attachment to camp and field diſcipline, againſt an enemy, and in a country, where both were not only uſeleſs but prejudicial. When he left *Quebec*, he had with him about 3000 regulars, great part of whom he had placed in *Crown Point*, and at other important paſſes. Had he executed his original plan of ſeizing fort *Edward*, the *Engliſh* army muſt have been greatly diſtreſſed, as they could not have advanced farther, and had they retreated great part of them muſt have been cut off. His leaving his deſign againſt fort *Edward* unexecuted, was owing to his receiving intelligence, that *Johnſon*'s camp was deſtitute of heavy artillery, which indeed was true, the *Engliſh* cannon having arrived but a very ſhort time before the attack was made, and were only mounted that very morning. Obſtinacy, miſinformation, and a contempt for the *Engliſh* provincials, occaſioned his continuing his ineffectual attacks, without heavy artillery, after he ſaw his enemy ſo well prepared to receive him. With regard to *Johnſon*, he ſeems to have been too late in ſending out the detachment under *Williams*, for the relief of fort *Edward*, and it is amazing that he ſhould hazard ſuch a body, without being informed of his enemy's numbers. But the greateſt blame he incurred was his not purſuing the victory he had obtained, which it was generally thought he might have done (R). Next day, a body of the defeated enemy fell upon a detachment of a hundred and twenty of the *New Hampſhire* men, who had been ordered by the general to reinforce his camp, and who were under the command of captain *Magennis*. That brave officer, perceiving he was to be attacked by numbers far ſuperior to his, made ſo noble a diſpoſition, and was ſo well ſeconded by a lieutenant under him, one *Van Schaack*, that he defeated and diſperſed the enemy with the loſs only of two men, eleven wounded, and five miſſing; but he himſelf was mortally wounded, and carried, but juſt alive, to the camp at lake *George*.

It was with difficulty, that Sir *William Johnſon*, who had more influence over the *Engliſh Indians*, than any *Britiſh* coloniſt ever was known to have, prevented them from putting to death *Dieſkau*, and the other *French* priſoners, in revenge of their ſachem *Hendrick*'s death; nor was it the leaſt important conſequence of his victory, that it regained to the *Engliſh* the eſteem and confidence of their *Indians*. This, indeed, with the defeat and diſappointment of the *French*, was all that the *Engliſh* colonies acquired by this expenſive expedition. The battle being fought on the ninth of *September*, the proceeding to the attack of *Crown Point* was thought impracticable; eſpecially as no care had been taken to ſecure a communication between the army and *Albany*. *Johnſon*, therefore, leaving a ſmall detachment to garriſon a ſtockaded fort, at the hither end of lake *George*, carried back his troops to their reſpective homes. But, whatever miſtakes

---

(R) The apology the general makes for this, in his letter to the governors of the *Engliſh* colonies, is, "Our men, by ſo much fatigue, are almoſt worn out; and, as the enemy have conſiderable reinforcements at hand, we are in daily apprehenſions of a more formidable attack, and that they will then come with artillery."

he might have been guilty of during this campaign, it is certain that his ſervices were much conſidered in *England*, where the ſound of victory had not for a long time been heard, that he was created a baronet, and received from the parliament a gratuity of 5000 l. But we are now to attend general *Shirley*'s operations againſt *Niagara* (S).

He is rewarded by the king and parliament of Great Britain.

So important a command being conferred on a man, ſaid to have been bred a lawyer, who had never exhibited any ſtriking inſtances of abilities, either in the field or the cabinet, and who had no viſible qualification to recommend him, but ſome knowledge of the country, in which he might be equalled, if not excelled, by every common ranger, created much ſpeculation, and damped the ſpirit of the ſervice at its outſet; and the public apprehenſions were but too well confirmed by the event. Like all other expeditions in *North America*, the ſucceſs of that againſt *Niagara* depended chiefly on the troops taking the field early. We have already mentioned the great importance of *Oſwego*, which had been projected by Mr. *Burnet*, governor of *New York*, but no care had been taken to fortify it ſuitably. *Shirley*'s march to *Niagara* lay by *Oſwego*. In the preceding year, ſome meaſures had been ſuggeſted for ſtrenghtening that poſt by augmenting its garriſon, and by building veſſels on lake *Ontario*,

Shirley*'s march towards* Oſwego.

(S) It may be neceſſary here to remind our readers of the ſituation and uſes of the three great *French* forts in *North America*, which we ſhall do from a Journal of that War, publiſhed in 1755. "*Niagara*, *Du Queſne*, and *Crown Point*, are three forts built by the *French*, in conſequence of their ſcheme to poſſeſs all the paſſes of the back countries, and ſecure them by ſtrong garriſons, to reſtrain us from penetrating farther into the continent, than the part we poſſeſs, and, at length, to exclude us from all commerce with the *Indians*, and engroſs the fur trade to themſelves. *Crown Point* was built about the year 1730, by the *Canadians*, though it is in the province of *New York*, and little more than a hundred miles from *Albany*. From this advanced garriſon, they can eaſily annoy all the upper parts of *New York* and *New England*, and prevent the ſettlement of any lands, north of *Hudſon*'s and *Connecticut* rivers. Fort *du Queſne* was built about three years ago, and is an encreachment upon *Penſylvania*; which enables the *French* to harraſs that, as well as the neighbouring provinces of *Maryland* and *Virginia*. *Niagara* is at the ſtreight between the lakes *Erie* and *Ontario*, and ſecures the great communication between *Canada* and *Louiſiana*. It is in the country of the *Senegas*, the moſt powerful of the *Five Nations*, and was built ſince the year 1721.

ſo as to intercept all communication between *Niagara* and the other *French* forts on the ſouth of that lake, and fort *Frontenac* or *Cataracouy*, on the north. A number of theſe veſſels, carrying ſix pounders and ſwivels, were accordingly conſtructed, and greatly diſtreſſed the *French* trade on the lake. About the ſame time, captain *Bradſtreet* carried two companies of a hundred men each to *Oſwego*, to reinforce that garriſon, which had lately been augmented from the pitiful number of twenty-five to a hundred men. The long and dangerous march between *Albany* and *Oſwego*, encreaſed the neceſſity of the troops ſetting early out for *New York*; which they did not till the beſt time for action was over. It was the beginning of *June*, before colonel *Schuyler*'s *New Jerſey* regiment took the field, and while *Shirley*'s and *Pepperel*'s regiments, with the *Indians*, the whole amounting to about 2500 men, were ready to follow them, the diſmal news of *Braddock*'s defeat arriving at *Albany*, diſpirited the troops ſo greatly, that they deſerted in great numbers; ſo that when *Shirley* arrived at *Oſwego*, he ſcarcely had the face of an army fit to go on ſo important an expedition, and, at the ſame time to ſecure the *Britiſh* ſettlements in thoſe parts. Many of the battoe-men, in particular, refuſing to proceed, conveniencies could not be had, even for carrying the neceſſary proviſions for the troops; and the *Indians*, on whom the general had laid great ſtreſs, were ſo far from joining him, that they abſolutely declared againſt his expedition, as tending to diſturb their peace and commerce. It was the 17th or 18th of *Auguſt*, before *Shirley* himſelf arrived at *Oſwego*, and the laſt day of the ſame month before his troops and artillery came up.

From whence he returns ineffectually.

It was eaſily foreſeen, that nothing for that year could be done againſt *Niagara*, notwithſtanding the excellent conveniencies of the veſſels that had been built upon the lake. The ſeaſon was not only too far advanced; but though the general waited till the 26th of *September*, when he received a ſupply of proviſions, it was ſo ſmall that it was ſcarcely ſufficient to ſubſiſt the ſix hundred men he intended to carry with him againſt *Niagara*, and to ſupport the troops he was to leave at *Oſwego* for twelve days; ſo that, if even the rainy ſeaſon had not ſet in as it did, the expedition muſt have been impracticable. A council of war being called, it was unanimouſly reſolved to defer the expedition againſt *Niagara* to the ſucceeding year; to leave colonel *Mercer* at *Oſwego*, with a garriſon of ſix hundred men, and to build two additional forts for the ſafety of that place, and the entrance of the harbour; and that the general himſelf ſhould return with the reſt of the army to *Albany*, for which he accordingly ſet out on the 24th of *October*. Thus ended an expedition, of which it is hard to ſay, whether it was planned or executed with leſs judgment. Nothing had happened during the courſe of it that might not have reaſonably been foreſeen, and the general returned to *Albany* at the very time his preſence was moſt wanted at *Oſwego*. The defeat of *Braddock*, and the taking his papers had informed the *French* of all the intended operations, on the part of the *Engliſh*, during the campaign, and *Shirley* had undoubted intelligence, that they had 1000 regulars at fort *Frontenac*, who were deſigned for the attack of *Oſwego*, where the two forts had only been marked out, when he abandoned it. In the mean while, the dreadful cruelties and plunderings of the *French* and their *Indians* upon the *Engliſh* back-ſettlements were ſo numerous, that though they fell upon particular perſons, they became a general concern. Upon the whole, it was evident, from the little effect, which ſo great a force as that employed by the *Engliſh* in *America* had this year againſt an enemy, which, compared to them, were deſpicable, that certain private diſcontents lurked in the minds of the chief provincials. Whatever they might pretend, they knew well that *Braddock* had a commiſſion to act as commander in chief of all the *Britiſh* troops on that continent, and that they were only to be ſubordinate to him. *Shirley* was both diſliked and deſpiſed in his military capacity; and *Johnſon*'s army, which, after the defeat of the *French*, amounted to 6000 men, was obliged to be diſbanded for the winter, for want of proviſions and for other domeſtic reaſons.

Conduct of the Britiſh *miniſtry.*

THE *Britiſh* miniſtry were fully ſenſible that miſtakes and miſmanagements had been committed in the ſervice, but they were tender and cautious of enquiring into them, and far more of puniſhing them; as not only the rigour of the military law was new in *America*, but it would have been highly impolitic, to have exaſperated thoſe coloniſts by any unneceſſary acts of ſeverity. A reſolution was therefore formed to throw the weight of the *American* war upon the mother-country chiefly; and that a regiment of foot ſhould be raiſed in *North America*, conſiſting of four battalions of 1000 men each, beſides ſix regiments of foot, who were to ſail from *Ireland* to ſerve in *North America* and the *Eaſt-Indies*. Mr. *Fox*, who was then miniſter, at the ſame time preſented to the houſe a meſſage from his majeſty, deſiring it to take into conſideration the faithful ſervices of the *New Englandmen*, and his ſubjects in ſome other parts of *North America*. The 4000 men of the *American* regiment were compoſed moſtly of *Germans* and *Swiſs*, who had been ſettled on the borders of the *Britiſh* colonies; and an act of parliament paſſed, enabling his majeſty to grant commiſſions to a certain number of foreign proteſtants, who ſerved abroad as officers, or engineers, to act and rank as officers or engineers, in *America* only. 1756. In the month of *January*, *De Rouillé*, the *French* miniſter and ſecretary of ſtate for foreign affairs, addreſſed a letter to Mr. *Fox*, bitterly complaining of the hoſtilities that had been committed by *Braddock* and *Boſcawen*, and the captures that had been made of the *French* ſhips before any declaration of war, with many other matters. But a very proper, becauſe a very ſpirited, anſwer, juſtifying all that had been done, was returned to thoſe complaints; and hoſtilities continued to be multiplied between the two nations. General *Shirley* was diſmiſſed from his military command, in which he was ſucceeded by general *Abercrombie*, who, in *March* this year, carried over with him two regiments to *North America*, while the command in chief over all the *American* forces was conferred on the earl of *Loudon*. Beſides this command, his lordſhip was made governor of *Virginia*, and colonel of the royal *American* regiment, conſiſting of the 4000 men, that were to be diſciplined by foreign, and other, officers of experience, beſides being veſted with other extraordinary powers; and his lordſhip embarked the latter end of *May*, for his important command.

Who ſend general Abercrombie *and lord* Loudon *to* America.

By this time, the *Engliſh* ſubjects, all over *North America*, ſeeing their mother-country was determined to ſupport them in earneſt, but ſenſible that they muſt lend their own vigorous aſſiſtance, made extraordinary efforts to bring a formidable force to the field. When general *Abercrombie*, on the fifth of *June*, arrived at *Albany*, he took upon him the command of the troops there, conſiſting of the two regiments, which had ſerved under *Braddock*, two battalions raiſed in *America*, the two regiments he brought along with him, four *New York* independent companies, the *New Jerſey* regiment, four *North Carolina* companies, and a body of *New England* provincials. As to the ſettlements towards the ſouthward, containing *Penſylvania*, *Maryland*, and *Virginia*, they had ſuffered, and were daily ſuffering, ſo much, from the *French* plunderings and maſſacres, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could defend themſelves. The plan for the campaign was to reduce fort *Niagara*, as being the moſt effectual means for diſabling the *French* from maintaining their forts upon the *Ohio*, or keeping up their communication between *Louiſiana* and *Canada*. *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point* were likewiſe to be reduced for the ſecurity of *New York.* All the convenient paſſes upon lake *Champlain* were to be ſeized by the *Engliſh*; fort *du Queſne* was to have been beſieged, and *Quebec* itſelf to have been alarmed by a body of troops detached up the river *Kennebeck.* This plan of operations was promiſing, and not at all impracticable even by the *Britiſh* troops, who were in readineſs; but it ſeemed as if the commander in chief had no inſtructions to enter upon any deciſive meaſures, till the arrival of lord *Loudon*, which proved too late in the year for their being executed; for he did not embark with the troops under his command from *England*, till the time above mentioned, occaſioned, as was ſaid, by the unſettled ſtate of the *Britiſh* miniſtry. Add to this, that the provincial officers were ſo much divided in their opinions, that his authority was neceſſary for bringing the troops into the field; and thus another year was loſt, under the moſt enormous expence that the public of *Great Britain* had ever been put to, in that or almoſt any other part of the world.

Oſwego *taken by the* French.

The *French* and their *Indians* took care to improve this procraſtination to their own barbarous purpoſes. They cut off, to a man, twenty-five *Engliſh*, who garriſoned a poſt amidſt their own *Indians.* They watched the return of a convoy, which had carried proviſions and ſtores to *Oſwego*, and was commanded by colonel *Bradſtreet.* This gentleman, more than ſuſpecting their intention, made a proper diſpoſition of his battoes, on his return by the river *Onnondaga*; and after receiving the enemy's fire from the north ſhore, he ordered his men to land on the ſouth, and he there took poſſeſſion of a ſmall iſland. Here he was attacked by a body of the enemy, which he repulſed; and, after that, by two ſeparate bodies, who had paſſed the river higher up, whom he likewiſe defeated; and, receiving afterwards a reinforcement under captain *Patten*, who was on his march to *Oſwego*, and another of two hundred men from that garriſon, he probably would have deſtroyed the whole *French* detachment, conſiſting of ſeven hundred men, had not the ſwelling of the rivers hindered him from purſuing them. *Patten* then proceeded to *Oſwego*, as *Bradſtreet* did to *Albany*, where he informed general *Abercrombie*, that the *French* had aſſembled a conſiderable force on the eaſt ſide of lake *Ontario*, with a numerous artillery to beſiege *Oſwego*; the garriſon of which, by this time, had been reinforced to the number of about 1400 men, beſides workmen and ſailors. Upon *Bradſtreet's* information, major-general *Webb* was ordered to march with a regiment to the relief of *Oſwego*; but, before it could be put in motion the earl of *Loudon* arrived at *Albany*, on the

29th of *July*. His preſence did not at all contribute to the unanimity of the provincials; for, notwithſtanding the imminent danger of *Oſwego*, the province of *New York*, and the northern governments, inſiſted upon the reduction of *Crown Point*, as being moſt dangerous for their country, and that ſome regiments of regulars ſhould join general *Winſlow*, who was marching with 7000 provincials, in attempting that conqueſt, while the remainder of the army were to remain at *Albany* to cover *New York*..

IN the mean while, the marquis *de Vaudreuil* had been appointed to the government of *New France*, and the marquis *de Montcalm*, who ſucceeded *Dieſkau* in the command of the troops, acted under *Vaudreuil* as major-general. *Montcalm*, who had the trueſt military genius of any officer the *French* had ever employed in *North America*, arrived the 29th of *July* at *Frontenac*, where, under the pretence of providing for the ſafety of that fort, and that of *Niagara*, *Vaudreuil* had aſſembled 3000 men, amongſt whom were the battalions of *Sarre*, *Guyenne*, and *Bearn*, amounting to 1300 regulars, beſides a body who had been ſent by *Vaudreuil* to the bay of *Niaoure*, where their general rendezvous was appointed. *Montcalm*, having made admirable diſpoſitions againſt any ſurprize, and for ſecuring his retreat, if he had been defeated, embarked on the fourth of *Auguſt* on lake *Ontario* for the bay of *Niaoure*, where being joined by all his armament, he advanced partly by land, and partly by water, till he came within half a league of *Oſwego*, or rather one of the new erected forts there, called by the *French*, *Fort Chouguen*, but by the *Engliſh*, *Oſwego New Fort*, the other new erected one being called *Fort Ontario*. It was the 13th of *Auguſt*, before the ground was opened before the latter; but the garriſon, finding it untenable, about ſix in the evening, having fired away all their ſhells and ammunition, and ſpiked up their cannon, evacuated the fort, and croſſed the river to *Little Oſwego Fort*. In the mean while, two armed barks, one of twelve and the other of ſixteen guns, blocked up *Oſwego* on this ſide of the lake, by *Montcalm*'s orders, and a chain of poſts had been formed on the road to *Albany* to prevent the garriſon from ſending to, or receiving any intelligence from thence; and his veſſels were ſecured by a battery on the land.

THE loſs of fort *Ontario* proved irreparable to the *Engliſh*. Colonel *Mercer* did all that poſſibly could be done to render the ſeven little veſſels, which lay at the mouth of the *Chouguen*, ſerviceable to his garriſon; but the diſpoſitions made by *Montcalm* fruſtrated all his endeavours. It is, however, highly probable, that, had he not been killed, he would have battled the beſiegers, notwithſtanding all the diſadvantages he was under, either by a bold ſally, or by burning the enemy's ſhips; but, on the 13th, they having entirely inveſted the fort, he was killed by a cannon-ball; and then the garriſon, being left without a commander of equal authority and abilities, ſurrendered priſoners of war, on condition of their being exempted from plunder, carried to *Montreal*, and treated with humanity. It is to the eternal ſtain of *Montcalm*'s, and the *French*, name, that thoſe articles, though agreed to by himſelf, were violated. Under the ſhameful pretence, that he could not reſtrain the impetuoſity of his *Indians*, they were ſuffered not only to rob, but to murder, ſeveral of the *Britiſh* officers and ſoldiers, after they had given up their arms, and moſt inhumanly ſcalped all the ſick and wounded, who were in the *Britiſh* hoſpital. *Montcalm* himſelf, on this occaſion, equalled, if not exceeded, the barbarity of his own ſavages; for he put into their hands twenty *Engliſh* priſoners, who, probably, were put to the moſt excruciating deaths, a cuſtom amongſt the ſavages that he could be no ſtranger to, in revenge of twenty of the barbarians, who had been killed during the ſiege. In the forts, which were demoliſhed, were found an hundred and ſeven pieces of cannon, and fourteen mortars, the reſt of the artillery conſiſting of patteraroes and cohorns; as alſo 1800 muſkets, 25,000 lb. of gunpowder, and a great quantity of proviſions. The priſoners were carried to *Montreal*, according to the capitulation.

Colonel Mercer *killed.*

THE reduction of *Oſwego* very undeſervedly raiſed the reputation of *Montcalm* and the *French* arms. The ſeveral forts of which it conſiſted were miſerably ſituated, built of the very worſt wooden materials, and open above; nor did any of the officers of the garriſon, after colonel *Mercer's* death, appear to have had much experience in military affairs. General *Webb*, by this time, had arrived with the regiment he commanded, for the relief of *Oſwego*, at the carrying-place between the *Mohawk*'s river and *Wood's Creek*, when he heard of the fate of that place. Being apprehenſive of an attack from the conquering army, he felled trees, and took other precautions for rendering the creek impaſſable; and thus he ſecured his retreat. But the loſs of *Oſwego* was ſoon felt in the moſt ſenſible manner, by a renewal of the moſt ſhocking barbarities, which the *French* and their *Indians* now committed, almoſt unoppoſed, upon the *Engliſh* ſettlers. As to the earl of *Loudon*, the advanced ſeaſon tied up his hands from acting, and all he could do was to promote the ſcheme of union among the *Britiſh* colonies, by endeavouring to conciliate

Conſequences of that action.

ciliate all their differences, both public and private, and to purſue the proper meaſures for ſecuring their frontiers from farther inſults. For this purpoſe, to eaſe the inhabitants as much as poſſible, convenient barracks were built at *Albany*, and ſtrong garriſons were thrown into the forts *Edward* and *William Henry*. Notwithſtanding this, fort *Granville*, on the confines of *Penſylvania*, was ſurprized, plundered, and burnt, by the enemy, who drove into captivity the ſmall garriſon, with the women and children it contained. To obviate, as much as poſſible, the like misfortunes for the future, the governor of *Penſylvania* concluded a treaty of peace with the *Delaware Indians*, who inhabit the banks of the river *Suſquehanna*; as the governor of *Virginia* did another with the *Cherokees* and the *Catawbas*, two powerful *Indian* tribes in their neighbourhood, who could bring 3000 men into the field. So much were the people of *England* intent upon the *American* affairs at this time, that the houſe of commons reſolved, that the contract entered into, on the 26th day of *March*, in the year 1756, by the commiſſioners of the treaſury, with *William Baker*, *Chriſtopher Kilby*, and *Richard Baker*, of *London*, merchants, for furniſhing proviſions to the forces under the command of the earl of *Loudon*, was prudent and neceſſary, and properly adapted to the ſecuring a conſtant and effectual ſupply for thoſe forces in *America*.

Lord Loudon's *diſappointments.*

It might have reaſonably been ſuppoſed, that the effects would have been in ſome meaſure proportioned to preparations ſo generouſly made, and ſo well ſupported; but, in this, the public of *England* was diſappointed. Lord *Loudon*, who was now in *America*, could not effect that neceſſary unanimity amongſt the *Britiſh* governors and provinces that was requiſite for proceeding againſt the common enemy with deciſive ſucceſs. The *French*, after their taking *Oſwego*, became maſters of the lakes of *North America*, by which the *Iroquois*, or as they are called the *Five Nations*, who were now extremely well diſpoſed towards the *Engliſh*, was cut off from all communication with them. Four hundred *Cherokee Indians*, indeed, joined the *Engliſh* at fort *Cumberland*, and a fort was built at *Wincheſter*, called fort *Loudon*; but all the *Britiſh* ſettlements along the *Mohawk*'s river, and the *German Flats* were expoſed to the *French* and their *Indians*, who deſtroyed them with unrelenting fury. In the mean while, admiral *Holbourn* arrived at *Hallifax*, with a ſtrong reinforcement of men and ſhips; by which lord *Loudon* was put at the head of 12000 men, the greateſt *European* army that had ever appeared in *America*. But M. *de Bois de la Mothe*, about the ſame time, arrived at the harbour of *Louiſbourg*, with a ſquadron ſuperior to that of the *Britiſh*, which rendered it imprudent to attack that place, though it was now the object of all the *Britiſh* operations in *America*, preferably to *Crown Point* itſelf. But we are to confine ourſelves to the hiſtory of *Canada*.

Operations in America,

MONTCALM, the *French* general there, failed in three attacks he made upon fort *William Henry*. Colonel *Parker*, in attempting, with about four hundred men who went by water, to diſlodge a *French* advanced-guard at *Ticonderoga*, was outwitted by the *French* and *Indians*, at that place, and the whole of his detachment, two officers and ſeventy private men excepted, was cut off. *Montcalm* then fluſhed with this new ſucceſs, prepared a-freſh for the ſiege of fort *William Henry*, which is ſituated on the ſouthern coaſt of lake *George*, ſo as to command that lake, and to protect the *Engliſh* colonies. The fort was garriſoned by near 3000 men, and general *Webb* lay near it with an army of above 4000. The general of *Canada*, having received great reinforcements from *Old France*, aſſembled from *Crown Point*, *Ticonderoga*, and other *French* poſts, about 10,000 men, and inveſted the fort, which he ſummoned to ſurrender, as he pretended, out of humanity, it being, as he ſaid, yet in his power to reſtrain the cruelties of his *Indians*. The garriſon of the fort, depending on being relieved by *Webb*, made a gallant defence; but, being diſappointed, were obliged on the 6th of *Auguſt*, the ſixth day of the ſiege, to capitulate [c]. The terms were that the garriſon of fort *William Henry*, and the troops in the retrenched camp, ſhould march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and ſoldiers, and all the uſual neceſſaries of war; eſcorted by a detachment of *French* troops, or interpreters attached to the ſavages. It was agreed, that the gate of the fort ſhould be delivered to the troops of the moſt Chriſtian king, immediately after ſigning the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the *Britiſh* forces: that the artillery, warlike ſtores, proviſion, and, in general, every thing, except the effects of the ſoldiers and officers, ſhould, upon honour, be delivered to the *French* troops; for which purpoſe, it was agreed there ſhould be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the ſtores, and other particulars ſpecified: that the garriſon of the fort, the troops of the retrenchment, and dependencies, ſhould not ſerve for the ſpace of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, or his allies: that, with the capitulation, there ſhould be delivered an exact ſtate of the troops, ſpecifying the names of the officers, engineers, artilleriſts, commiſſaries, and all employed: that four officers and ſoldiers, *Canadians*, women and ſavages, made priſoners by land, ſince the commencement of the war in *North America*, be delivered in the ſpace of three months at *Carilon*; in return for which, an equal number of the garriſon of fort *William* ſhould be capacitated to ſerve, agreeable to the return given by the *Engliſh* officer, and the receipt of the *French* commanding officers, of the priſoners ſo delivered: that an officer remain as an hoſtage, till the ſafe return of the eſcorte ſent with the troops of his *Britannic* majeſty: that the ſick and wounded, not in a condition to be tranſported to fort *Edward*, ſhould remain under the protection of the marquis *de Montcalm*, who engaged to uſe them with tenderneſs and humanity, and to return them as ſoon as recovered: that proviſion for two days ſhould be iſſued out for the *Britiſh* troops: that, in teſtimony of his eſteem and reſpect for colonel *Monro*, and his garriſon, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis *de Montcalm* ſhould return one cannon, a ſix-pounder.

---

[c] SMOLLET's Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 41, 42.

It is a poor apology on the part of the *French*, for them to pretend, that it was not in the power of *Montcalm* to enforce the obſervance of this capitulation, on account of the unrulineſs of his *Indians*. Every one who has read the preceding pages, muſt be ſenſible that a *French* general, eſpecially at the head of an army, is, if poſſible, more than maſter of his *American Indians*. Thoſe under *Montcalm* were permitted, if not commiſſioned, to break every article of the capitulation, and to commit cruelties, that a barbarian, nay a *Frenchman*, ought to bluſh at hearing repeated. They robbed the *Britiſh* troops, as they marched out, they tomohawked and ſcalped the *Britiſh Indians*, they ripped up the bellies of women, and committed inhumanities, which one who has a human feeling can ſcarcely credit. The fort was demoliſhed, every thing within it was ſeized, together with the effects, proviſion and artillery, and, what is of more importance than all, the veſſels that had been conſtructed upon the lake. It has been obſerved, that, during this diſgraceful campaign, we had no fewer than 20,000 troops on foot upon the continent of *America*; with twenty ſhips of the line in thoſe ſeas: a force doubly ſuperior to what had been ever known in that part of the world.

and diſgraceful campaign there.

Admiral *Holbourn* having diſcharged his tranſports, ſet ſail for *Louiſbourg*, after the earl of *Loudon* had departed from *Hallifax*. The meaning of this movement will perhaps ever remain a ſecret. That he did not intend to attempt to take the place is certain, and it ſeems to be equally certain that his deſign was not to fight the *French* admiral in that harbour; for upon the latter making diſpoſitions to engage him, he returned to *Hallifax*. Being reinforced about the middle of *September* with four ſhips of the line, he again ſet ſail for *Louiſbourg* with the unmeaning intention, to all appearance, of blocking up that harbour; a meaſure that ſeldom or never has been found effectual, though often attempted. A ſtorm, which it was not unreaſonable to foreſee, diſperſed his ſquadron. The *Tilbury* was loſt; eleven of his ſhips were diſmaſted, many of them threw over their guns, and all of them returned to *England* in a ſhattered condition: and thus ended by ſea and land a campaign ſo weak and ridiculous that it ought to be blotted out of the *Britiſh* annals.

1758. *Lord* Loudon *returns to* England.

In the year 1758, ſome diſſatisfaction with regard to the conduct of the war in *America*, ariſing in *England*, lord *Loudon* returned home, and the command there, then devolved upon general *Abercrombie*. The *Britiſh* force in *North America* about this time amounted to the incredible number of about 50,000 men; of whom 22,000 were regular troops. Twelve thouſand were appointed to the ſiege of *Louiſbourg*, 16,000 under the general himſelf, were to attack *Crown Point*, and general *Forbes*, an officer, who had been bred up under general *Campbell*, who loſt his life at *Fontenoy*, was appointed to reduce fort *du Queſne* on the *Obio*. The reduction of *Louiſbourg*, the particulars of which fall under another head of this work, was happily effected, and the iſland of *St. John*, in the gulph of *St. Lawrence*, a poſt of the utmoſt importance to the *French* and their treacherous neutrals, was reduced. Nothing now remained but to lay open the *French* empire in *America* to the *Britiſh* arms, and this was the intention of general *Abercrombie*'s expedition againſt *Crown Point*, and the *French* forts on the lakes *George* and *Champlain*. In *July* this year that general, with near 7000 regulars, and 10,000 provincials, a force more than ſufficient to have conquered both the *French* and the *Spaniſh America*, embarked on lake *George* on board of nine hundred battoes, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, with cannon mounted on rafts, and all the proviſions and accommodations that could render an enterprize of ſo much expectation ſucceſsful. The general's firſt operation was againſt *Ticonderoga*, a fort ſituated on an iſthmus between lake *George*, and a gut communicating with lake *Champlain*, and ſerving as the key to *Crown Point*, having on its front a moraſs, and the other three ſides being ſurrounded by water. Nothing could be more happy than the imbarkation and debarkation of the troops, which were formed into three columns, and drove a battalion of the enemy from an advanced-poſt. The march of the *Britiſh* army then lay through a thick wood, where lord *Howe*, whoſe memory will ever be dear to the *Britiſh* ſoldiery, loſt his life. The tracts of the wood were unknown; the general ordered the troops back to the landing-place, that they might refreſh themſelves. In the ſkirmiſh where lord *Howe* fell, about one hundred and forty-eight of the *French* were taken, and a conſiderable number were killed, and lieutenant colonel *Bradſtreet*, by the general's order, took poſſeſſion of a ſaw-mill, which was to facilitate the operations againſt *Ticonderoga* with a regiment of regulars, ſix companies of the royal *Americans*, the battoe men, and a body of rangers. *Abercrombie* then advanced once more towards *Ticonderoga*, which was defended by eight battalions of regulars, beſides a body of *Canadians* and *Indians*, amounting in the whole to about 6000 men. They depended for their defence upon an entrenchment before the fort, and hourly expected to be joined by 3000 men under M. *de Levi*, a *French* general officer of ſome reputation. *Abercrombie* had intelligence of this, and not improperly, reſolved to attack the enemy before this powerful reinforcement came up. Thoſe parts of the moraſs, which were the moſt acceſſible, were defended by a ſtrong line above eight feet high, on which cannon were mounted; and before that line, for about one hundred yards, trees were felled with their branches outward, which rendered the approaches ſtill more difficult. The general's engineer, however, after reconnoitring the enemy's entrenchments, gave his opinion that they were aſſailable, the works being yet unfiniſhed, and to the amazement of all *Europe* (when the account came to be publiſhed by authority) a reſolution was taken to attempt this formidable entrenchment without cannon, and with muſketry alone. None but *Britiſh* troops would have obeyed ſo unaccountable an order. They did it with uſeleſs, but unuſual intrepidity, which was fatal only to themſelves. Near 2000 of them, with a large proportion of officers were butchered, and the Highland regiment commanded by lord *John Murray*, had half of its men, and twenty-five of its officers, either killed or deſperately wounded. This attack, where no proſpect of ſucceſs could poſſibly preſent itſelf, was followed by a retreat as puſillanimous as the other was preſumptuous. The general reimbarked the troops, and though not an incident had happened that might not have been eaſily foreſeen, or rationally expected, on the 9th of *June* he returned ro his former camp at lake *George*.

Unſucceſsful attack upon Ticonderoga

THE

Fort Frontenac *reduced.*

THE reader without any ſuggeſtion of ours will be apt enough of himſelf to make reflexions upon this attempt ſo deſervedly unſucceſsful; but the war was not equally unfortunate in every quarter of *North America.* General *Amherſt* having reduced *Louiſbourg*, where he left a garriſon, marched towards *Albany* about the middle of *September* with ſix regiments, that he might ſupport and reinforce general *Abercrombie*, who had detached about 3000 men under colonel *Bradſtreet* (moſt of them provincials) to the important ſervice of reducing fort *Catarocouy* or fort *Frontenac.* Incredible were the difficulties which *Bradſtreet* ſurmounted in this expedition, before he arrived at lake *Ontario*, where he embarked his men in ſloops and battoes. The reputation of the *Britiſh* troops was then ſo low amongſt the *French*, that in that important fort they had only a garriſon of one hundred and ten men, with ſome *Indians*, and it ſurrendered at diſcretion, the firſt happy omen of a reverſal of ſucceſs in favour of the *Britiſh* arms! In the fort, which of itſelf was but poorly conſtructed, were found ſixty pieces of cannon, ſixteen ſmall mortars, but a vaſt quantity of proviſions and merchandizes, it being the magazine for all their weſtern garriſons and *Indian* allies, nine veſſels, ſome of which carried eighteen guns, and had been, in imitation of the *Engliſh*, conſtructed on the lake *Ontario*, fell likewiſe into *Bradſtreet*'s hands, and he deſtroyed the fort, with all the artillery, ſtores, proviſions, and ammunition, which he could not carry off; after which he went to *Oſwego.* The reader in the preceding part of this hiſtory muſt be ſenſible of the vaſt importance of fort *Frontenac* to the province of *Canada*, both as a ſtorehouſe for trading with the *Indians*, and a place of ſtrength for keeping them in awe. It is not perhaps eaſy to find a reaſon, now that the conqueſt of *Quebec* was to be attempted, why the ſame fort might not have been equally uſeful and advantageous to the *Britiſh* intereſt. It undoubtedly muſt have made us maſters of lake *Ontario*; and the keeping poſſeſſion of it muſt have diſtreſſed the *French* and their allies towards the weſt and north beyond all poſſibility of relief.

As is fort du Queſne

IN the beginning of *July* brigadier *Forbes* ſet out on his expedition from *Philadelphia* for fort *du Queſne.* He was to march through countries that never had been impreſſed by human veſtige, and he had difficulties to ſurmount, greater perhaps than thoſe of *Alexander* in his expedition to *India*, by eſtabliſhing magazines, forming and ſecuring camps, procuring carriages, and encountering a thouſand unforeſeen obſtacles in penetrating through regions that preſented nothing but ſcalping parties of *French* and ſavages, mountains, woods, and moraſſes. The enemy and their *Indians* were induſtrious in peſtering his march with their detached parties; but he penetrated to *Ray*'s town, which lies within ninety miles (accounted a ſmall diſtance in thoſe immenſe regions) of fort *du Queſne*. Here he detached about 2000 men under the command of colonel *Bouquet* to a place called *Lyal-Henning*, fifty miles farther on; and from thence the colonel ſent major *Grant* with eight hundred men to reconnoitre the fort and its neighbourhood. The major, perhaps, puſhed his detachment farther than prudence would have dictated. He was ſurrounded by the enemy; but notwithſtanding the vaſt ſuperiority of their numbers, he made a brave defenc, till loſing three hundred of his party, he himſelf, and nineteen other officers, were taken priſoners, and carried to the fort. Unadviſed as the major's forwardneſs ſeems to have been, it had a good effect by giving the enemy ſuch a ſpecimen of *Britiſh* courage, that general *Forbes* took poſſeſſion of the fort, which he diſmantled, without reſiſtance, and they fled to their other ſettlements upon the *Ohio*. The general here found the natives amicably diſpoſed towards *Great Britain*. He concluded treaties with them. He left a garriſon of provincials in the fort. He built a block-houſe near *Lyal-Henning*; but his conſtitution being delicate, and himſelf worn out with fatigue, he died before his return to *Penſylvania*.

Sir William Johnſon *makes a treaty with the* Indians.

HITHERTO the progreſs which the *Britiſh* arms had made in *North America* was rather ſolid than ſplendid; for they had diſmantled *Canada* of its out-guards, and laid it open to an attempt ſo bold, that a few years before it would have been thought romantic, even to mention it, we mean the conqueſt of *Quebec*. Previous to this, in *October* 1758, when the *Britiſh* arms began to recover their luſtre, the governors of *Penſylvania* and *New Jerſey*, aſſiſted by Sir *William Johnſon*, who was the ſoul of all our tranſactions with the ſavages, held an aſſembly at *Eaſton*, about ninety miles from *Philadelphia*, where a formal treaty was entered into between *Great Britain* and the *Indians* of that vaſt tract of country lying between the *Apalachian* mountains and the lakes. The contractors on the ſide of *Great Britain* in this treaty, beſides Sir *William Johnſon*, who officiated in the character of agent for *Indian* affairs, and the two governors, were four members of the council of *Penſylvania*, ſix of the aſſembly, two agents for new *Jerſey* with a number of quaker inhabitants of *Philadelphia*. The ſubject of the conferences was, what we have often ſeen in the courſe of this hiſtory, complaints of encroachments by the *Engliſh*, and differences amongſt the ſavages themſelves about their limits. The names of the *Indians*, who aſſiſted at the treaty, were the *Mohawks*, *Oneidoes*,

Onenda-

Onondagoes, *Cayugas*, *Senecas*, *Tuſcaroras*, *Nanticoques*, and *Conoys*, the *Tuteloes*, *Chugnuts*, *Delawares*, and *Unamies*, the *Miniſinks*, *Mohicons*, and *Wappingers*; ſo that the number of the deputies who attended, including their women and children, amounted to about five hundred. The chief on the part of the ſavages was *Teedyuſcung*; for though every nation has its deputies, yet all of them commonly manifeſt a particular deference to one or two leaders. The ſeveral tranſactions of this meeting are not material. The preciſion with which thoſe ſavages treated was wonderful; for they required ſatisfaction, and made mention of every life their countrymen loſt, and the ſmalleſt damage they ſuſtained; and the *Britiſh* plenipotentiaries had prudence enough to accommodate themſelves to the redreſs of all their grievances; ſo that they departed ſeemingly with a hearty deteſtation of the *French*. It was remarked, however, that the *Miamis*, or, as they are called, the *Twightees*, did not ſend their deputies to this aſſembly; but meaſures were taken for keeping them in peace.

THIS treaty with the ſavages put the finiſhing hand, to all the preliminary meaſures for the campaign. The ſagacity of the *Engliſh* miniſtry naturally ſuggeſted to them, that tho' *Canada* or *New France* was but thinly inhabited, yet all its force, if collected into one point, might baffle the moſt vigorous effort that *Great Britain* could make, as it was impoſſible for her to find ſhips, magazines, and conveyances for the whole of her troops, ſo as to employ them in one direction, in ſuch a country as *North America*. It was, therefore, reſolved to divide the operations of the campaign into three different directions. One under general *Wolfe*, who, with 8000 men, was to undertake the ſiege of *Quebec*. The ſecond under general *Amherſt*, who was then the *Britiſh* commander in chief in *North America*, and who, with 12,000 men, after reducing *Ticonderoga* and *Crown Point*, was to croſs lake *Champlain*, and, by the way of *Richelieu* river, to proceed towards the banks of that of *St. Lawrence*, and to aſſiſt *Wolfe* in the ſiege of *Quebec*. The third direction was under brigadier general *Prideaux*, who, aſſiſted by the great intereſt and abilities of Sir *William Johnſon*, was to reduce the important fort near the cataract of *Niagara*, which gave law to the internal parts of *North America*. The ſame troops, after the reduction of *Niagara*, were to operate occaſionally by embarking on lake *Ontario*, and reducing *Montreal*, or joining general *Amherſt*'s army. Beſides thoſe three grand directions, colonel *Stanwix* was at the head of a ſcouring detachment for ſeizing all the forts and poſts upon the lake *Ontario*. Let us now turn our eyes towards the diſpoſitions of the *French* force.

VAUDREUIL, then governor-general of *Canada*, with a body of about 5000 men lay at *Montreal*, and in its neighbourhood. *Montcalm*, whoſe reputation was very high in the military world, commanded a body of 10,000 regulars, and diſciplined militia, who were better than regulars, beſides a number of *Indians* between *Montreal* and *Quebec*. *De Levi* was at the head of a flying detachment, much better acquainted, than the *Britiſh* troops poſſibly could be, with that dubious country. The garriſon of *Niagara* conſiſted of ſix hundred men; the city of *Quebec* had received every additional fortification that the art of war could give it; ſcarcely any *Britiſh* ſailor could pretend to be acquainted with the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence*, which the *French* had induſtriouſly kept a ſecret, pretending it to be extremely difficult and dangerous. The ſtrong fort of *Chambly*, near the fall of the river *Richelieu*, was in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, as conſequently was the paſs of the river *St. Lawrence*, which the *Britiſh* troops were likewiſe to ſurmount; not to mention *Crown Point* and *Ticonderoga*, lately ſo fatal to the *Britiſh* arms.

Operations of general Amherſt.

THE forces under general *Amherſt* were firſt in motion, notwithſtanding all the impediments that were thrown in his way, by the innate haughtineſs of the provincials, and their averſion to regular troops. The ſeaſon was far advanced before he paſſed lake *George* and approached *Ticonderoga*, which, in the night of the 7th of *July* 1759, the *French* abandoned, thereby proving that their ſtrength chiefly conſiſted in our fears and miſconduct. *Amherſt* ſtrongly garriſoned and fortified this important place, by which he ſecured his retreat, and covered the frontiers of *New York*. Here fell the brave colonel *Townſhend*, whoſe elder brother was third in command under general *Wolfe*, as he was reconnoitering. Every day gave freſh proof of our former miſconduct. *Amherſt's* manner of proceeding was firm and cautious, but determined, and he took care to leave as little as poſſible to fortune. This conduct deprived the enemy of all hopes of defending themſelves; ſo that it now ſeemed as if they were reſolved to riſk their *American* empire upon the ſtand they were to make at *Quebec*. On the 1ſt of *Auguſt*, the *Britiſh* general had intelligence, by one of his ſcouting parties, of the *French* having abandoned *Crown Point* in the ſame manner as they had done *Ticonderoga*. He did not fail to improve this incident; for, three days after, his troops were encamped in the neighbourhood of the fort, and he laid the foundations of a new and a ſtronger one for bridling the cruelties of the natives.

THE *French*, after evacuating thoſe two forts, retired to the iſle *Aux Noix*, at the other end of lake *Champlain*, to the number of 3500 men, under the command of M. *de Burlemaque*, and provided with a ſtrong train of artillery. Four of their veſſels mounted with cannon, and manned with the piquets of their regiments, were in poſſeſſion of the lake under the command of M. *le Bras*, and M. *de Rigal*, two ſea officers, which rendered it neceſſary for Mr. *Amherſt*, if poſſible, to have the command of the lake. He had directed captain *Loring* to build a ſloop of ſixteen guns, and a radeau eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying ſix large cannon, together with a brigantine. But it was the 11th of *October* before they were finiſhed, and then *Loring* ſailed with them down the lake, where he drove three *French* ſhips into a bay, where two of them were ſunk, and the crew of the third ran it aground; but it was taken and repaired by *Loring*. In the mean while the general embarked the troops in battoes; but by ſtreſs of weather was obliged to ſhelter them in a bay on the weſtern ſhore. He reimbarked them again; but from the ſame cauſe he was forced to deſiſt from proceeding, and through the lateneſs of the ſeaſon to finiſh the operations of his campaign. Few commanders ever were in the ſituation in which he now found himſelf. Though ſucceſsful beyond all expectation, he did not know, but he and his troops might fall victims through the ill ſucceſs of the other diviſions, of whom he had little or no intelligence, excepting a few diſcouraging hints of *Wolfe*'s having landed in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*. It was the 21ſt of *October* before he returned, from his tempeſtuous expedition, to *Crown Point*, where he applied himſelf to improve his ſuperiority on the lake, and the fortifications of the place; ſo that at laſt he was enabled to open a communication between *Ticonderoga* and *Maſſachuſets*.

Sir William Johnſon *defeats the* French

PRIDEAUX and Sir *William Johnſon* were all this while proceeding againſt fort *Niagara*; but on the 20th of *July*, *Prideaux*, to the inexpreſſible grief of the army, was killed in the trenches by the burſting of a cohorn. The command then fell upon Sir *William Johnſon*, who was ſuperſeded by brigadier-general *Gage*, by the appointment of *Amherſt*, who always had kept up a correſpondence with that diviſion. Before *Gage* could arrive at *Niagara*, *Johnſon* performed wonders. He had carried his approaches within one hundred yards of the covered-way of the fort; and the *French* were ſo apprehenſive of loſing that palladium of their intereſt in *North America*, that they exerted their utmoſt to maintain it, by collecting 1700 men from all the neighbouring poſts, particularly from *Detroit*, *Venango*, and *Preſque Iſle*, under the command of Monſ. *D'Aubry*. Had this reinforcement reached the fort it muſt have been impregnable; but *Johnſon* made diſpoſitions towards his left, on the road leading from *Niagara* falls to the fortreſs, for intercepting it. His light infantry and piquets over-night were placed there, and in the morning reinforced with the grenadiers, and part of the forty-ſixth regiment commanded by lieutenant-colonel *Maſſey*, while lieutenant-colonel *Farquhar*, with another regiment, was poſted ſo as to ſupport the guard of the trenches. About 8 o'clock on the 24th of *July* the enemy appeared, and the *Engliſh Indians* attempted, in vain, to have ſome talk with their countrymen, who ſerved under the *French*. The battle began with a horrible war-whoop, which was now matter of ridicule, rather than terror, to the *Engliſh*, uttered by the *French Indians*. The *French*, as uſual, charged with vaſt impetuoſity; but being received with equal firmneſs, and the *Engliſh-Indians* on the flanks doing conſiderable execution, all the *French* army were put to the rout, and, for five miles, the purſuit continued, in which ſeventeen officers, amongſt whom were the firſt and ſecond in command, were made priſoners.

NEXT morning Sir *William Johnſon* ſent a trumpet to the *French* commandant, with a liſt of the ſeventeen officers that had been taken, to convince him of the inutility of farther reſiſtance. The commandant found all Sir *William Johnſon's* intelligence to be perfectly true, and in a few hours a capitulation was ſigned, by which ſix hundred and ſeven men, of which the garriſon conſiſted, were to march out with the honours of war, to be embarked on the lake, and carried to *New York*, but protected from the barbarity of the *Indians*. The women and children were carried to *Montreal*, and the conqueror treated the ſick and wounded in a manner ſo humane, as to prove himſelf worthy of victory. Thus for a ſecond time, this ſelf-taught general obtained an entire triumph over the boaſted diſcipline of the *French* arms. But that was his leaſt praiſe. Though 1100 *Indians* followed him to the field, he reſtrained them within regular bounds, and their example ſhewed demonſtrably that the exceſſes which the other ſavages had been guilty of againſt the *Engliſh*, had been prompted and directed by the *French*. Thoſe conqueſts opened the ſcene of the grand cataſtrophe, which was the reduction of *Quebec*. The *French* court, ſenſible of its importance, had for years before been fortifying it even with a profuſion of works, men, and ſhipping; and they boaſted that it was in a condition to bid defiance to all the powers of *Europe*. About the middle of *February* a ſtrong ſquadron under the command of the admirals *Saunders* and *Holmes* ſailed from *England* for *Cape Breton*; but finding the harbour of *Louiſbourg* frozen up, they bore away for *Hallifax* in *Nova Scotia*, from whence rear-admiral *Durell* was diſpatched with a ſmall ſquadron to the river *St. Lawrence*. All he could do was to take two ſtoreſhips; fourteen other veſſels, with ſtores, ammunition, and recruits, having already reached *Quebec*, under the convoy of three ſhips of war. By this time admiral *Saunders* was able to make *Louiſbourg*, and an embarkation of about 8000 men for the reduction of *Quebec* was effected.

Expedition againſt Quebec.

Mr. *PITT* was then one of the *Britiſh* ſecretaries of ſtate, and conſidered as having the direction of the war. Perhaps one of the greateſt merits of his adminiſtration conſiſted in his breaking through thoſe ridiculous military forms of ſtanding rank and ſeniority, that had long diſgraced the *Britiſh* military ſervice, and his preferring merit, courage, and ability, to every other conſideration. In the miſmanaged expedition againſt *Rochfort*, under Sir *John Mordaunt*, lieutenant-colonel *James Wolfe*, the ſon of major-general *Wolfe*, was an officer. When the general's conduct came under examination he was brought as an evidence by both parties. The candour, the preciſion, and knowledge with which he delivered it, gained him eſteem, and, though a young man, his military talents in converſation appeared with ſuch luſtre, as recommended him to the knowledge and patronage of the miniſtry, and of his majeſty king *George* the IId. who was otherwiſe no friend to warlike anticipations; ſo that, to the ſatisfaction of the public, he was pitched upon to command the expedition againſt *Quebec*. He had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reduction of *Louiſbourg*, where he had given amazing proofs of his abilities, perſonal as well as mental; and three general officers, the ſons of noble families, almoſt equal in years as quality, were appointed to ſerve under him; the brigadiers *Monckton*, *Townſhend*, and *Murray*. Some charts, which had been taken from the *French*, contributed to render the navigation of the *Britiſh* armament up the river *St. Lawrence*, far more ſafe and eaſy than had been given out by the *French*; and towards the latter end of *June* the land troops were diſembarked upon the iſle of *Orleans*, which we have already mentioned to lie beneath *Quebec*, and which at that time was, in reality, a large continued garden, abounding not only with all the neceſſaries, but the delights of life. Soon after landing, the general, as is uſual in caſes of invaſion, publiſhed a manifeſto or placart, in the following terms.

" The king, juſtly exaſperated againſt *France*, has ſet on foot a conſiderable armament by land and ſea, to bring down the haughtineſs of that crown. His aim is to deſtroy the moſt conſiderable ſettlements of the *French* in *North America*. It is not againſt the induſtrious peaſants, their wives, and children, nor againſt the miniſters of religion, that he deſigns making war. He laments the misfortunes to which this quarrel expoſes them, and promiſes them his protection, offers to maintain them in their poſſeſſions, and permits them to follow the worſhip of their religion, provided that they do not take any part in the difference between the two crowns directly or indirectly.

“ THE *Canadians* cannot be ignorant of their ſituation: the *Engliſh* are maſters of the river, and blocking up the paſſage to all ſuccours from *Europe*. They have, beſides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general *Amherſt*.

“ THE reſolution the *Canadians* ought to take is by no means doubtful : the utmoſt exertion of their valour will be entirely uſeleſs, and will only ſerve to deprive them of the advantages that they might enjoy by their neutrality. The cruelties of the *French* againſt the ſubjects of *Great Britain* in *America*, would excuſe the moſt ſevere repriſals ; but *Engliſhmen* are too generous to follow ſuch barbarous examples. They offer to the *Canadians* the ſweets of peace amidſt the horrors of war; it is to their own ſelves to determine their fate by their conduct. If their preſumption, and a wrong placed, as well as fruitleſs courage, ſhould make them take the moſt dangerous part, they will only have their own ſelves to blame, when they ſhall groan under the weight of that miſery to which they will expoſe themſelves.

“ General *Wolfe* flatters himſelf that the whole world will do him juſtice, if the inhabitants of *Canada* force him, by their refuſal, to have recourſe to violent methods.”[*] He concluded, in laying before them the ſtrength and power of *England*, which generouſly ſtretched out her hand to them: a hand ready to aſſiſt them on all occaſions, and even at a time when *France*, by its weakneſs, was incapable of aſſiſting them, and abandoned them in the moſt critical moment.

Its difficulties. THIS humane manifeſto had no effect with the *Canadians*, who had been by their miſſionaries and officers taught, not only to hate, but to deſpiſe the *Engliſh*; ſo ridiculous was their infatuation, and ſo inſufferable their pride. They joined the *Indians* in their ſcalping parties, and they were guilty of the greateſt inhumanities againſt the *Engliſh*; ſo that *Wolfe*, after admoniſhing them of the neceſſary conſequences, was obliged to give way to ſome retaliations. *Montcalm*, notwithſtanding his boaſted abilities, knew too much of the *Engliſh*, to venture a battle on equal terms, and never perhaps was there an army under ſuch dreadful circumſtances as that of *Wolfe*. He was diſappointed of his junction with *Amherſt*, on which he had greatly depended; and though he had found the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence* ſafe and practicable, yet he had received no information concerning the ground in the neighbourhood of *Quebec*, where he found the difficulties of landing on the *Quebec* ſhore, to all appearance impracticable. The conduct of *Montcalm*, though not brilliant, did honour to his judgment; for ſecure of the inacceſſibility of that ſhore, he kept upon the heights of *Abraham*, with an army ſuperior to that of *Wolfe*, which he well knew could not long remain in ſo indeciſive a ſituation. In the mean while he threw five battalions of regulars into *Quebec*, and the *Canadians* accuſtomed to the field from their birth, were, to a man, in arms; ſo that their army occupied all the ſhore of *Beaufort*, from the river *St. Charles* to the falls of *Montmorenci*, fortified with intrenchments at every place that was acceſſible to the *Engliſh*. Under thoſe circumſtances all he could do was to detach brigadier *Monckton* with four battalions; and on the 29th of *June* he paſſed the river, to drive the enemy from *Point Levi*; which, after ſome ſkirmiſhes, he accordingly did, and took poſſeſſion of that poſt, while colonel *Carleton* made himſelf maſter of the weſternmoſt part of the iſle of *Orleans*, lying neareſt to *Quebec*. By thoſe two operations, which it is ſurpriſing the enemy did not more vigorouſly oppoſe, the *Britiſh* ſhipping remained ſafe in the baſon of *Quebec*, which otherwiſe it could not have done, if the enemy had erected batteries on thoſe points. *Montcalm* ſeemed, when it was too late, to be ſenſible of his omiſſion; for he ſent 1600 men to deſtroy the batteries erecting by the *Engliſh* at *Point Levi*, but without effect; and the batteries from thence entirely deſtroyed the lower town, and did great damage to the upper. The works for the ſecurity of the *Britiſh* hoſpitals and ſtores being finiſhed on the iſle of *Orleans*, the *Engliſh* paſſed the north channel, and encamped on the left of the enemy, from whom they were divided by the river *Montmorenci*. In this ſituation, many ſkirmiſhes paſſed with various ſucceſs: but the enemy ſtill remained maſters of all the ground between *Montmorenci* river and *Quebec*, and all the ſtrong banks above that capital. While the two armies lay thus, general *Wolfe*, in reconnoitring the river *Montmorenci* diſcovered a ford that was practicable; but the bank on the oppoſite ſide was ſo ſtrongly intrenched, that it could not be forced, and the *Engliſh* loſt ſome men in attempting it. On the 18th of

July [f], two men of war, two armed ſloops, two tranſports, with ſome troops on board, paſſed by the town without any loſs, and got into the upper river. *Wolfe* took this opportunity to reconnoitre the banks of the river above *Quebec*, which he found rendered inacceſſible, equally by art as nature, and ſo ſituated that if he had been able even to effect a landing, the firſt detachment muſt have been cut off before it could have been ſupported by another. Not an hour paſſed, that was not employed by the active *Britiſh* general, in exploring ſome place where he could land his men, but all to no purpoſe. At laſt, hearing that many of the enemies had taken refuge at a place called *Point au Tremble*, ſome miles above the city, colonel *Carleton* was diſpatched with a ſmall body to attempt it. But though he drove the *Indians* from it, his ſucceſs was of very little conſequence. After this the general returned to his camp near the falls of *Montmorenci*, where brigadier *Townſhend* had deſtroyed a battery attempted to be raiſed by the enemy on the bank of the river to cannonade the *Britiſh* camp. But this had no great effect, farther than to ſecure the camp. At this time the reader is to obſerve that the diviſions of the *Britiſh* ſhips under admiral *Holmes* lay above *Quebec*, and that under admiral *Saunders* below it, between the city and the weſternmoſt point of the iſle of *Orleans*, while the tranſports lay at anchor in the ſouth channel, which divided that iſle from the encampment of brigadier *Monckton*; but the *Britiſh* men of war could not, for want of water, come nigh enough to the land to annoy the enemy's entrenchments.

Difficulties of Wolfe *in the ſiege of* Quebec

WOLFE was ſenſible, that the eyes, not only of his own countrymen, but of all *Europe*, were upon him; and he reſolved, under the moſt diſcouraging difficulties, to attempt a landing. Admiral *Saunders* prepared two tranſports, which drew but very little water, and therefore were proper to favour a deſcent. His view was to make himſelf maſter of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, above a muſketſhot diſtance from the enemy's grand entrenchment; by which he was in hopes of either bringing them to a general engagement, or of learning how to attack them with efficacy. On the 31ſt of *July*, in the afternoon [g], the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of general *Monckton*'s brigade from the point of *Levi*: the two brigades under the brigadiers *Townſhend* and *Murray*, were ordered to be in readineſs

---

[f] Letter from general *Wolfe* to Mr. *Pitt*, dated head quarters at *Montmorenci*, in the river *St. Lawrence*, *Sept.* 2. 1759.

[g] Ibid.

and miſcarriages.

readineſs to paſs the ford, when it ſhould be thought neceſſary. To facilitate the paſſage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, ſo that ſhe might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford: this ſhip was of great uſe, as her fire was very judiciouſly directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, ſo as to batter and enfilade the left of their intrenchments. The two armed ſhips could not be brought near enough to cover the veſſel that ran a-ground neareſt in, and the redoubt was too much commanded by the intrenchments to be kept without great loſs. The brigadiers general, however, were ordered to be ready, brigadier *Monckton* to land, and the brigadiers *Townſhend* and *Murray* to paſs the ford. In rowing towards the ſhore many of the boats grounded upon a ledge, which put the whole operation into ſuch diſorder, that the general ſent orders to brigadier *Townſhend* to ſtop; but at laſt thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred of the ſecond royal *American* battalion got a-ſhore to attack the *French* entrenchment. "The grenadiers were ordered to form themſelves into four diſtinct bodies, and to begin the attack, ſupported by brigadier *Monckton*'s corps, as ſoon as the troops had paſſed the ford, and ware at hand to aſſiſt. But whether from the noiſe and hurry at landing, or from ſome other cauſe, the grenadiers, inſtead of forming themſelves, as they were directed, ran on impetuouſly towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, without waiting for the corps which were to ſuſtain them, and join in the attack." *Monckton* was not then landed, *Townſhend* was at a conſiderable diſtance, and the event was anſwerable to the raſhneſs of the grenadiers, and their diſregard for diſcipline. The enemy's firſt fire obliged them to ſhelter themſelves in or about the redoubt, which the *French* had abandoned; but they ſtill were expoſed to a very hot fire from the intrenchments, which made it neceſſary for the general to call them off, that they might form themſelves under brigadier *Monckton*'s corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order. It was now near night. A ſtorm came on. The retreat of *Townſhend* might have been uncertain, and a thouſand circumſtances concurred to render it adviſeable for the general to deſiſt from this attack, which can be termed no other than unfortunate. *Wolfe* himſelf, in his letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, intimates, as if he had no great opinion of his ſucceſs. "The place (ſays he) where the attack was intended, has theſe advantages over all others hereabouts. Our artillery could be brought into uſe. The greateſt part,

He is defeated.

or even the whole of the troops, might act at once; and the retreat (in caſe of a repulſe) was ſecure, at leaſt for a certain time of the tide. Neither one or other of theſe advantages can any where elſe be found. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up, was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by ſeveral gullies. The hill to be aſcended, very ſteep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their entrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had ſucceeded, our loſs muſt certainly have been great, and theirs inconſiderable, from the ſhelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river *St. Charles* ſtill remained to be paſſed, before the town was inveſted. All theſe circumſtances I conſidered, but the deſire to act in conformity to the king's intentions, induced me to make this trial, perſuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties."

The general then ſent brigadier *Murray* with 1200 men up the river, to aſſiſt admiral *Holmes*, if poſſible, to deſtroy the *French* ſhips, and to open a communication with general *Amherſt*. Great difficulties attended this undertaking; but after being unſucceſsful in two attempts he made to land on the north ſhore, *Murray* ſucceeded at a place called *de Chambaud*, where he burnt a magazine with ſome proviſions, ammunition, and all the ſpare ſtores, cloathing, arms, and baggage of the enemy's army. This was a ſervice of great importance: but ſtill almoſt inſurmountable difficulties remained, as nothing, with any feaſibility of ſucceſs, could be undertaken againſt the body of the place. Every day produced ſkirmiſhes, which, though of no great importance, and though generally ſucceſsful on the part of the *Engliſh*, conſiderably weakened their army. " By the liſt we have ſo often quoted (ſays *Wolfe*) of diſabled officers (many of whom are of rank) you may perceive, Sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river, the moſt formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almoſt the whole force of *Canada* to oppoſe. In this ſituation, there is ſuch a choice of difficulties, that I own myſelf at a loſs how to determine. The affairs of *Great Britain*, I know, require the moſt vigorous meaſures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men, ſhould be exerted only where there is ſome hope of a favourable event. However, you may be aſſured, Sir, that the ſmall part of the campaign, which remains, ſhall be employed (as far as I am able) for the honour of his majeſty, and the intereſt of the nation, in which I am ſure of being well ſeconded by the admiral, and by the generals. Happy if our efforts here can contribute to the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in any other parts of *America*."

He removes his camp,

SUCH was the ſituation of this arduous enterprize, when the general quitted his camp at *Montmorenci*, and landed his troops and artillery at *Point Levi*. From the vexation he had conceived from his failure at *Montmorenci*, he had contracted a dyſentery and fever: but the ſenſe of the mighty things expected from him, overbore all other conſiderations; and it was reſolved, though with ſmall probability of ſucceſs, that the enemy ſhould be again alarmed above the river on the north ſide. Still no fixt plan of an attack was formed, though *Wolfe*, at all events, ſeems to have been determined upon one. At laſt, the moſt deſperate one that can well be conceived, was laid down by the three brigadiers, and adopted by the general, which was that of conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing below the heights of *Abraham*, within a league of *Cape Diamond*. Though nothing could be more unpromiſing than this plan of operations, yet the general proceeded with the ſame precautions, as if the ſucceſs had been more than probable. The movements of his troops, and thoſe of admiral *Holmes*'s ſquadron, occaſioned *Montcalm* to detach M. *Bougainville* with a party of obſervation, conſiſting of 500 men to watch the motions of the *Engliſh* both by land and water.

NEVER was there a ſcheme formed with leſs probability of ſucceſs, than the above, and no ſcheme ever was more liable to diſappointments, becauſe an alarm from the muſket of a ſingle centinel muſt have rendered it impracticable; not to mention the prodigious difficulties of its execution, from the nature of the ſhore and the tide. On the 12th of *September*, the firſt embarkation, conſiſting of four regiments, the light infantry, a detachment of highlanders, and the *American* grenadiers, was made in flat bottom boats, under *Monckton* and *Murray*, about three leagues farther up the river, than the intended place of landing. The ſhips under admiral *Saunders*, who lay over againſt *Beauport*, made a feint againſt the *French* intrenchments there, to amuſe them, and, in the mean while, by a happy miſtake, the boats were carried below the intended place of attack by the rapidity of the current, but followed by the ſhips, who were prepared at all events to cover their landing, which they accordingly effected. The *French*, at this time, expected the return of *Bougainville*, and various were the ſucceſsful arts practiſed by the *Engliſh* to make the enemy's ſentries believe, that the firſt landed troops were part of that detachment. Being landed, the boats were ſent back for the ſecond imbarkation under *Townſhend*; but nothing even then preſented on all hands, but the impracticability of the aſcent. *Wolfe*, who landed in the nature of a voluna volunteer, with the firſt imbarkation, told an officer, who was near him, that they muſt do their endeavour to get up, though he did not ſee how it was poſſible. In the mean while, colonel *Howe*, with the light infantry and the highlanders, diſcovered a narrow path, ſlanting up the hill, by which, with the aſſiſtance of roots and boughs of trees growing on each ſide, it was juſt poſſible to aſcend, though the path was interſected by croſs ditches, and a *French* intrenchment lay at the top, which, however, ſeems to have been but ſlenderly guarded; ſo ſecure were the *French* on that quarter. The troops, gaining the ſummit of this path with incredible difficulty, were formed by the general, as they arrived at the ſummit, having diſlodged the *French* guard at the intrenchment; ſo that by break of day the whole army appeared in order of battle.

and gains the heights of Abraham.

MONTCALM, when the news was brought him, could not credit the report. The aſcent of troops by ſuch a guarded precipice had never occurred to him, either in experience or reading; but the intelligence being confirmed beyond all poſſibility of doubt, he found all his illuſive arts were at an end, and reſolved on the only meaſure that was left him, to fight. The defeat of the *Engliſh* army would have rendered the operations of their fleet againſt the place uſeleſs, and a victory would have ranked his name amongſt the moſt illuſtrious of any in hiſtory. He therefore collected together all his ſtrength about *Beauport*, paſſed the river *St. Charles*, and ſhewed great judgment in the diſpoſitions he made for a general engagement. Having with him about 1500 *Indians* and *Canadians*, who were excellent markſmen and buſh-fighters, he lodged thom in the thickets all around. He placed his regulars in the left, all but two battalions, who were to ſupport the troops of the colony on the right, while the remainder of the *Indians* and *Canadians* were diſpoſed ſo as to flank the *Engliſh* to the land ſide, on their left.

To prevent any fatal effects from this diſpoſition of the enemy, brigadier general *Townſhend*, on the left, drew up his diviſion, which conſiſted of ſix battalions, *en Potence*; that is, in ſuch a manner as to preſent two fronts to the enemy. Brigadier general *Murray* commanded in the center, and *Wolfe* ſerved on the right commanded by *Monckton*, where a regiment was placed in reſerve, formed into eight ſubdiviſions, with large intervals. The rear and the left were protected by the light infantry under colonel *Howe*. It was now that the difference between *Engliſh* and *French* courage was to be tried. The ground was equal; the *French* were ſuperior in numbers; and their army was drawn up to as great advantage as that of the *Britiſh*. In ſhort, nothing could have given the latter the victory but the mere ſuperiority of perſonal ſtrength and courage. Their buſh-fighters began the battle, by a firing that was at once irregular and unfair, becauſe their pieces were levelled againſt the moſt gallant, and therefore the moſt expoſed, of the *Britiſh* officers. The ſteady fire of our troops ſilenced thoſe barbarians; and the *Engliſh* ſailors, with a ſpirit that none but *Engliſhmen* could have exerted, had drawn up the amazing precipice, by which the army aſcended, a cannon, of which they made excellent uſe; but the *French*, in this reſpect, had the advantage, for they had in their front two field pieces. About nine in the morning, the *French* advanced a front which ſhewed that they intended to do ſomewhat that was deciſive; and the battle ſoon became general. The fire of the *French*, though frequent, was deſtitute of that ſteadineſs, which characterizes national courage; but that of the *Britiſh*, which was kept up till their enemy was within forty yards of their line, took place with ſuch effect, that the main body of the *French* was ſtaggered. General *Wolfe* was ſtationed in the front of brigadier *Monckton*'s diviſion on the right, at the head of *Bragg*'s regiment, and the *Louiſbourg* grenadiers, oppoſite to the *French* battalions of *Languedoc*, *Bearn*, and *Guienne*; but their left flanked by a body of coloniſts, buſh-fighters, who took aim and wounded the brave general in the wriſt, as he ſtood expoſed in the front of his battalions. He felt the wound; but far from betraying any ſymptom of pain or diſorder, he wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when he was wounded with another ſhot, and that mortal. Nature could no longer ſupport him. He leaned on the ſhoulder of a lieutenant, who kneeled down, that he might the more conveniently uphold him. While he was in the agonies of death, the lieutenant called out, "They run." "Who run?" replied the general. "The *French*." "Do the cowards run already?" were *Wolfe*'s laſt words. "Then I die happy," and expired (T).

Battle of Quebec *gained by the* Engliſh.

Death of general Wolfe.

The right continued regularly to preſs on with their fixt bayonets; but the moſt effectual execution was done by the diviſion under *Murray*, many of whom were highlanders, who, drawing their broad ſwords, drove the *French* before them, ſome into the town, and others into the works, which they had raiſed at the bridge of the river *St. Charles*. The

---

(T) Some accounts bear that Mr. *Wolfe* received three wounds before he died.

French ſtill depended on their outflanking the *Engliſh*; but their right was ſo briſkly plied by colonel *Howe*, that they obtained little or no benefit from that diſpoſition. In the mean while, brigadier *Monckton*, who was next in command to *Wolfe*, was, by a wound thought to be mortal, which he received at the head of *Laſcelles*'s regiment, rendered incapable of acting; and thus the command devolved upon brigadier *Townſhend*, who advanced platoons againſt the front, and remained at the head of *Amherſt*'s regiment to ſupport his diſpoſition, till, hearing that the command was devolved upon him, he was obliged to haſten to the center, where he new formed the troops, that were ſomewhat diſordered by the purſuit. By this time, the battle was completely gained; and it is hard to ſay to what ſpecies of true *Britiſh* courage it was chiefly owing. The activity of the highlanders, the diſcipline of the grenadiers, and the undaunted ſpirit of all the other troops, rendered the victory not only glorious, but cheap, if we except the death of the brave general. But courage was not that day more conſpicuous, than coolneſs and wiſdom amongſt the *Britiſh* troops. *Bougainville*, whom we have already mentioned to have been detached with a party of obſervation now encreaſed to 2000 men, appeared in the rear of the *Engliſh*, immediately after they had gained the battle; but, by the prudent diſpoſitions, which Mr. *Townſhend* made, he found himſelf obliged to retire to ſwamps, and woody faſtneſſes. It is true, he might, even there, have been forced; but the active commander judged better. His victory was complete, his ſituation favourable, and the reduction of *Quebec*, the great object of the expedition, more than probable, and yet might have been hazarded by a freſh action, and therefore Mr. *Townſhend* moſt wiſely declined to crown glory with oſtentation.

With regard to the particulars of the battle, never was there ſuch an immenſe country conquered at ſo cheap an expence of men. The *Engliſh* loſt about fifty men killed, and about five hundred wounded; and the *French* about 1500, but about 1000 of them were made priſoners, of whom a great number were officers. The fugitives reinforced the garriſon of *Quebec*. The remainder retired to *Point au Tremble*, thence to another poſt called *Jaques Quartiers*, and, at laſt, to *Trois Rivieres* and *Montreal*. The fates of the chief commanders were remarkably ſimilar; *Montcalm*, as well as *Wolfe*, was mortally wounded, and carried to *Quebec*, where he expired in diſcharging the decent, but ſuperfluous, duty of writing a letter, recommending the *French* priſoners to *Britiſh* generoſity; a requeſt, that, of all mankind, came from him with the worſt grace, but was more than punctually complied with. His ſecond in command, like *Monckton*, was wounded, but, like him, did not ſurvive; for, being taken priſoner, he expired next day on board an *Engliſh* ſhip. Few generals ever died more lamented, or under more advantageous circumſtances, than Mr. *Wolfe* did. Though not above thirty-four years of age, he atchieved the moſt permanent, if not important, conqueſt, that this age can boaſt of. The character drawn by *Tacitus* of *Agricola* ſeems to have been the model of his conduct in military life; for ſo well was he acquainted with the claſſics, that he wrote with the elegance, as well as fought with the ſpirit, of *Cæſar*. To the genius of a hero, he added the accompliſhments of a general, without diſdaining even the moſt mechanical. His affability and openneſs of diſpoſition endeared him to his ſoldiers, and convinced them that the ſtrictneſs of diſcipline he required of them was equally neceſſary for their ſafety as their glory. Temperate, vigilant, and obſerving, he reduced the military art to a ſyſtem, which had thoſe qualities for its baſis; for his own heart told him, that courage is no diſtinguiſhing property in a ſoldier, becauſe it is, or ought to be, in common with all mankind; and is to be found in the ranks, equally as at the head, of an army. His humanity was diſtinguiſhed, and his manner of expreſſing himſelf was remarkably preciſe and intelligible. In his perſon, he was ſtrait, well limbed and genteel; but he had ſomething in his countenance, that was equally uncommon and unpromiſing; and, till he ſpoke, by no means prepoſſeſſing in his favour. Rigid diſciplinarians may perhaps condemn his expoſing his perſon too much in the day of battle. But this, if a fault, was one of the nobleſt kind; and, conſidering his circumſtances, and the mighty expectations of his country, perhaps neceſſary.

His character.

Though the battle of *Quebec* was gained, yet that city was not reduced. The works of the upper town were ſtill in excellent order, and its garriſon ſtrong, and provided with all the requiſites for making a noble defence. On the other hand, the admirals *Saunders*, *Holmes*, and *Durell*, who had all along acted with admirable, and almoſt unprecedented, unanimity with the land officers, made diſpoſitions with their ſhips, for attacking the lower town, as general *Townſhend* did for beſieging the higher. Perhaps a *Britiſh* garriſon, even though they had been, as that of *Quebec* was, cut off from the field, would not have capitulated; the *French* did: and, before a battery could be finiſhed againſt the city, a flag of truce

Surrender and capitulation of Quebec.

truce was hung out, and the following articles were agreed upon by eight the next morning.

Articles of capitulation demanded by M. de Ramſay, *commander for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty in the higher and lower town of* Quebec, *knight of the military order of* St. Lewis, *from his excellency the general commanding his* Britannic *majeſty's forces.*"

ARTICLE I. M. *de Ramſay* demands the honours of war for his garriſon, and that it ſhall be conducted back to the army in ſafety by the ſhorteſt road, with their arms, baggage, ſix pieces of braſs cannon, two mortars or howitzers, and twelve rounds.——The garriſon of the town, compoſed of land-forces, marines, and ſailors, ſhall march out with their arms and baggage, drums beating, lighted matches, with two pieces of cannon and twelve rounds, and ſhall be embarked as conveniently as poſſible, in order to be landed at the firſt port in *France.*

ARTICLE II. That the inhabitants ſhall be maintained in the poſſeſſion of their houſes, goods, effects, and privileges.——Granted, provided they lay down their arms.

ARTICLE III. That the ſaid inhabitants ſhall not be moleſted on account of their having borne arms for the defence of the town, as they were forced to it, and as it is cuſtomary for the inhabitants of the colonies of both crowns to ſerve as militia.——Granted.

ARTICLE IV. That the effects belonging to the abſent officers or inhabitants, ſhall not be touched.——Granted.

ARTICLE V. That the ſaid inhabitants ſhall not be removed, nor obliged to quit their houſes, until their condition ſhall be ſettled by a definite treaty between their moſt Chriſtian and *Britannic* majeſties.——Granted.

ARTICLE VI. That the exerciſe of the catholic and *Roman* religion ſhall be preſerved, and that ſafe-guards ſhall be granted to the houſes of the clergy, and to the monaſteries, particularly to the biſhop of *Quebec*, who, animated with zeal for religion, and charity for the people of his dioceſe, deſires to reſide conſtantly in it, to exerciſe freely, and with that decency, which his character, and the ſacred myſteries of the catholic, apoſtolic, and *Roman* religion require, his epiſcopal authority in the town of *Quebec*, wherever he ſhall think it proper, until the poſſeſſion of *Canada* ſhall have been decided by a treaty between their moſt Chriſtian and *Britannic* majeſties.——The free exerciſe of the *Roman* religion. Safeguards granted to all religious perſons, as well as to the biſhop, who ſhall be at liberty to come and exerciſe freely, and with decency the functions of his office, wherever he ſhall think proper, until the poſſeſſion of *Canada* ſhall have been decided between their *Britannic* and moſt Chriſtian majeſties.

Article VII. That the artillery and warlike ſtores ſhall be delivered up *bona fide*, and an inventory taken thereof. ——Granted.

Article VIII. That the ſick, wounded, commiſſaries, chaplains, phyſicians, ſurgeons, apothecaries, and other perſons employed in the hoſpitals, ſhall be treated agreeable to the cartel, ſettled between their moſt Chriſtian and *Britannic* majeſties on the 6th of *February*, 1759.——Granted.

Article IX. That, before delivering up the gate, and the entrance of the town, to the *Engliſh* forces, their general will be pleaſed to ſend ſome ſoldiers to be placed as ſafeguards at the churches, convents, and chief habitations.——Granted.

Article X. That the commander of the city of *Quebec* ſhall be permitted to ſend advice to the marquis *de Vaudreuil*, governor-general, of the reduction of the town; as alſo that this general ſhall be allowed to write to the *French* miniſtry, to inform them thereof.——Granted.

Article XI. That the preſent capitulation ſhall be executed according to its form and tenour, without being liable to non-execution, under pretence of repriſals, or the non-execution of any preceding capitulation.——Granted.

The preſent treaty has been made and ſettled between us, and duplicates ſigned at the camp before *Quebec*, the 18th of *September*, 1759.

Charles Saunders,
George Townſhend,
De Ramſay.

The concluſion of this capitulation was the more ſeaſonable, becauſe the *French* and the *Canadians* were aſſembling in great numbers in the rear of the *Britiſh* army, where, if any impreſſion had been made, it might have been attended with a moſt dreadful reverſe of fortune. We may add to this, that the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, as to render it unſafe for the *Britiſh* fleet to continue in the river *St. Lawrence*, or their troops to keep the field. The capitulation, which overthrew all the ſchemes of the *French*, being finiſhed, the upper as well as the lower town was completely garriſoned by *Britiſh* troops. The enemy, in the mean while, were not idle, M. *de Bougainville* was ready at the head of eight hundred men, with a ſufficient convoy of proviſions, to have thrown himſelf into the town, upon the 18th, the morning on which it ſurrendered, the place then being acceſſible, becauſe not completely inveſted. Next day, all kind of precautions having been taken for the preſervation of order and diſcipline, the priſoners, who were about 1000 in number, were embarked for *France* on board tranſports. Thus, this amazing and almoſt miraculous conqueſt of *Quebec* was effected, while the enemy, under the command of M. *de Levi*, the governor of *Montreal*, had ſtill an army in the field, while the fortifications of *Quebec* itſelf were yet undamaged, though its houſes were demoliſhed, and while the garriſon had ſtill a communication with their army.

The Cherokees *chaſtiſed.*

BUT though the *French* thus notoriouſly failed in point of courage, they were ſo ſucceſsful in craft, that they inſtigated the *Cherokees* to butcher the *Engliſh* ſubjects. Mr. *Lyttleton*, governor of *South Carolina*, marching in perſon at the head of 1100 men, obliged them to agree to a peace, which, no ſooner was he returned to his government, than they broke. Mr. *Amherſt*, who was ſtill continuing his operations againſt the *French*, upon the application of the ſouthern *Britiſh* colonies, ſent colonel *Montgomery*, at the head of 1200 men, to chaſtize their perfidy; which he did in a moſt exemplary manner, by deſtroying all the villages and towns in the lower diviſion, which were remarkably well provided and ſituated. The reſt of the operations againſt the *Indians* in this campaign, belong to another part of this work. We are now to attend thoſe againſt the capital of *Canada*.

The French *beſiege* Quebec.

BRIGADIER *Monckton*, who, by *Wolfe's* death, became firſt in command there, being happily recovered of his wound, brigadier *Murray*, who was now the third in command, was appointed to the government of *Quebec*, with a garriſon conſiſting of about 6000 men. General *Amherſt* was then wintering in *New York*, from whence he could the moſt eaſily recommence his operations againſt *Canada* in the ſpring, and lord *Colvil* was ſtationed, with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips, at *Hallifax* in *Nova Scotia*, with orders to viſit *Quebec*, as ſoon as the navigation of the river *St. Lawrence* ſhould be free from ice. Brigadier *Murray*, in the mean while, made indefatigable, and indeed incredible, efforts to ſecure his government from the attempts of his enemies, both within and without, where he knew them to be very ſtrong. Above five hundred houſes were repaired in the winter; magazines of all kinds were amaſſed; the fortifications were improved; the diſaffected inhabitants in the neighbourhood were diſarmed; and ſuch active movements were made by ſurprizing the advanced poſts of the enemy, that not only the inhabitants of *Quebec*, but thoſe of eleven pariſhes around, from whence proviſions and firing could be brought, took the oaths to the *Britiſh* government; as did great numbers of the inhabitants on the ſouth ſide of the river. It is ſurprizing, that the *French*, a nation ſeldom deficient in activity, ſhould tamely ſuffer all thoſe precautions to be carried into execution, with little or no reſiſtance on their part. *Levi* and *Bougainville* muſt have been deſtitute either of counſel or courage, or both. They were at the head of troops uſed to the climate; they had advanced their troops to *Point au Tremble*, *St. Auguſtin*, and *Le Calvaire*; their main body lay at *Trois Rivieres* and *Jaques Quartier*; and they were provided with ſnow ſhoes, faſcines, ſcaling ladders, and all the preparatives for regaining the capital of *Canada* during the winter, beſides amaſſing large quantities of proviſions at *Point Levi*. All thoſe diſpoſitions came to nothing, through the active vigilance of the *Britiſh* general. He ſurprized their magazines, cut off their communications, and beat, or carried off, their advanced poſts; ſo that they reſolved to delay the ſiege of *Quebec*, on pretext that they could more effectually undertake it in the ſpring. This pretext was not without foundation. They had ſtill abundance of ſhipping left, which lay up the river, and which they refitted, ſo as to tranſport every thing proper for beſieging *Quebec* in form; and when the froſt broke up, thoſe ſhips with troops on board, falling down the river, landed at *St. Auguſtine*, and forced the *Engliſh* out-poſts to retire to the city, which they however did without loſs.

General Murray *defeated at the battle of* Sylleri.

BUT the *French* preparations were not near ſo dangerous to the garriſon, as its own condition. During the inclemency of the winter, the intenſe cold, the want of vegetables, and the ſcarcity of freſh proviſion, had introduced amongſt the ſoldiers ſcorbutic diſorders, which had cut off 1000 of them, and had rendered above 2000 of them unfit for ſervice. Thus the garriſon did not conſiſt of above 3000 effective men. *De Levi*'s army, on the other hand, amounted to eight battalions, and forty regimented companies of colony troops; ſo greatly improved was *Canada* of late in its ſtrength and population. Mr. *Murray*, at firſt, thought of intrenching his troops on the heights of *Abraham*; but the froſt continued ſtill to be ſo deeply lodged in the ground, that he could not execute his lines. He then ſecured the landing-places at *Cape Rouge* and *Toulon*, together with his own poſts, which the *French* were making diſpoſitions to cut off. When he returned to *Quebec*, a thouſand dangers and difficulties preſented to him upon the expediency of ſtanding a ſiege; and truſting to the well-known valour of his troops, he reſolved to give the enemy battle, though their army amounted to above 12,000 men, and 500 ſavages; and perhaps, every thing conſidered, and all circumſtances weighed, this reſolution was as prudent as it was brave, eſpecially as he was provided with a fine train of artillery.

ON the 28th of *April*, in the morning, he ſet out at the head of his little army, ſcarcely 3000 men, and formed it in order of battle near *Sillery*. The right brigade conſiſted of the regiments of *Amherſt*, *Anſtruther*, *Webb*, and the ſecond battalion of the royal *Americans*, under the command of colonel *Burton*. Colonel *Fraſer* commanded the left, which was formed by the highlanders, and the regiments of *Kennedy*, *Laſcelles*, and *Townſhend*; as the body of reſerve was of *Otway*'s and the third battalion of royal *Americans*. The right flank was covered by major *Dalling*'s light infantry; the left by captain *Huzzen*'s rangers, with an hundred volunteers under captain *Macdonald*; and two field pieces were aſſigned to each battalion. At firſt, the general deſcending from the heights of *Abraham*, his troops beat the enemy from ſome woody eminences they had taken poſſeſſion of, but their main army advanced with order and rapidity, and formed in columns, though in danger of being diſordered by their advanced poſt giving way. Their fire upon the *Britiſh* battalions, who purſued their van, was hot and regular, and ſtopt their progreſs; while their ſuperiority of numbers, after their center was ſecured, gave them the advantage of outflanking the *Engliſh*, both on the right and left, and bidding fair to cloſe upon their rear. All this time, a moſt furious fire and charge was kept up from the center of the *French*, which drove the light infantry firſt towards the front of their own right, and then towards the rear, where they found they had ſuffered ſo much; that they could not again be brought to the charge. Notwithſtanding this, the enemy could not break the *Britiſh* right wing, which was ſupported by *Otway*'s regiment from the reſerve; but the left wing, after gaining vaſt advantages, was overpowered by numbers, and obliged to give way, the *French* fighting with unuſual ardour. The diſorder of the left wing communicating itſelf to the right, and the whole in danger of being entirely ſurrounded, the general thought fit to retreat; which he did with great courage and conduct, after having the third part of his army killed or wounded, and being obliged to leave the greateſt part of his artillery, which it was impoſſible to drag off, through the wreaths of ſnow which ſtill lay on the ground.

In this battle the *French*, who may be ſaid to have fought it for fighting ſake, loſt above 2000 men, and, after it, they made but poor efforts to improve it.

Quebec relieved.

IT is true, they opened the trenches before *Quebec* the very night after the battle was fought, and were employed for ſeveral days in landing cannon, mortars, and ammunition, out of three ſhips, which were anchored below their camp; but it was the 11th of *May* before they opened a battery, while general *Murray* made ſuch preparations for the defence of the place, as proved that his ſpirit had grown upon his defeat; for he planted an hundred and thirty-two pieces of artillery, moſt of them dragged along by the ſoldiery, upon the ramparts. Lord *Colville* had ſailed from *Hallifax* on the 22d of *April* with his fleet; but the ice, and other inconveniencies of fogs and winds retarded his progreſs. Commodore *Swanton* had ſailed from *England* with a ſquadron, but had ſtopped in the beginning of *May*, at the iſle of *Bec*, in the river *St. Lawrence*, till he could be joined by ſome of his ſquadron from whom he had ſeparated. One of his miſſing ſhips, the *Loweſtoffe*, commanded by captain *Deane*, had proceeded to *Quebec*, and entered that harbour the 9th of *May*, with the joyful accounts of the only relief, which the garriſon could depend upon, being at hand; and, on the 15th, the commodore himſelf anchored above *Point Levi.* Next morning, captain *Schomberg*, in the *Diana*, and captain *Deane*, attacked two *French* frigates, and two armed ſhips with a conſiderable number of other veſſels, and totally took, burnt, or deſtroyed them. *Levi*, the *French* general, beheld from the heights of *Abraham* this mortifying cataſtrophe; this dreadful demolition of all his towering hopes. He concluded that the ſhips, which had done the execution, were only the fore-runners of an invincible armada then in the river, and he formed a reſolution of abandoning the ſiege, at the very time, when Mr. *Murray* was preparing to attack him in his entrenchments, to repair the diſcredit of his late defeat.

MURRAY ſoon learned that the enemy had abandoned their trenches, and that too, ſo precipitately, that they had left behind them their proviſions, tools, and artillery. He endeavoured to overtake them; but, though he made ſome priſoners, they retreated with ſuch haſte, that he could only take a large quantity of their baggage. The artillery, which fell in his hands, amounted to thirty-four pieces of battering cannon, ten field pieces, ſix mortars, four petards, with all the other ſtores and implements in proportion. *Levi*, after remaining ſome time at *Jaques Quartier*, retired to *Montreal*, where *Vaudreuil* was; and the latter, to ſupport the ſpirit of the *Canadians*, circulated letters amongſt them full of the moſt ridiculous falſhoods concerning the weakneſs of the *Engliſh*, and the proſperity of the *French* affairs in *Europe:* particularly, that their king was then in *Holland* at the head of 200,000 men. Thoſe arts, childiſh as they may now ſeem, might have had their deſigned effect upon ſo uninformed a people as the *Canadians*, had it not been for their recent and ſevere experience of *Engliſh* power and courage. But his authority, though great, could not take from them their feeling; ſo that the inacceſſibility of the country was all he had to depend upon, till a general peace could be effected in *Europe*.

Progreſs of general Amherſt.

MR. *AMHERST*, notwithſtanding all the diſcouragements he had met with, did not relax in his diſpoſitions for completing the conqueſt of *Canada*. He ſent colonel *Haviland* to take poſſeſſion of the *Iſle aux Noix* in lake *Champlain*, and from thence to gain the banks of the river *St. Lawrence:* then he diſpatched inſtructions to general *Murray* to advance up the river to *Montreal*, with all the force he could ſpare from his garriſon. He himſelf, with the main body of the army, conſiſting of about 10,000 men, including *Indians*, leaving the province of *New York*, was to proceed by the rivers of the *Mohawks* and *Oneidas* to lake *Ontario*, from whence he was to fall down the river *St. Lawrence*, and to join Mr. *Murray* at *Montreal*. Except the expeditions of *Jingis Khan*, perhaps ſo arduous a march as this never was projected, and never was there a march, depending on ſo many diſtant events, ſo happily accompliſhed. It was the latter end of *June*, before the general, after providing all the neceſſary means of navigating the lake *Ontario*, left *Schenectady*; and, on the 9th of *July*, he reached *Oſwego*, the place of his army's rendezvous. Here they were joined by 1000 *Iroquois*, under Sir *William Johnſon*; and, on the 10th of *Auguſt*, notwithſtanding the numerous inconveniencies and difficulties, that were to be obviated and conquered, the whole army was embarked on lake *Ontario*; a ſmall detachment having been ſent before in veſſels, to prepare the way for the imbarkation to advance up the river *St. Laurence*. On the the 27th, he entered that river, and took poſſeſſion of *Swegatchie*, and afterwards inveſted *L'Iſle Royale*, which lies farther down the river, and is one of its moſt importants poſts. After having run aſhore a *French* ſloop, and taken another, batteries being erected, the fort of *L'iſle Royale* was briſkly cannonaded, and ſurrendered on capitulation by its commandant M. *Pouchaut*. The general thought this poſt of ſo much conſequence, that he repaired it, and left it garriſoned. His greateſt difficulty was ſtill to ſurmount, we mean his navigation from thence to the river *St. Lawrence*; which was rendered extremely dangerous by the rapids he had to encounter. Yet, even this impediment was vanquiſhed with the loſs of ſome artillery and ſtores, forty-ſix battoes, ſeventeen whale boats, a row-galley, and above eighty men. This diſcouraging voyage was performed, from the time of the troops leaving *Schenectady* to that of their landing at *Montreal*, which they did on the 6th of *September*, in two months, and ſeventeen days. The enemy, by this time, more than probably had given over all ſerious thoughts of making a defence. The *Britiſh Indians* were exaſperated to the higheſt degree, by the recent marks they had diſcovered during the voyage, of the cruelties of the *French* ſavages, and eagerly waited for an opportunity to retaliate them. *Montreal* was reduced to the moſt dreadful diſtreſs, by an univerſal famine; the *Canadians* never having been remarkably provident, and diſcovering the groſs impoſtures, that had been practiſed upon them, they conceived both a hatred and contempt for their commanders. Add to this, that, though the town of *Montreal* itſelf might have made a good reſiſtance againſt provincials and *Indians*, yet its fortifications were in no condition to ſtand a regular ſiege, againſt an army provided as that under *Amherſt* was. But it is now time to attend the motions of general *Murray*.

who takes l'iſle Royale;

and, after a dangerous voyage,

By the manifeſtoes he publiſhed, he had diſpoſed the inhabitants of the ſouth ſhore of the river *St. Lawrence* to ſubmit and take the oath of neutrality, while lord *Rollo* made himſelf maſter of *Trois Rivieres* without reſiſtance, and diſarmed the inhabitants on the north ſide. It is amazing, that *Levi*, the *French* general, who kept at *Murray*'s rear with his army, made no attempt to ſtop his progreſs, but abandoned every poſt he came to. When *Murray* came to the village of *Sorel*, he found it deſerted, and the inhabitants in arms, "I was, therefore, (ſays he, in his letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, which does immortal honour to his humanity) under the cruel neceſſity of burning the greateſt part of the houſes of this poor unhappy people. I pray God, this example may ſuffice, for my nature revolts, when this becomes a neceſſary part of my duty." On the 24th, he arrived at *Contecœur*, which lies within nine miles of *Montreal*, under the diſcouraging circumſtance of not having heard all this while of general *Amherſt* or his operations; but he was reſolved, at all events, to have attempted the conqueſt of *Montreal* with his own troops.

In the mean while, Mr. *Amherſt* landed at *La Chine* without oppoſition, and taking precautions for the ſecurity of his

lands at Montreal.

boats, after a march of two leagues, he formed his army on a plain before the town, being provided with two twelve pounders, and ſome other pieces of field artillery. His troops paſſed all that night under arms, and next morning, being the 7th of *September*, *Vaudreuil* ſent *Bougainville* and another officer with a letter, propoſing a capitulation, and a copy of the articles he was willing to agree to. All that this produced was a ceſſation of arms for a few hours; and *Amherſt* returned the terms, which he was willing to grant. *Levi*, who, by this time, had arrived with his troops at *Montreal*, interpoſed to have the *Engliſh* terms mitigated, and general *Murray* having now landed below the town, *Amherſt*'s articles were accepted of on the morning of the 8th, with mutual expreſſions of politeneſs on both ſides.

1760.

which capitulates.

THE chief of the articles were, That the garriſon of *Montreal* was to lay down their arms, and not to ſerve during the war, as were all the *French* troops at *Detroit*, *Michillimakinac*, and other places of *Canada*, the whole of which was now to be conſidered as being ſubject to his *Britannic* majeſty. The *Canadian* militia were to return home without moleſtation, but all warlike ſtores were to be delivered up, thro' the whole province, to the *Britiſh* army; while the marquis of *Vaudreuil*, with all the chief military officers, who ſhould chuſe it, were to be conveyed in *Britiſh* ſhips to *France*, as likewiſe were all the civil officers who deſired the ſame. The exerciſe of the *Roman* catholic religion was to continue to the inhabitants under certain reſtrictions. In ſhort, the capitulation was extremely favourable to the *French*, conſidering their ſituation; but the wording of it, it being drawn up by themſelves, was tedious and tautologous. We ſhall here but juſt mention, that general *Murray*'s difficult voyage from *Quebec* to *Montreal* was ſo happily conducted by captain *Deane*, that he did not loſe a boat or a man during the whole; and that before the capitulation was ſigned, colonel *Haviland*, with his detachment, landed on the ſouth ſide of the river oppoſite to *Montreal*. Thus was effected the conqueſt of this extenſive province; and it would be doing injuſtice to the chief officers employed under the general, not to inſert his own account of their conduct, which he ſent home to the government of *England*.

A paſſage of his letter to the ſecretary of ſtate.

"I SHOULD not (ſaid he) do juſtice to general *Murray* and colonel *Haviland*, if I did not aſſure you they have executed the orders I gave them to the utmoſt of my wiſhes. I muſt alſo beg leave to ſay I am obliged to brigadier-general *Gage* for the aſſiſtance he has given me, and I have taken the liberty to give, in public orders, my aſſurances to the three armies, that I would take the firſt opportunity of acquainting the king with the zeal and bravery, which has always been exerted by the officers and ſoldiers of the regular and provincial troops; as alſo by his majeſty's faithful *Indian* allies. Sir *William Johnſon* has taken unwearied pains in keeping the *Indians* in humane bounds; and I have the pleaſure to aſſure you, that not a peaſant, woman, or child, has been hurt by them, or a houſe burnt, ſince I entered what was the enemy's country. I ſhall now uſe my utmoſt endeavours for ſettling every thing in this country, to keep a ſure poſſeſſion of it; and I ſhall immediately diſpoſe of the troops in ſuch a manner, that I may completely finiſh the forts, which were begun laſt year; and, as far as the ſeaſon will permit me, I ſhall repair or erect ſuch forts or poſts, as may be neceſſary for ſtrengthening and inſuring the future command of the lakes, with the poſſeſſion of every part of the ſouth ſide of the river *St. Lawrence.*"

French *ſhips deſtroyed in the bay of* Chaleurs.

No ſooner was the capitulation ſigned than colonel *Haldiman* took poſſeſſion of *Montreal* with the grenadiers, and the light infantry of the line, and brought off in triumph the colours of *Pepperell's* and *Shirley's* regiments, that had been taken at *Oſwego*, and depoſited at *Montreal* as trophies. Brigadier-general *Gage* was appointed governor of the place, with a garriſon of 2000 men. Mr. *Murray* returned to *Quebec*, where his garriſon was augmented to 4000. During Mr. *Amherſt's* expedition, the object of which was no ſecret to the *French*, that court had given orders for equipping the *Machaux* frigate of 30 guns, two large ſtoreſhips, and nineteen ſail of ſmaller veſſels, moſt of which had been taken from the *Britiſh* traders, which was accordingly done. While they were on their voyage they received intelligence of the *Britiſh* ſquadron having proceeded up the river *St. Lawrence*; upon which they thought proper to take ſhelter in the bay of *Chaleurs* on the coaſt of *Acadia.* Captain *Byron* was then ſenior officer of the *Britiſh* ſhips at *Louiſbourg*, and receiving intelligence from brigadier-general *Whitmore* of the enemy lying at *Riſtigouchi* at the bottom of that bay, he immediately ſailed with the *Fame*, *Dorſetſhire*, *Achilles*, *Scarborough*, and *Repulſe*, and deſtroyed them all, together with two batteries and two hundred houſes, beſides ruining the *French* ſettlements there.

All Canada *reduced, and ceded to the* Engliſh *by the treaty of* Paris.

THIS gave the finiſhing blow to the power of *France* upon the continent of *North America*; an event productive of many reflexions. Had the *French* court exerted half the expence of men, money and ſhipping in eſtabliſhing this colony, that it did in endeavouring to ſave it, it muſt have been inacceſſible to the *Britiſh* arms. Though enough cannot be ſaid in praiſe of the courage and conduct of the officers and ſoldiers, who atchieved the conqueſt, yet it cannot be denied, that great part of it was owing to their good fortune. The immenſe preparations made by the ſeparate armies, to reduce ſuch a place as *Montreal*, exceeded perhaps the importance of the object; but it is without a precedent in hiſtory, that the three armies, which marched againſt it in ſuch different directions, ſhould all meet at the ſame place within twenty-four hours of each other. The province in general was in a worſe condition than our generals ſeem to have apprehended, and when the inhabitants appeared before Mr. *Amherſt*, miſery and famine were painted in their countenances; ſo that in fact they were ſaved by being ſubdued; for the *Britiſh* general was ſo humane as to give them bread and proviſions from his own ſtores. The *French* coloniſts of *Miramichi*, *Rickebuctou*, and other places, newly colonized, had before this time made their ſubmiſſion to colonel *Frye*, the commandant of fort *Cumberland* at *Chignecto* in the moſt formal manner, and had engaged for themſelves and their conſtituents, that they would in the ſpring repair with their ſhips and effects to *Bay Verte*, there to be diſpoſed of according to the direction of colonel *Lawrence*, the *Britiſh* governor of *Hallifax*. In this ſubmiſſion they were accompanied by two *Mickmack* deputies, who likewiſe put themſelves under the protection of the *Engliſh*.

THE great object of the war between *Great Britain* and *France*, being now accompliſhed on the part of the former, by the reduction of all *Canada*, and thereby diſabling the *French* from extending their encroachments upon the *Engliſh* poſſeſſions, which were now fully ſecured; the fate of that province, became a capital conſideration at the conferences for peace, which were opened between the two crowns, ſoon after the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty king *George* the third in 1761. The public is ſufficiently apprized of the progreſs of that negotiation, which is foreign to this part of our work, any farther than it relates to *Canada*. By *Vaudreuill's* capitulation at *Montreal* the *Engliſh* general inſiſted upon him and his officers giving up all the charts and plans relating to that colony, or its dependencies; and according to the report of the *Engliſh* officers *Vaudreuil* made them far more extenſive than Mr. *Buſſy*, the *French* miniſter at *London*, and his court, were willing to admit of; but the *Engliſh* ſtill inſiſted upon having the boundaries fixed as they had been deſcribed by *Vaudreuil*. This was an important article and made ſome noiſe; upon which *Vaudreuil* wrote a letter to the duke *de* *Choi-*

Oct. 30, 1761.

Choiſeul, ſolemnly diſclaiming all that had been alledged by the *Engliſh* on that head, and that he had never furniſhed the *Engliſh* with any maps; but that a *Britiſh* officer afterwards coming to him with a map, he told him the limits marked upon it were not juſt, and that *Louiſiana* not being comprehended under the term, *Canada*, which he had always made uſe of, extended on one ſide to the carrying-place of the *Miamis*, which is the height of the lands, whoſe rivers run into the *Ouabache*, and on the other to the head of the river *Illinois*.

THE aſſertion of this *Frenchman* did not greatly draw the attention of the people of *England*, who were divided on another head, namely, whether it was moſt eligible to give up *Canada*, or the *French* iſlands that had been reduced in the *Weſt Indies*. The truth is, intereſted conſiderations had a great ſhare in this diſpute; but the government, as well as the majority of the public, was of opinion, that, if a ceſſion muſt be made, it ought to be that of the iſlands; and that *Canada* ſhould be retained, as beſt anſwering the original purpoſes of the war. The ſubſequent advantages gained by *Great Britain* rendered the diſputes concerning the limits of *Canada* of no ſignificancy; becauſe not only that country, but *Louiſiana* itſelf, but all *New Orleans*, and a diſtrict about it, was ceded to *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Paris*, on the 10th of *February*, 1763. By the 13th article of that treaty, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty renounces all pretenſions, which he has heretofore formed, or might form, to *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, in all its parts, and guaranties the whole of it, and with all its dependencies, to the king of *Great Britain*: Moreover, his moſt Chriſtian majeſty cedes and guaranties to his ſaid *Britannic* majeſty, in full right, *Canada*, with all its dependencies; as well as the iſland of *Cape Breton*, and all the other iſlands and coaſts in the gulph and river of *St. Lawrence*; and, in general, every thing that depends on the ſaid countries, lands, iſlands, and coaſts, with the ſovereignty, property, poſſeſſion, and all rights, acquired by treaty or otherwiſe, which the moſt Chriſtian king, and the crown of *France*, have had, till now, over the ſaid countries, iſlands, lands, places, coaſts, and their inhabitants, ſo that the moſt Chriſtian king cedes and makes over the whole to the ſaid king, and to the crown of *Great Britain*, and that in the moſt ample manner and form, without reſtriction, and without any liberty to depart from the ſaid ceſſion and guarantee, under any pretence, or to diſturb *Great Britain* in the poſſeſſions abovementioned. His *Britannic* majeſty on his ſide, agrees to grant the liberty of the catholic religion to the inhabitants of

Canada. He will conſequently give the moſt effectual orders, that his new *Roman* catholic ſubjects may profeſs the worſhip of their religion, according to the rites of the *Romiſh* church, as far as the laws of *Great Britain* permit. His *Britannic* majeſty further agrees, that the *French* inhabitants, or others, who had been the ſubjects of the moſt Chriſtian king in *Canada*, may retire with all ſafety and freedom, wherever they ſhall think proper, and may ſell their eſtates, provided it be to the ſubjects of his *Britannic* majeſty, and bring away their effects, as well as their perſons, without being reſtrained in their emigration, under any pretence whatſoever, except that of debts, or of criminal proſecutions: the term limited for their emigration, ſhall be fixed to the ſpace of eighteen months, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent peace.

Reflexion. WE ſhall conclude our account of *Canada* with one reflexion, highly intereſting to its new poſſeſſors, which is, that it is greatly to be wiſhed, before the country had been ceded to *Great Britain*, ſome care had been taken to have obtained the conſent of the ſavages, as to what regards their ſubjection to our crown. It already appears from many bloody effects, that they either did not conſider the *French* as being authorized to ſubject them to *England*; or that the jeſuits and popiſh miſſionaries are now exciting them to renew all their barbarities againſt our fellow ſubjects; but it is to be hoped, that the prudent and vigorous meaſures taken by our government, will ſoon have their due effect, not only in repreſſing, but humanizing, thoſe barbarians.

LOUISIANA.

La Sale *attempts to diſcover the mouth of the* Miſſiſſippi.

WE ſhall confine our account of this country to that part of it which was ceded by *France* to *Great Britain* by the treaty of *Paris* in 1763, and which is properly called *Louiſiana*, to diſtinguiſh it from *Florida*, of which it was formerly a part. Having already mentioned the firſt attempts of M. *de la Sale*, father *Hennepin*, and others, to diſcover the mouth of the river *Miſſiſſippi*, we refer our readers to that part of our work, and ſhall here take up the hiſtory of *Louiſiana*, which has been ceded as above, and is a ſettlement of very modern date. In the year 1684, when *la Sale* was at the *French* court on the ſubject of his diſcoveries, *de Seignelay*, then the *French* miniſter, had conceived ſome prejudices againſt him from *le Barre*'s repreſentations, which we have already mentioned. *La Sale* had the addreſs to conquer them; and he not only won the eſteem of that miniſter, but brought him to agree, that he ſhould proſecute his diſcoveries, and attempt to enter the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi* by ſea, and there form a ſettlement. All the winter was ſpent in making preparations for his expedition, and, by his commiſſion, he was to command all the *French* and ſavages that lay between fort-*Lewis*, which he had already built upon the river *Illinois*, to that part of *Florida* called *New Biſcay*; and that the *French* commodore, who was to carry him to *America*, ſhould give him all the aſſiſtance in his power.

FOUR veſſels of different burdens were built at *Rochfort*; on board of which were embarked an hundred ſoldiers, a *Canadian* family, thirty volunteers, ſome of whom were gentlemen, a few ladies, and workmen: but *Charlevoix* obſerves, that moſt part of the latter, as well as the ſoldiers, were moſt miſerable ignorant wretches. Three eccleſiaſtics, with four recollects, amongſt whom was father *Zenobe*, compoſed the reſt of the company, together with a burgeſs of *Rouen*, one *Joutel*, who was a man of ſome capacity, and intended as a kind of an aſſiſtant to *la Sale*. The ſhips deſtined for this diſcovery were the *Joli*, of forty-guns, commanded by M. *de Beaujeu*; another veſſel of ſix guns, which the *French* king made a preſent of to *la Sale*; the *Amiable*, a merchant-ſhip of about three hundred tons burthen, which carried *la Sale*'s baggage and implements; and a ketch of thirty guns, freighted with ammunition and merchandizes. This little ſquadron had ſcarce cleared the land, when the main-maſt of the *Joli* broke, and all the four ſhips returned to *Rochelle*, from whence they again ſet ſail on the firſt of *Auguſt*, and on the 16th, they came in ſight of the *Madeiras*. By this time, *la Sale* and *Beaujeu* had quarrelled. The latter propoſed to put into *Madeira*, there to take in water and proviſions; but as the ſucceſs of the expedition depended on its being kept a ſecret from the *Spaniards*, *la Sale* reſolutely oppoſed their ſtopping, which encreaſed the ill humour between them. When they came to *St. Domingo*, *Beaujeu* came to anchor at *Petit Guaves*, on the weſt end of the iſland, though *la Sale* had buſineſs of great importance, truſted to him by the miniſter, with M. *de Cuſſi*, the *French* governor, who lived on the north ſide; ſo that *Cuſſi*, with other two *French* officers, was obliged to repair to *Petit Guaves*, where he found *la Sale* greatly indiſpoſed, chiefly through vexation, two *Spaniſh* peruagas having taken his ketch off of the iſland. The growing diſcontents between *la Sale* and *Beaujeu* made all the adventurers deſpair of ſucceſs in their undertaking; but, at laſt, *la Sale* recovered, and having diſpatched his buſineſs at *Petit Guaves*, he ſet ſail from thence the 25th of *November*, more embroiled than ever with

Beaujeu.

La Sale *diſcovers the country of* Florida, *but miſſes the mouth of the* Miſſiſſippi.

Beaujeu. About the 12th of *December*, they entered the gulph of *Mexico*, but were obliged by contrary winds to lie by, till the 18th. On the 28th, they diſcovered the continent of *Florida*, and having been informed that the currents in the gulph ſet ſtrongly in for the eaſt, he did not doubt that the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi* lay a great way to the weſt; upon which he bore weſtward. The 10th of *January*, 1685, he was near the object of his ſearch, without knowing it, and paſſed it without ſending any of his people aſhore. Some days after, beginning to be ſenſible of his miſtake, he wanted to return, but *Beaujeu* refuſed to obey him, and *la Sale* acquieſced, though he had been extremely obſtinate in all their differences of little conſequence. Still holding to the weſt, they, at laſt, arrived, without knowing where they were, at the bay of *St. Bernard*, which lies an hundred leagues to the weſt of the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*. Here *la Sale* diſcovered a river, which he imagined might be that he was ſearching for; and, after ſome farther bickerings with *Beaujeu*, he reſolved to land all his people there. On the 20th of *February*, he ſent orders to the commander of the *Amiable*, the merchant-ſhip, to lighten her, that ſhe might ſail up the river, and ordered one *le Belle* to command her; but the captain of the veſſel refuſed to receive him. In the mean while, ſome of *la Sale*'s company who had landed were carried off by the ſavages; and as *la Sale* was running to diſengage them, the *Amiable* was run aſhore, deſignedly, as it was thought, by the commander. The crew was ſaved, and ſome part of the cargo; the whole of which might have been ſaved, had not the veſſel's long boat been deſtroyed on purpoſe. This obliged *la Sale* to wait for next morning, when the *Amiable* bulged (U); ſo that no more was got on ſhore, than thirty

---

(U) *Joutel*'s account of this voyage was publiſhed ſome years after *Hennepin*'s book, which *Charlevoix* wants ſo much to diſcredit, becauſe he put himſelf under the protection of the *Engliſh* government, on account of the bad treatment he received from the *French*. We cannot, however, help obſerving, that there runs through all *Hennepin*'s narratives an air of native candour; that his relations, though diſcredited when they were publiſhed, have been confirmed by after-diſcoveries, particularly the characters and deſcriptions he gives us of the ſavages and their countries; that though he had great reaſons to be diſſatisfied with *la Sale*, yet he does him at leaſt as much juſtice as *Charlevoix* does; and that his accounts of that gentleman's rambles and diſcoveries differ very immaterially from thoſe of *Joutel*, who, by the bye, did not publiſh his own work, and complained of its having been altered.

caſks of wine and brandy, ſome barrels of flour, and ſalted meat. In the mean while, a bundle of blankets and ſeveral other things had been driven from the wreck to the ſhore, where they were ſeized by the ſavages. They were redemanded by *la Sale* and his people with ſo much roughneſs, that the *Indians* reſolved to be revenged, and refuſed to give up their prey. Upon this, *la Sale* ſeized their canoes, which they had left aſhore. This incenſed them ſtill farther, and marching in the night-time to *la Sale*'s camp, they killed ſome of his men, and wounded others, amongſt whom was *Moranger*, *la Sale*'s own nephew.

His obſtinacy,

It appears from all accounts, that *la Sale* was obſtinate, proud, and paſſionate, to the laſt degree; qualities but ill ſuited to an undertaking like his. It is, therefore, to be preſumed, that *Beaujeu*, who conſidered his ſtation of commander of a royal ſhip, as ſuperior to that of *la Sale*, to whoſe orders he was ſubjected, could not bear with his peeviſh tyrannical humour, and took all opportunities to thwart him. All the ſenſible and independent part of the adventurers, ſome of whom had riſked large ſums in the undertaking, were diſguſted for the ſame reaſon. They complained, that all their hardſhips were owing to *la Sale*'s headſtrong humour in his diſdaining to adviſe with any one; and ſome of the moſt conſiderable amongſt them propoſed returning to *France* with M. *Beaujeu*, who was making ready for his voyage. *La Sale* applied to him for the cannon and bullets, which he had on board; but *Beaujeu* anſwered, that the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, that he could not ſpare time, as they were in the bottom of the hold, for putting them aſhore. This was not the only mortification *la Sale* met with at this time; for though the captain of the *Amiable* was convicted of running it aſhore with deſign, yet *Beaujeu* received him and his crew on board; and ſetting ſail, he left *la Sale* with no more than ten field-pieces aſhore, and without any balls. All thoſe untowardly circumſtances were far from daunting *la Sale*. He ſet about erecting a ſtore-houſe, which he intrenched and fortified as well as he could; and *Beaujeu* having ſailed about the middle of *March*, a fort was begun, though *Hennepin* ſays, that it was almoſt finiſhed before he ſailed. While it was building, *la Sale* gave the charge of it to *Joutel*, and left about ſixſcore perſons with him; and, with the remainder, which did not exceed fifty, he proceeded in his own frigate up the river, being ſtill of opinion that it either was the *Miſſiſſippi*, or a branch of it. He had not ſailed far, when hearing ſome diſcharges, which had been made by *Joutel* againſt the ſavages, who were moleſting the ſtore-houſe, or

and various removals.

fort

ſort as it is called, he returned back with five or ſix of his company, and informed *Joutel*, that having found a moſt commodious ſituation for a fort further up the river, he had begun to build it. He then took leave of *Joutel*, and returned to his newly founded fort, where he ſoon perceived, that the ſavages had robbed his workmen of their tools and utenſils; and that even when they were ſupplied by others, they knew not how to uſe them; ſo that the work went on very heavily. In the beginning of *June*, *la Sale* ſent an order to his nephew *Moranger* to bring all the people from the firſt fort to the new fort, excepting thirty, who were to be left with *Joutel* and the ſtore-keeper. Scarce was the main body gone, when two ruffians entered into a conſpiracy to murder *Joutel* and the ſtorekeeper, and, after robbing the fort, to deſert. This plot was diſcovered by a third ſoldier, whom the conſpirators wanted to make an accomplice; and *Joutel* put them both in irons. On the 14th of *July*, a freſh order came from *la Sale* for *Joutel* entirely to abandon the firſt fort, and to repair to him with all his people, which he accordingly obeyed, but found *la Sale* and his new ſettlement in a wretched condition. The fort was but little advanced, and ſcarcely any part of it, but a ſmall magazine, was covered over head. They had planted and ſowed, but little came up, and even that little had been deſtroyed by the wild beaſts. Several of the moſt conſiderable adventurers were dead, and maladies were every day encreaſing amongſt the living. All thoſe mortifying circumſtances greatly affected *la Sale*; but he diſſembled his chagrin, and continued to behave with incredible ſpirit and induſtry. No ſooner were all his people reunited, than he ſet them the example, by working at the fort with his own hand, which would have had an excellent effect by raiſing an emulation amongſt the men, had he not deſtroyed it by his exceſſive cruelty and ſeverity. He gave them no reſpite from labour; he could not beſtow on any one a civil expreſſion; he puniſhed every fault with the utmoſt rigour, nay barbarity; and miſery, which commonly renders other men ſociable, ſeemed only to exaſperate him into inhumanity. At the ſame time, deſpair and want of wholeſome food threw his men into a kind of languor, which carried off numbers. To crown thoſe misfortunes, the imprudence of ſome of his people had rendered the inhabitants of the place irreconcileable enemies to the new ſettlement.

A conſpiracy.

Imprudent ſeverity of La Sale.

THESE were called *Clamcoets*, and were a cruel perfidious people, but remarkable for covering their revenge and deceit under the appearances of buffoonery and gaiety. They had ſtrong liquors of their own making, and were monſtrouſly addicted

Deſcription of the Clamcoets,

addicted to drinking. Both men and women amongſt them go almoſt naked, and they have other barbarous cuſtoms peculiar to themſelves. Thoſe ſavages, at the ſame time, inhabit one of the fineſt climates in the world, wholeſome, ſerene, and fruitful by nature. The river, on which the new fort was built, was called that of *Cows*, from the great number of thoſe animals found on its borders; which abounded likewiſe with deer and kids. Some lions and tygers are likewiſe ſaid to be found here, and a great many bears and wolves. Smaller game ſwarms all over their country, and their rivers and lakes abound with fiſhes. Their plains, though level, are extenſive, but beautifully diverſified with wood and water; and they produce herbs, that muſt be of the moſt ſalutary efficacy, becauſe the inhabitants, who uſe them, notwithſtanding their exceſſive drinking, are remarkably long-lived. To counterbalance all thoſe bleſſings of nature, their rivers are peſtered with ſharks, and their plains with rattle-ſnakes. Their woods are full of moſt of the trees known in *Europe*, and many to which we are ſtrangers. They are fruitful in vines, which bear both black and white grapes. Nuts of excellent kinds, and ſome of them very large, mulberries, and banana figs, grow every where; and a fruit which the *Spaniards* call *Tſonnos*, of the figure of an egg, but delicious and refreſhing, is peculiar to this country. Notwithſtanding the ſoil is extremely fertile, it ſeldom rains in this country, and the natives are furniſhed with plenty of ſalt, which the ſun makes on the ſea-ſhore and the banks of the lakes. The people who lie next to the *Clamcoets*, but farther up the county, are little known to *Europeans*; but are ſaid to be pretty much of the ſame caſt, and to live in the ſame manner, with the *Clamcoets*.

and the Cenis.

ABOUT an hundred leagues towards the north, live the *Cenis*, or *Aſſinais*, a more humanized people. They ſettle in habitations; they cultivate the earth, and raiſe maiz, beans, citrons, water-melons, and various other vegetables, together with tobacco, and breed great numbers of horſes to bring home what they kill in their hunting. The *Cenis* make war very differently from all the other *American* ſavages; for they take the field on horſeback, with a bow, and a quiver full of arrows, hanging at their back, and a buckler made of a bull's hide on their left arm for parrying darts. Their bridles are made of horſe hair, as are their ſtirrup ſtraps; the ſtirrups themſelves being made of boards to the form of their feet, and their ſaddles are made of folded deer ſkin. If a priſoner can find means to eſcape, ſo as to enter into one of their cabins, he is free, and becomes one of the nation, otherwiſe they put him to a moſt excruciating death, and afterwards his body is dreſt and eat. The *Cenis*, according to *Joutel*, cannot ſend to the field above an hundred men capable of bearing arms. Their cabins are round, in the form of a hay-rick; but commonly very large, ſome of them being ſixty feet in diameter: and each family has a piece of ground lying round its habitation. Beſides their dwelling-places, they have other cabins, all of them moſt curiouſly conſtructed, that ſerve for their public meetings. Their furniture conſiſts of hides and ſkins well-dreſſed, ſome matts and earthen-ware, all of good workmanſhip, for dreſſing their proviſions, beſides wicker-baſkets for holding their pulſe and fruits; and their beds, which are hung with ſkins, are made of woven canes, and raiſed three feet from the ground, ſpread with ſkins handſomely dreſſed, but with the hair upon them. When ſeed-time comes, the men and women labour equally, but in ſeparate bodies. Their tools have no iron about them, and are all of wood, with which they juſt remove the ſurface of the earth: but the women have all the labour of the harveſt. Their habit is much like that of the *Clamcoets*, and though they ſeem to have no notion of religious worſhip, yet certain faint ideas of a Deity are diſcernible in ſome of their ceremonies. We have thought proper to be more particular in our account of thoſe ſavages, who are now become our neighbours, if not ſubjects; nor can we have too much information, as to their manners and diſpoſitions.

La Sale's *war with the ſavages.*

At laſt, *la Sale* finiſhed his fort, which he called that of *St. Lewis*, and he gave the ſame name to the bay of *St. Bernard*, into which he ſtill believed the *Miſſiſſippi* diſcharged itſelf, and therefore he reſolved to make an accurate ſurvey of it in his frigate. It was now in the month of *October*; and he covered the roof of his fort with green turf, to prevent its being ſet on fire by the arrows, which the ſavages uſed to diſcharge with lighted matches tied to them. It happened luckily for *la Sale* and his adventurers, that thoſe barbarians were cowardly to a ridiculous degree; and two or three *French* men often put as many dozens of them to flight, but they never failed to deſtroy the *French*, when they could do it by ſtealth. *La Sale*, finding he could not reclaim thoſe ſavages, endeavoured to ſubdue them, and he had many ſkirmiſhes with them, in which he was always conqueror; yet he never was ſucceſsful, for he never could bring the ſavages to give him information concerning the country, or lend him their peruagas, which were ſo neceſſary for him in his intended voyage. So far, however, he prevailed, that the ſavages being intimidated, removed to a convenient diſtance from the fort, and gave the new ſettlers time for cultivating their lands, and raiſing their ſtock, which they did with amazing ſucceſs, and obtained ſo much reſpite, that they even built canoes, which proved of the greateſt utility to the undertaking. At laſt, in the month of *October*, *la Sale*, with the bulk of his people, who were now greatly reduced, went on board his frigate; but left *Joutel*, with thirty-four perſons under his command, at fort *Lewis*, with orders, that he ſhould admit none of thoſe who attended him into the fort, without a particular order ſigned by himſelf. The frigate was gone three months, without *Joutel* or his people hearing any thing of it. About the middle of *January*, 1686, *Duhaut*, one of the adventurers, whoſe younger brother, *Dominique*, had been left in the fort, came back to it alone in a canoe; and *Joutel* thought he had ſo little to apprehend from him, that he received him into the fort without any order for admiſſion from *la Sale*. From him *Joutel* learned, that *la Sale*'s pilot had orders to ſound the mouth of the river, but that he having come aſhore with five men, they were all murdered, while they were aſleep, by the ſavages; and *la Sale* the next morning found the remains of their bodies, which had been devoured by the wild beaſts. The death of this pilot was an irreparable loſs to *la Sale*. He, however, ordered the frigate to advance up the bay; while he himſelf with two canoes croſſed it, and ſinking them in the water, he proceeded by land, attended by about twenty perſons, till he came to the banks of a fine river, where *Duhaut* pretended he accidentally loſt them, and that in ſearching for them, he was inſenſibly carried back to fort *Lewis*. About the middle of *March*, *la Sale* returned in a very miſerable plight with his brother M. *Cavalier*, an eccleſiaſtic, who had attended him, and five or ſix perſons; having diſpatched the reſt of his attendants, amongſt whom was his youngeſt nephew, a youth about fifteen years of age, whoſe name was *Cavalier* likewiſe, in ſearch of his frigate, on board of which were his linnen, baggage, and moſt valuable effects.

He returns to fort Lewis.

To keep up the ſpirits of his people, he pretended to be wonderfully pleaſed with the diſcoveries he had made, and he ſeemed even to forgive *Duhaut* for returning to the fort without his leave. Next morning, young *Cavalier* and the reſt of his companions returned, but brought no accounts of the frigate, to the great mortification of *la Sale*, who had propoſed firſt to ſend it to the *French American* iſlands for ſupplies, and then to have coaſted all the gulph of *Mexico* in proſecuting his ſearch. Here we cannot help being of opinion, that during the whole of this expedition, *la Sale*, with all his perſonal reſolution and perſeverance, betrayed an unſteady romantic diſpoſition.

The loſs of his frigate.

poſition. If his main object was to diſcover the mouth of the river *Miſſiſſippi*, he might have done it, in much ſhorter time, by coaſting the gulph of *Mexico* in his frigate, than he conſumed in his idle ſettlements, and with a much ſmaller loſs of men, than thoſe he loſt in his rambles. Be this as it will, the frigate, in the mean while, was loſt in the following manner; an account of which was brought to the fort about the beginning of *May*, a few days after *la Sale* himſelf had ſet out in queſt of it. The crew wanting water, an officer with ſix men went aſhore to procure ſome; but the wind riſing, and the night coming on, the long boat, in which they were, could not reach the ſhip, and never was heard of after. After waiting for ſome days, the crew, who were extremely weakened by thirſt and fatigue, and very bad ſailors, made for the fort; but the wind proving contrary, the frigate was thrown, and wrecked, upon the oppoſite ſide of the bay. The crew having loſt their long boat, immediately ſet about building a raft; but it was ſo badly executed, that all thoſe who ventured on it were drowned. The ſurvivors made another with better ſucceſs, on which they put all they could ſave out of the wreck, and they happily paſſed on it into the river on the oppoſite ſide of the bay, where it was uſeleſs, becauſe it could not carry them up to the fort; nor durſt they travel by land for fear of the ſavages. At laſt, meeting with an old canoe, they refitted it, as well as they could, and it brought them to fort *Lewis*.

Diſcontents of the ſettlement.

LA SALE had then been two months gone, and it is not at all to be wondered at, if the ſettlement he left behind him was full of diſcontent and murmurings at what they ſuffered from his unaccountable conduct. Many of them, who could not remain ſhut up in the walls of the fort, were murdered by the ſavages, as they ſtrolled abroad a-hunting. The more ſedentary, who were the moſt valuable part of the ſettlement, were carried off by diſeaſes; and many of them ventured even to throw themſelves upon the barbarians, who gave them liberty to live as themſelves, while thoſe who remained entered into a conſpiracy, at the head of which was *Duhaut*, whoſe younger brother was with *la Sale*. *Joutel*, the commandant of the fort, coming to the knowledge of thoſe cabals, acted with ſo much prudence and reſolution, that he kept the conſpirators in awe, till the return of *la Sale*, which was about the month of *Auguſt*. During this laſt ramble, he had viſited the country of the *Cenis*, with whom he made an alliance, and who furniſhed him with five horſes laden with proviſions, but he had learned nothing of the main object of his ſearch; and of twenty men he carried

ried out with him, he brought no more than eight back. Amongſt the miſſing was *Duhaut*'s brother; but *la Sale* pretended that he had given him, and ſeveral others, leave to return to the fort. Thoſe new loſſes augmented the diſcontent of the ſettlers, whom *la Sale*'s preſence, however, overawed; and, as the *Clamcoets* had begun to renew their incurſions, he communicated to *Joutel* a deſign he had formed of transferring his ſettlement to the country of the *Illinois*, with which he was well acquainted; and that, in the mean time, he would undertake a third journey to viſit them.

He undertakes a journey to the Illinois.

1687.

As he was preparing to ſet out, he was attacked by a fever, which confined him to the end of *December*, when being recovered, he renewed his preparations for his journey; and, having given *Joutel* leave to attend him, he nominated another in his room to command the fort, the works of which had of late been much ſtrengthened, and it was ſtored with a ſufficiency of proviſions for all who were to be left in it, who were no more than twenty perſons, ſeven of whom were women, and two recollects. About the beginning of *January*, he ſet out, attended by ſixteen perſons, amongſt whom was his brother *Cavalier* and his two nephews, father *Anaſtaſe*, *Joutel*, and *Duhaut*; the reſt of his company we ſhall have often occaſion to mention. For the conveniency of travelling, *la Sale* ordered the five horſes, which he had brought from the *Cenis*, to be loaded with proviſions. This third ramble ſeems to have been dictated by neceſſity; for, in fact, he could remain no longer amongſt the *Clamcoets*, and he miſſed of the end he had propoſed, which he pretended to be the diſcovery of the *Miſſiſſippi*, but in fact to render himſelf maſter of the *Spaniſh* mine of *St. Barbe*; a more romantic enterprize than the other. Having travelled a little way, he met with ſome bodies of ſavages, whom he knew ſo well how to humour, that they parted good friends with him. He then croſſed many rivers, but they encreaſed ſo faſt, and were ſometimes ſo ſwollen by rains, that they were obliged to think of building a large canoe for croſſing them; and which they propoſed to carry upon poles, and which proved to be of ſingular uſe. The countries through which he paſſed were extremely beautiful, and ſometimes populous. Three great villages, particularly, are named *Taraba*, *Tyakappon*, and *Palonna*. The courſe by which he travelled was north-eaſt, and, at laſt, he came to the country of the *Palaqueſſens*, who, he was told, were in alliance with the *Spaniards*. Amongſt his attendants was one *Hiens*, whoſe true name was ſaid to have been *James*, and himſelf an *Engliſh* ſoldier; one *Larcheveque*; and a ſurgeon called *Liotot*. As it was impoſſible for our

La Sale *murdered.*

His character.

travellers to carry with them a ſufficiency of proviſion to maintain them during the whole of their journey, they had recourſe to hunting, the country through which they travelled being full of excellent game, and they divided themſelves into ſmall parties for that purpoſe. *Moranget*, *la Sale*'s valet, and one *Nika*, an *Indian*, but a moſt admirable hunter, formed one of thoſe parties, and, as is reported, fell in with *Duhaut*, *Hiens*, and *Liotot*. A quarrel enſued, in which *Moranget* is ſaid to have abuſed *Duhaut*, whoſe younger brother was ſuſpected to have been put to death by *la Sale*'s own hand. It is probable, that the tyranny and inſolence of *la Sale* determined thoſe men to diſpatch him; but that they did not think themſelves ſafe without firſt murdering *Moranget*, the valet, and the hunter: which they accordingly did, when they were aſleep, in a moſt inhuman manner, *Larcheveque* and the pilot *Teſſier* being their accomplices. Deſpair, rage, and miſery, prompted them to croſs a river which lay between them and *la Sale*, to murder him likewiſe; but they were detained for two days by the ſwelling of the waters. By this time, *la Sale* became exceſſively uneaſy, becauſe *Moranget* and his two ſervants had not returned, and reſolved himſelf to go in queſt of them, taking with him father *Anaſtaſe* and an *Indian*, and recommending the care of his little encampment to *Joutel*. Having travelled a little way, he fired his gun at ſome eagles that were hovering in the air, which in thoſe parts is a ſure ſign of carrion being near, and the diſcharge informed the aſſaſſins where he was. Two of them, *Duhaut* and *Larcheveque*, paſſed the river; and the former concealing himſelf behind the buſhes, inſtantly ſhot *la Sale* dead. Father *Anaſtaſe* expected the ſame fate, but was informed by the aſſaſſins that he was ſafe. *Charlevoix* and *Hennepin* have beſtowed great encomiums upon *la Sale*'s vaſt abilities, perſeverance, ſpirit, and courage. But, admitting all they ſay to be true, every man of ſenſe, who reads his hiſtory, even as repreſented by them, can conſider him in no other light than that of a madman, with ſenſible lucid intervals. The manner of his death was however deplorable, and perhaps a loſs to the public. That he had made great diſcoveries of nations lying upon the *Miſſiſſippi* can ſcarcely be doubted; but his auſtere reſerved humour, joined to his pride and ambition, (which ſeems to have been unbounded) prevented his opening himſelf to any one on that ſubject. The *French* court, long after his death, availed itſelf even of the manner of it, by pretending, in their ſolemn memorials, that he had made diſcoveries of lands, (tho' they had, for a century before, been in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*.) and that his diſcoveries comprehended the whole extent of country to the *Miſſiſſippi*, and even to the weſt of it.

His effects ſeized by the murderers.

CAVALIER was informed of his brother's death by father *Anaſtaſe* and the aſſaſſins, who, after the murder of *la Sale*, returned to the encampment, and aſſured both him and *Joutel* that they had nothing to fear; which is a farther proof, that perſonal reſentment alone prompted the murders that had been committed. *Duhaut*, however, took poſſeſſion of the command inſtead of *Joutel*; and he and *Larcheveque* ſhared *la Sale*'s booty, which they ſay amounted in money, plate, and merchandizes, to 50,000 franks, between them. Next day, which was the 21ſt of *May*, the aſſaſſins, with the other *French*, were prevented by the badneſs of the weather from going to a village of the *Cenis* for proviſions; nor could they ſet out till till the 29th, when they met three ſavages on horſeback, one of them habited like a *Spaniard*, but the other two ſtark naked. From them, *Joutel* underſtood, that ſome *Spaniards* lived not far off; and the ſavage in the *Spaniſh* dreſs informed him, that he had been lately amongſt them; and, to confirm what he ſaid, he produced a printed paper of indulgencies from the *Holy See* to the *New Mexican* miſſionaries. The *Spaniſh* dreſt ſavage remained with the *French* all night, and next morning led them to the village, where they were hoſpitably received by the elders, who preſented them with pipes of tobacco, and here they met with a *Frenchman*, who lived with the ſavages, and could not be diſtinguiſhed from one of them, and who had deſerted from *la Sale* during his firſt voyage. Through his intereſt, they were entertained with all the luxury of the ſavages, and the day after, they exchanged ſome trinkets for proviſions; but the village not containing a ſufficiency for the *French*, *Joutel* remained in it to complete their cargo, while his companions returned to their encampment. His chief motive for this was, that he might have an opportunity of converſing with two other *French* deſerters, who, as he underſtood, were in thoſe parts, and who, he thought, could give him ſome light with regard to the *Miſſiſſippi* river, and the route they were to take towards the *Illinois*. *Joutel* had the good fortune to meet with one of thoſe deſerters, who was quite naked, painted, and marked like a ſavage; nor were his manners different, being in all reſpects a complete barbarian. He could give him no information as to the *Miſſiſſippi*, other than that there was a great river at the diſtance of forty leagues northwards. *Joutel* took it for granted, that this river muſt be the *Miſſiſſippi*; and, being extremely deſirous to get rid of the company of the murderers, he engaged the ſavage *Frenchman* to go in ſearch of another *French* deſerter, who lived in the ſame

Joutel's adventures.

manner amongſt the *Cenis*, and to accompany him in his journey towards the river. The *French* ſavage ſoon found out and brought his companion, who was not quite ſo barbarouſly dreſt as the other, and confirmed all the other had ſaid with regard to the great river, which he informed him lay to the north-eaſt; and he added, that *Europeans* were often ſeen near it: but both *Ruter* and *Grollet*, which were the names of the two *French* deſerters, offered to accompany him in his journey to find it out. *Joutel* with joy accepted of their attendance; and, leaving him for that time, in two days after they brought him a horſe to carry their proviſion on the road: ſo that they rejoined their companions on the 10th of *April*.

Travels of Joutel *to the* Cenis.

WHILE *Joutel* was abſent, *la Sale*'s murderers confederated amongſt themſelves to return to fort *St. Lewis*, where they were to build a bark, which was to carry them to the *French American* iſlands. Their companions, who were innocent of the murder, prepared, at the ſame time, to ſet out for the country of the *Illinois*. *Cavalier*, *la Sale*'s brother, was at the head of the innocent party; and, underſtanding that *Duhaut* and his companions were preparing to ſet out for the *Cenis* country, where they were to purchaſe horſes to carry them to fort *St. Lewis*, he begged of them ſome powder and ſhot, and a few hatchets. His pretence for this was, that he and his companions being too much fatigued to proceed, were determined to ſtop at the firſt village of the *Cenis* they met with, and he offered to give them a draught for the value of all he received, at *Duhaut*'s own price. After ſome conſultation with his companions, *Duhaut* told *Cavalier*, that he and his friends were welcome to half the goods that were in the ſtore-houſe; and that if his companions and he ſhould not ſucceed in building a veſſel at fort *St. Lewis*, they would return to *Cavalier*'s party, and that all of them ſhould ſhare the ſame fortune. Some days after, the aſſaſſins ſplit amongſt themſelves: *Duhaut* was for returning to *Cavalier*, and going with him to the country of the *Illinois*, while the others inſiſted upon returning to fort *St. Lewis*, or having their dividends of *la Sale*'s effects. The diſpute growing hot, *Hiens* ſhot *Duhaut* through the head, as *Ruter* did *Liotot*, the ſurgeon; and thus the murderers of *la Sale* and *Moranget* were juſtly puniſhed by one another's hands. According to *Hennepin*, *Hiens* took the part of the deceaſed *la Sale*, and pretended that he had killed *Duhaut*, becauſe he was his murderer. *Joutel*, who was by this time returned, and an eye-witneſs to the tragical ſcene, ſeems to confirm the innocence of *Hiens*; for he told him he had nothing to fear, and that though

The murderers kill one another.

though he was confederated with *Duhaut*, yet he would have prevented *la Sale*'s murder, had he been preſent. *Joutel* was then at great pains to inſtruct the ſavages who attended him, and who beheld what had happened with viſible ſigns of horror, that the two wretches who had been killed deſerved their fates, becauſe they had been guilty of murdering their ſuperior, and plundering his effects; at which they appeared ſatisfied. *Larcheveque* was abroad hunting during this ſcene of murder, and *Hiens* declared he would ſerve him upon his return, as he had done *Duhaut*, but was diſſuaded from it by the elder *Cavalier*, and father *Anaſtaſe*, while *Joutel* went and acquainted *Larcheveque* of his danger, and, upon his arrival at the encampment, *Hiens* and he were made friends. They then conſulted what they were to do next, and *Hiens* ſaid, that having promiſed the *Cenis* to aſſiſt them in their next campaign, he was reſolved to be as good as his word; and that, if the company would attend him thither, they could then determine what they had to do. As *Hiens* and his confederates ſtill remained maſters of the company's effects, they were obliged to comply. Upon their arrival at the *Cenis* village, *Hiens* took the field with the ſavages, and ſix *Frenchmen*, all on horſeback, while the reſt of the *French* remained in the village. A few days after, the latter was ſurpriſed to ſee the women of the village, all bedaubed with earth, enter their cabins early in the morning, and dance round them for three hours. The dance being ended, the maſter of the cabin preſented each of the ladies with a piece of their country tobacco, which has a ſmaller leaf than that raiſed in the *French* plantations.

The Cenis *gain a victory.*

THE occaſion of this feſtivity was a complete victory, which had been gained by the *Cenis* over their enemies, the *Cannohatinnos*, a fierce people, who, according to father *Hennepin*, always boil in cauldrons, and eat, the priſoners they make. Hearing of the *French* and their fire-arms, that were on the ſide of the *Cenis*, they durſt not ſtand a charge, but took to their heels; and the *Cenis*, in the purſuit, beſides making priſoners, killed about forty-eight men and women. They returned in triumph with the ſcalps of the dead to their village, where they immediately put all the priſoners to death, excepting two boys and two women. One of the women was ſcalped, and diſpatched, with a charge of powder and ſhot, to her countrymen, to inform them that the *Cenis* intended, in a ſhort time, to pay them another viſit. As to the other woman, ſhe was conveyed to a lone place, where were none but her own ſex, each of whom was armed with a ſharp pointed bludgeon, with which they punched and beat the poor creature all over. They then plucked out her hair, and cut

Their triumphs on that occaſion.

off her fingers, till, at laſt, ſhe was happy enough to expire under their cruelties; and all this in revenge of the huſbands and lovers who had been killed by her countrymen: after that, her body was cut in pieces, and given for food to their ſlaves. Next day was dedicated to rejoicings. The cabin of their chief was cleaned out, and ſpread with matts, upon which their elders and the *French* were ſeated. After this, the company was harangued by the village orator, upon the glorious victory they had obtained, chiefly by means of the ſtrangers His ſpeech being finiſhed, a woman appeared, who held in her hand a large reed or cane; ſhe was followed by the warriors, each of whom were preceded by their wives, carrying in their hands, the ſcalps of the enemies they had killed, and every warrior having in his hand a bow and two arrows. The proceſſion was cloſed by the two young priſoners; one of whom, being wounded, was on horſeback.

EACH warrior, as he paſſed by the orator, preſented him with the ſcalps, which he took out of his wife's hand. The orator received them in both his hands, and after turning round to each quarter of the world, he laid them on the ground. This ceremony being ended, ſagamet (X) was ſerved in, in large platters; but, before any of the company touched it, the orator filled out ſome into a capacious diſh, and placed it by way of offering before the ſcalps; after which he lighted a pipe of tobacco, and perfumed the ſame with its ſmoke. Beſides the ſagamet, the tongues of their enemies, who had been killed, were ſerved up, and the two young priſoners were obliged to eat gobbets cut from the fleſh of the woman mentioned to have been ſacrificed to the fury of her ſex. The like ceremonies were performed in other cabins; and the whole was concluded by a profuſion of ſinging and dancing. The feaſting being over, the *French* returned to their conſultations upon the courſe they were to hold; but *Hiens* ſaid, that he neither could agree to the journey to the *Illinois*, nor would he be publicly executed in *France*. The innocent part of the company made no reply to this declaration, but perſiſted in their reſolution of travelling towards the *Illinois* country. The ſavages did all they could

---

(X) This is the common food of the *Indians*, and is made of maiz or *Indian* corn, which, when boiled in a certain manner, will keep a long time. It is of itſelf inſipid, though not diſagreeable to the taſte; eſpecially when eat with ſalt or prunes. One ſpecies of it, when properly prepared, is ſaid to be very delicious to the palate, but not as the *Indians* dreſs it; for they generally impregnate it, as they do all their other food, with tallow, when they can come at it.

Joutel *and his party ſet out for the* Illinois.

to perſuade them to remain where they were, by painting in frightful colours the length, the difficulties, and dangers of the journey they were about to undertake; but, finding they were determined in their reſolution, they readily gave them two of the beſt guides for their journey that their country afforded. *Hiens*, who was ſtill in poſſeſſion of *la Sale*'s effects, and wore his ſcarlet cloaths laced with gold, a circumſtance of no mean importance amongſt the barbarians, offered to accommodate *Cavalier* and his party with whatever was in his power; but he forced him, at the ſame time, to give him under his hand a *Latin* atteſtation of his being entirely innocent of his brother *la Sale*'s death.

THE number of the party which travelled to the *Illinois* country were ſeven; the two *Cavaliers*, uncle and nephew, father *Anaſtaſe*, *Joutel*, one *Marle*, a young *Pariſian* called *Bartholemy*, and *Teſſier* the pilot. *Larchevéque*, *Munier*, and *Ruter*, had promiſed to accompany them; but the libertine habits they had contracted detained them amongſt the *Cenis*. According to *Hennepin*, each was accommodated with a horſe, powder and ſhot; and, wherever they came, the inhabitants entertained them with complaints of the cruelties of the *Spaniards*, againſt whom they ſaid twenty of their nations were confederated, and were extremely importunate with the *French*, becauſe of their fire-arms, to march againſt them likewiſe. The name of this people was the *Naſonis* (Y). The travellers parting with them, their guides led them northwards and north-eaſt, through the moſt delightful countries in the univerſe, inhabited by different nations. They croſſed four great rivers, beſides many cuts made by the rain, and at laſt they came to the *Nabiri* or *Neanſi*, and after that to the *Cadodacchos*. As they drew near the chief village of this nation, one of their guides ran on before to apprize the inhabitants of their coming; upon which they met them a league from the village, received them with the calumet or pipe of peace, and entertained them with tobacco, leading their horſes by the bridle, and introduced them in triumph into their village. According to the report given by

---

(Y) *Hennepin*, though he ſeems himſelf to have been an enthuſiaſt, was born a ſubject to the king of *Spain*, and always expreſſes a warm ſide for that nation. He is therefore ſomewhat doubtful with regard to this part of *Joutel*'s narrative, on account of the ignorance of the travellers in the ſavage language. But as it is univerſally agreed there is a great affinity in the language of all the ſavages in that country, the travellers had been long enough there to get ſome knowledge of it, and not improbably, a few of the inhabitants had a ſmattering of the *Spaniſh*.

thoſe travellers, that people lived ſo far within the country, that they had never before ſeen a *European*; and they called the *French* "ſpirits come from the other world." Being arrived at the village, where they found all the inhabitants aſſembled, the women waſhed their heads and feet with warm water, and the reſt of the night, as well as day, paſſed in rejoicings. The *Cadodacchos* ſeem'd to have ſome notion of a deity by the worſhip they paid to the ſun; two figures of which luminary were painted on their ceremonial habits. On the 24th of *June*, *Marle*, one of the *Frenchmen*, in bathing himſelf, was ſucked by a whirlpool and drowned. Soon after, his body being found, it was carried to the houſe of the chief of the village, where his wife wrapped it decently up in a handſome mat; and the young men having dug a grave, it was interred by father *Anaſtaſe* with all the ceremonies of the *Romiſh* religion, to the great admiration of the ſavages, and adorned with a large croſs.

Their travels and adventures.

It was the beginning of *July* before they left this hoſpitable people, and they next met with the *Natches*. This nation was the moſt gentle of all the ſavages of the *American* continent. They worſhipped the fire, which, like the *Perſian* magi, they never ſuffered to be extinguiſhed; and it is probable from ſome traditions they had amongſt themſelves, that their forefathers came from a country on the borders of *Peru*; for they ſaid that they retired thither to avoid ſubjection to a prince who was too powerful for them. But we ſhall have occaſion to mention this extraordinary people again. Our travellers met from them, and all the other nations they paſſed through, with an affectionate reception, and an unbounded hoſpitality. The farther they advanced northward they found the greater plenty of beavers and otters. At laſt they came to the *Ouidiches*, where they met with three warriors of two nations, called the *Cahinnio* and the *Mentous*, who dwelt twenty-five leagues farther eaſt north-eaſt, and had ſeen ſome *Frenchmen*. They offered to conduct them to their countrymen. In their journey they paſſed ſeveral rivers and brooks, and were ſtill treated with the ſame affection and hoſpitality by all the people through whom they paſſed. Some of them talked of a captain with one hand, who was *de Tonti*, and who informed them that a greater captain than he, meaning *la Sale*, would ſoon viſit them. On the 20th of *July* they arrived amongſt the *Akanſas*, where they met with two of their countrymen, one *Delaunay*, and another *Couture*, who was a carpenter, that had been ſent by *de Tonti* into thoſe parts to meet *la Sale*; but deſpairing of his return, they had ſettled there. The chiefs of ſome of the people through whom they paſſed, turned their own families out of their cabins, that they might accommodate them with beds, and called them envoys from the ſun, who came to defend them from their enemies with thunderbolts, meaning their muſkets, which they had never ſeen before. Upon their departure the ſavages would have loaded their horſes with otter and beaver ſkins, which are there in ſuch plenty, that they are of no value; but the *French* declined to accept of them, and travelled for ſome days along the beautiful banks of the *Akanſa*, being viſited by deputies from all the neighbouring countries. When they drew near the place where they were told the two *Frenchmen* lived, they fired their guns; upon which they appeared. After ſome converſation, *Couture* charged his countrymen not to mention the death of *la Sale* in public, becauſe his very name had kept all the neighbouring ſavages in awe, and had ſupplied them with canoes, guides, and every thing they wanted.

After this *Cavalier* perſuaded *Couture* to intimate to the heads of the ſavages, that *la Sale* had made a fine ſettlement upon the gulph of *Mexico*; and that they, from whom he had thoſe happy tidings, were then travelling to *Canada*, that they might there look for proper merchandizes; that they would ſoon return with a good number of *French* to ſettle themſelves in their country, in order to defend them from their enemies, and to make them happy by the fruits of an eſtabliſhed commerce; and that they hoped at the ſame time to obtain from them the ſame aſſiſtances and marks of friendſhip they had experienced from the nations through which they had travelled. The *Akanſas* omitted no circumſtance of honour or accommodation for the entertainment of their gueſts, and aſſembled together, that they might conſult upon their propoſals. Some difficulty was raiſed with regard to guides; for, amongſt them, all are equally reckoned children of the public; but even that difficulty was got over by promiſes and preſents, to which the moſt generous of the ſavages are not inſenſible, though we muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, that all goes into the public ſtock; by which private avarice amongſt them, in fact, becomes a public virtue. The young *Pariſian* being able to travel no farther, remained amongſt the *Akanſas*, while the others, attended for ſome time by *Couture*, proceeded on their journey. On the 27th of *July*, they embarked on board a peruaga, rowed by four ſavages, one from each nation they were then treating with, the better to expreſs their univerſal friendſhip with the *French*. Falling down the river *Akanſa* they reached, the ſame day, the village of *Toriman*, where they had the firſt view of the *Miſſiſſippi*, which they croſſed on the 29th

They come in view of the Miſſiſſippi.

29th (Z); and the ſame day they reached the village of *Kappas*, where *Couture* took leave of them. On the 3d of *September* they entered the river of the *Illinois*, at a place one hundred leagues diſtant from fort *Crevecœur*; and on the 14th they arrived at fort *St. Lewis*, where an officer, one *Bellefontaine*, commanded in the abſence of *Tonti*, who was then ſerving in *Canada* under *Denonville* in his expedition againſt the *Tſonnonthouans*. Arriving there, they were peſtered with queſtions about *la Sale*, whom they pretended they had left about forty leagues on the other ſide of the *Cenis*'s country, fearing, that if the ſavages in the neighbourhood had heard of his death, they ſhould have found it impoſſible to have procured accommodations for their journey to *Canada*, which was extremely hazardous on account of the war then raging with the *Iroquois*. It happened that *Tonti*'s commiſſary *de Boiſcondet* was ſetting out at the ſame time for *Canada*, and all of them embarked together: but the ſeverity of the weather obliged them to put back to the fort, and took from them all hopes of reaching *France* that year, or ſending from thence any ſuccours to their friends, whom they had left at the *Louiſianian* fort of *St. Lewis* near the bay of *St. Bernard*.

And arrive in France.

On the 27th of *October*, *de Tonti* arriving at the fort, *Cavalier* informed him of his brother's death, from whom he had received a letter of credit for 4000 franks or value, which *Tonti* immediately paid him in furs. It was the 21ſt of *March*, 1688, before they again ſet out; and, on the 10th of *May*, they arrived at *Michillimakinac*, from whence they repaired to *Montreal*. There they pretended to *Denonville* and *Champigny* the intendant, that they were obliged to go directly for *France*, that they might from thence ſend ſupplies to *la Sale*, and the governor and intendant believed them on their words (A). They accordingly made the beſt of their way to *Rochelle*, and *Charlevoix* often ſaw, and converſed with *Joutel* in 1723. We have thought proper to be the more particular in our detail of this wonderful journey, which, tho' performed by private *Frenchmen*, may now be of public utility to this country. When our adventurers came to *Paris*, and began to ſolicit for ſupplies to be ſent to the ſettlement at *St. Bernard's bay*, it was judged to be too late to riſk any; and

(Z) This route is rendered very unintelligible by *Charlevoix*'s own map of *Louiſiana*, where the village of *Kappas* is placed on the ſame ſide of the *Miſſiſſippi* as *Akanſa*; ſo that *Joutel* ſeems to be in the right, in making *Kappas* the moſt northerly village of the *Akanſas*.

(A) We can by no means ſee the uſe or expediency of this impoſition, as they had already acquainted ſeveral of the *French* officers with *la Sale*'s death.

that apprehenſion proved but too true. No ſooner were the *Clamcoets* informed of *la Sale*'s death, and the diſperſion of his company, than they ſurpriſed the inhabitants of *St. Lewis's* fall, and murdered all of them, excepting three ſons of one *Talon* and *Euſtace de Broman*, and an *Italian*, all of whom they carried to their village. This *Italian*, who had performed by land the ſtupendous journey between *Canada* and *St. Bernard's bay* to join *la Sale*, to whom he certainly would have been of infinite ſervice, ſaved himſelf by a very extraordinary ſtratagem. When they were about to kill him, he told them they did him injuſtice, becauſe he carried them all in his heart; and that if they would ſpare him till next morning, he would convince them that what he had ſaid was true. The ſtrangeneſs of the propoſal, and the air of confidence with which the *Italian* ſpoke, ſtartled the barbarians, who, without heſitation, granted his requeſt. Next morning, when the trial came on, he boldly advanced towards the ſavages, and opening his breaſt, to which he had neatly fixed a ſmall looking-glaſs, in which each of them ſaw himſelf, they were ſo amazed that they ſpared his life.

The French *at fort* St. Lewis *murdered.*

The Spaniards *alarmed.*

BY this time, the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico* hearing of *la Sale*'s expedition, were ſo much alarmed, that they ſent five hundred men into the country of the *Cenis*, where they made *Larchevêque* and *Grollet* the mariner priſoners. Sometime after, another body of two hundred *Spaniards* arrived at the ſame place, and when upon their march they ſeized *Munier*, and *Peter Talon*, the brother of thoſe we have mentioned above. The deſign of the *Spaniards* was to have ſettled two *Franciſcan* miſſionaries amongſt thoſe ſavages; and underſtanding, that *Talon* and his companion were perfectly well acquainted with the language of the natives, they treated them with great civility, that they might induce them to remain with the miſſionaries. *Talon*, upon this, informed them that he had three brothers and a ſiſter in ſlavery amongſt the *Clamcoets*, and the *Spaniards* immediately ſent a detachment to find them out. It was with great difficulty that this detachment brought off two of the *Talon* brothers, their ſiſter, and the *Italian*, the barbarians having conceived a great affection for them all. Next year, a detachment of two hundred and fifty *Spaniards* came to the village of the *Clamcoets*, where the third brother of the *Talons* remained ſtill in ſervitude, as did the *Italian*. Both of them were ſeized and conducted to *St. Louis du Potoſi*, a city of *New Mexico*. From thence they were carried to *Mexico* itſelf, where they were admitted into the ſervice of the viceroy. As to *Larchevêque* and *Grollet*, they were ſent to *Old Spain*, and from thence back to *Mexico*, probably to work in the mines there: the like fate ſeems to have attended *Euſtace de Breman*. Their examples furniſh us with a pregnant proof of the unrelenting jealouſy of the *Spaniſh* government with regard to its poſſeſſions in *America*. The clemency ſhewn towards the *Talons* and *Euſtace de Breman*, was probably owing to their youth and inexperience, which rendered them leſs obnoxious to the *Spaniards*. It is plain, however, that none of them were ſuffered to return to *France*, for fear of their giving information of the mines, commerce, and country poſſeſſed by the *Spaniards*. Eight years after, the three brothers, the *Talons* being grown up, were ſent to ſerve on board the *Spaniſh* vice-admiral's ſhip, which, being taken by a *French* ſhip, procured them their liberty, and they returned to *France*, where they related the above particulars, which otherwiſe never could have been known through the *Spaniards*. As to the youngeſt brother of all, and his ſiſter, they were carried to *Old Spain* by the viceroy when he was relieved from his government.

Reflexion on la Sale's *expedition.*

THUS ended the mighty projects of the *French* court under the direction of M. *de la Sale*, to obtain a ſettlement at the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, which might overawe both the *Engliſh* and the *Spaniards* in *America*; for both of them were then at war with *France*. The reader has been ſufficiently informed of *la Sale*'s character, and his various adventures. His reſerved ſevere temper, and his numerous ramblings, which he and his countrymen called voyages and diſcoveries, together with his ſudden and tragical death, left his airy countrymen impreſſed with notions that he had diſcovered mines and countries richer than thoſe of *Peru* and *Mexico*; and that a little ſpirit and perſeverance alone were wanting to make the *French* rival the *Spaniards* in riches upon the continent of *America*. The truth is, *la Sale*'s real object, as we have already ſaid, were the mines of *St. Barbe*; and yet we know of no regular plan, and no feaſible attempt he made to become maſter of them. It is poſſible, as happened in the caſe of *Canada*, that the perpetual wars in which his court was engaged in *Europe*, prevented it from ſending the neceſſary aſſiſtance for his undertaking to *St. Domingo*, from whence he ſeems to have expected them; but had they arrived, his romantic, diſagreeable humour rendered him the moſt unequal man in the world for carrying on a regular plan of operations. After his death his court reſumed his chimerical projects, and entered into intrigues with a *Spaniard*, the Conde *de Pinaloſſa*, for realizing them; but this bubble likewiſe burſt, and the acceſſion of the duke of *Anjou* to the crown of *Spain* united the intereſts of that monarch with thoſe of *France*.

NOT-

The French *reſume his projects,*

NOTWITHSTANDING all we have ſaid of *la Sale*'s chimerical projects, it is certain that his ramblings, and the viſits he paid the ſavages on the *Miſſiſſippi*, made the *French* better acquainted with that country than they had ever been before. He had given it in honour of *Lewis* XIV, the name of *Louiſiana*, which it ſtill holds; and though he had been unſucceſsful in the ſearch, yet after his death it was generally agreed, that the *Miſſiſſippi* diſcharged itſelf into the gulph of *Mexico*, and that a ſettlement might there be made, attended with the greateſt advantages to the *French* nation. This opinion undoubtedly was rational and well founded; but about the year 1719, it turned into a kind of a phrenzy amongſt all ranks of people, which being encouraged by a deſigning government, brought that monarchy to the gates of deſtruction. We are now to trace the ſteps by which this calamity was effected. After the death of *la Sale* his projects appeared for ſome time to have been dropt by the *French* miniſtry: but *Iberville*, whom we have ſo often mentioned in the hiſtory of *Canada*, after his ſucceſsful expedition to *Hudſon's Bay* in 1697, revived them, by undertaking to *Pontchartrain* the diſcovery of the mouth of the river *Miſſiſſippi*, and of building a fort, and making a ſettlement there. *Iberville*'s known capacity, both as a ſeaman and a land officer, and the reputation he had acquired in both ſervices by his prudence and addreſs, prevailed with the miniſter to order two ſhips on this expedition, the *la François* and *la Renommée*, to be commanded by the marquis *de Chateaumorand* and M. *d'Iberville*. Setting ſail on the 17th of *October* 1691, they caſt anchor at *Cape François* in *St. Domingo*. From thence they proceeded to *Leogane*, where they had a conference with the famous M. *Ducaſſe*, then governor of *St. Domingo*, who made a moſt favourable report to the miniſter of *Iberville*'s great abilities for carrying into execution what he had undertaken. On the laſt day of the year the two captains again ſet ſail, and on the 27th of *January*, 1699, they diſcovered *Florida*; and ſending an officer a-ſhore to wood and water, they underſtood that they were oppoſite to *Penſacola Bay*, upon which three hundred *Spaniards* had been ſettled for ſome time, in order to be beforehand with the *French*, whom they expected in thoſe parts. *Leſcalette*, the *French* officer, who had been ſent a-ſhore, entered the harbour of *Penſacola*, and demanded permiſſion of the governor to take in wood and water. The governor underſtanding from whom he came, ſent his major with his compliments to the two *French* captains (for *France* and *Spain* were then in peace by the treaty of *Ryſwick*) with a letter, importing, that his

which are proſecuted by Iberville.

His difficulties.

his moſt Chriſtian majeſty's two ſhips were welcome to take in wood and water, and to come as near as they pleaſed to the ſhore, but that he was expreſly ordered to admit no foreign ſhip into the harbour; yet, that he would ſend his pilot to conduct them into the bay, if they ſhould be forced to take ſhelter through bad weather. On the 31ſt the two *French* captains, upon reflexion, not thinking it proper for them to force an entry into the harbour, ſtood out from the bay into which they had been driven by ſtreſs of weather; and *Iberville*, who was foremoſt, anchored at the ſouth-eaſt point of the river *Mobile*, famous for the bloody victory which the *Spaniſh* general *Ferdinand de Soto* obtained there over the ſavages. On the 2d of *July*, he went a-ſhore on an iſland about four leagues in circumference, with a tolerable good harbour, when clear of the ſands, which ſometimes choak it after tempeſtuous weather. Monſ. *d'Iberville* gave this iſland the name of *Maſſacre*, on account of the ſkulls and bones of about ſixty people, who had been newly devoured, and were ſcattered along the ſhore; but this term was afterwards changed for that of the iſle of *Dauphin*. From this iſle *Iberville* paſſed to the main land, where he diſcovered the river *Paſcagoulas*, on which he met with a great number of ſavages. All thoſe diſcoveries, however, together with the ſubſequent one of the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, were far from being new, either to the *Engliſh* or the *Spaniards*; but they ſerved to the *French* as pretexts for aſcertaining to themſelves the property of the country. The informations which *Iberville* received of the *Paſcagoulas* left him no room to doubt, that he would ſoon diſcover the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, which the ſavages called *Malbouchia*, and the *Spaniards la Paliſade*, on account of the vaſt number of trees which are carried down by the force of the tide, and ſtick in the mud at the mouth of the river. On the 2d of *March* he entered it, and being well ſatisfied as to the reality of his diſcovery, he communicated the ſame to *Chateaumorand*, who was ſailing gently after him, and who, according to orders, immediately returned in the *François* to *St. Domingo*. *Iberville*, when he made the diſcovery, was attended by his enſign *de Sauvole*, his brother *de Bienville*, and about forty-eight others on board twenty ſmall ſloops. The farther he proceeded up the river, the more he found fault with the informations that had been given him concerning it by *de Tonti* and *Hennepin*; but this circumſtance, which is related by *Charlevoix*, who had in his hands *Iberville*'s letters to the miniſter on that head, is of no great weight, as it was natural for *Iberville* to be fond of having the honour to be the firſt diſcoverer. When he arrived

At laſt he enters the Miſſiſſippi.

rived at the village of *Bayagoulas*, he went a-ſhore, and the chief of the ſavages there conducted him to a temple of a moſt curious conſtruction. The roof was adorned with the figures of many animals, and, amongſt others, of a red cock. The entrance was, by a kind of portico, which was eight feet broad and eleven long, ſupported by two large pillars faſtened to a beam running a-croſs the roof of the portico. Both ſides of the entrance were adorned with the figures of bears, wolves, and ſeveral birds, and at the head of them all was a *Chouchouacha*, a creature, whoſe head is the ſize of that of a ſucking pig; its fur is grey and white, its tail reſembles that of a rat; its feet thoſe of a monkey; and the female has under its belly a bag, where it engenders, and feeds, its young ones. The door of this temple was but three feet high and two broad, and the ſavage chief ordering it to be opened, entered it, being followed by *Iberville*. The inſide was formed like other cabins in the manner of a cupola, but a little ſhattered, and about thirty feet in diameter. In the middle of it ſtood two faggots of dried wood, which were placed on end, and burning, and filled the temple (as it was called) with ſmoke. A ſcaffold was raiſed from the floor, heaped with a great many bundles of the ſkins of kids, bears, and bullocks, which had been ſacrificed to *Chouchouacha*, whoſe figure was repreſented in ſeveral parts of the temple in black and red, and was the deity of *Bayagoulas*. There was another temple of the ſame kind in the village, but Monſ. *d'Iberville* does not ſeem to have viſited it. As to the village itſelf it conſiſted of ſeven hundred cabins, each containing a family, but without any other day-light than what came in at the door, and a hole about two feet in diameter in the middle of the room or roof.

Meets with a letter to la Sale *from* Tonti.

FROM thence *Iberville* went up to *Oumas*, where he was received with great affection by the inhabitants. Though he met at *Bayagoulas* with ſome evidences of *de Tonti*'s having been there, yet he began to entertain ſome ſuſpicions as to the identity of the *Miſſiſſippi*, on account of its appearance, which was very different from the deſcription given of it by *de Tonti*. At laſt a letter, which was preſented to *de Bienville* by a ſavage chief, removed his uncertainty. It was written by the chevalier *de Tonti*, and directed to *la Sale*, who is there ſtiled governor of *Louiſiana*; and it is dated from the village of *Quinipiſſas* (the ſame as *Bayagoulas*) the 20th of *April*, 1695. In this letter *Tonti* informs *la Sale*, that having found the ſtandard with the *French* arms, which he had erected, thrown down by the violence of the tide, he had ſet up another about ſeven leagues from the ſea, and had there left a letter in a tree. He ſays that all the nations he came through ſung him the calumet, and that they were much afraid of the *French*, ever ſince *la Sale* had left that village. "I ſhall finiſh, continues he, in acquainting you with the very great trouble it gives me, that we are obliged to return with the misfortune of not having met with you after two canoes had ſkirted the coaſt of *Mexico* for thirty leagues, and thoſe of *Florida* for twenty-five."

D'IBERVILLE, being now ſatisfied of his having entered the real river, returned to the bay of *Biloxi*, ſituated between the mouths of the *Miſſiſſippi* and the *Mobile*, where he built a fort three leagues from the river *Paſcagoulas*, of which he made *de Sauvole* commandant, and *de Bienville* lieutenant; and then he returned to *France*, where he entirely ſatisfied that court as to the reality of his diſcovery; but remained there a very ſhort time, and on the 8th of *January* 1700, he was again at *Biloxi*. He there underſtood, that, during the preceding *September*, an *Engliſh* veſſel of twelve guns, had entered the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, and was met by *de Bienville*, as he was ſailing to take ſoundings twenty-five leagues from the ſea. *De Bienville* acquainted the *Engliſh* commander that he had no buſineſs there, and adviſed him to be gone, otherwiſe he would force him. The *Engliſhman* pleaded pre-occupancy on the part of his countrymen, who, he ſaid had a better right to that river than the *French*; but finding it to no purpoſe to diſcuſs the matter farther at that time, he retired, threatening to return with a greater force. *Iberville*, at the ſame time, underſtood, that other *Engliſh* from *Carolina* were amongſt the *Chicachas*, where they traded in furs and ſlaves; and where, according to *Iberville*'s accounts, they had inſtigated the *Tonicas* to maſſacre an eccleſiaſtic. This, with the declarations of the *Engliſh*, that they had taken poſſeſſion of the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi* fifty years before, determined *Iberville* to renew the poſſeſſion, which had been taken formerly by Monſ. *de la Sale*, of that river, and the lands about it, as if that empty ceremony could defeat a prior poſſeſſion, which moſt undoubtedly was in the *Engliſh*. At the ſame time *Iberville* erected on the bank of the river another little fort mounting four pieces of cannon, and gave the government of it to his brother *Bienville*; but this fort, which ſtood towards the eaſt of the river's mouth, was ſoon abandoned. While *Iberville* was buſied in giving directions about it, *de Tonti* arrived with about twenty *Canadians*, who had been ſettled amongſt the *Illinois*. By this time a pamphlet had been publiſhed upon the diſcovery of *Louiſiana*, and the *Miſſiſſippi*, under *Tonti*'s name; but when *Iberville*, who found great fault with it, mentioned it to *Tonti*, he diſowned it,

rew the blame of its publication upon a *Pariſian*, who
dertaken it for lucrative views. *Charlevoix* therefore
he blame of the *Engliſh* endeavouring to diſturb this
ent (B) upon *Hennepin*; whoſe book was publiſhed
long

Father *Charlevoix*, it is
by far the moſt circum-
and judicious of all the
writers, who have treat-
ir *American* affairs, and
ve conſider him in the
ght of a jeſuit, a travel-
a hiſtorian, his freedom
ndour ſurprize us. We
wever, to reflect, that
poſed his hiſtory from
aterials as were furniſh-
by the *French* miniſtry,
d a certain end to ſerve
e wrote. The reader,
e, cannot be diſpleaſed
read the accounts given
French themſelves in
zettes, when the *Miſ-*
vas firſt diſcovered.
ſettlement at the mouth
Miſſiſſippi will coſt us
nore pains and trouble
it is brought to perfecti-
the mean time, it makes
liſh no leſs jealous than
niards. The firſt had a
to have made themſelves
of our fort, and came
two frigates, and three
d men, but finding two
ing's men of war in the
hey retreated, after they
d ſeveral civilities to the
nders, and eaten with
everal times. Another
ſhip of twelve guns ſailed
river above thirty leagues
our fort, but M. *d'I-*
forced her to return,
the ſame time took an
man, who treated with
ages our confederates.
e into that country thro' the river *Oye*, which, after a courſe of two hundred leagues, throws itſelf into the *Miſſiſſippi*, two hundred leagues from the mouth. The *Engliſhman* was ſent to *Quebec*, in order to be conveyed into *England*; by his example to make the *Engliſh* deſiſt from trading in that country. We have diſcovered two other mouths of the river *Miſſiſſippi*, beſides that upon which our fort is built. Now in regard that whatever we ſowed in the parts thereabout has produced nothing, becauſe the ground is dry and ſandy, M. *d'Iberville* has cauſed another fort to be built about thirty-five leagues to the north-weſt upon good land. 'Tis believed that the new fort is not above fifty leagues from the mines of *Zacathea*, but that diſcovery being yet in its infancy, we can expect no benefit from it ſoon. The ſame commander had ſailed very high up the river, and joined M. *de Tonti*, who gave him ſeveral ſkins for which he had trafficked in his way. They were like cow-hides, of an extraordinary bigneſs covered with wool, and which would be of great uſe for coaches; but before his departure he was to conclude an alliance with a very numerous nation, adjoining to *New Mexico*, and an irreconcileable enemy of the *Spaniards*, with whom they are always at war."—*State of Europe*, *Aug.* 1700.

long before this time. But as we have before obſerved, there can be no manner of doubt, that the whole of this river, and

Since the diſcovery of the river *Miſſiſſippi* in *America*, there has been another more conſiderable made by eleven *Frenchmen*, about eight years ago, but of which no information was given, till within this little while, as well by advice from *St. Domingo*, whither one of theſe diſcoverers, after ſome hardſhips, got ſafe with much ado; as alſo from *Breſt*, where another of the diſcoverers landed about the beginning of this month. Both report, that ſailing up the river *Miſſiſſippi* in *Canada*, they ſaw another river to the north-weſt, which was to them unknown. They ſailed up this river, and after a navigation of about three hundred leagues, they met with a civilized people, very courteous, and by whom they were received, and treated very kindly. Nor were they leſs ſurprized with the magnificence of the people, who made uſe of nothing but gold for every thing, and made ſo ſlight of it, that they let them carry away as much as they could load in their canoe. But in their return they were taken by the *Engliſh*, then at war with *France*. They add, that the *Engliſh*, not being ſatisfied with their booty, would needs know of their priſoners where they had it: which the *French* not being willing to diſcover, they put three to the rack, who died under their torments, without making any diſcovery. That the reſt fearing the ſame uſage, took part with the *Engliſh*, except the two abovementioned, who, eſcaping different ways, yet agree in their report. Some geographers, to whom the court ordered that this diſcovery ſhould be made, judge by the ſituation of this river, that if you could aſcend as high as the ſpring, which muſt come from the weſt, you might afterwards find a way to go to *Japan*, which they believe to be not far diſtant.

The river of *Miſſiſſippi* might diſpute in beauty with the moſt renowned rivers in the world, were it not for a ſhelf, that lies before the mouth of it, where there is not above ten feet water; ſo that none but ſmall frigates and flat-bottom'd boats can get into it. The banks of it are covered with great high trees, embraced by baſtard vines, that bear grapes very beautiful to the ſight, but no way pleaſant to the taſte. The channel of the river is twice as large as that of the *Seine*, keeping the ſame breadth all along. The ſtream is rapid, though it be full of windings and turnings, from the north-weſt for above nine hundred leagues. Among others, it receives into it two conſiderable rivers, which the natives of the country call *Ouabache* and *Miſſouri*. The firſt was a long courſe from the north-eaſt; but we have only an imperfect knowledge of it. Hunting and fiſhing are equally plentiful; we ſaw there cows that bare wool, of a prodigious bigneſs, and roe-bucks in great numbers, that are both delightful and profitable. Rowing up the river, we met with above fifty and the adjacent country was known long before to the *Engliſh*, under the name of *Carolana*, and that it was comprehended in a grant that was made by king *Charles* the Iſt, on the 30th of *October*, in the fifth year of his reign, to Sir *Rob. Heath*, knt. his attorney-general. The extent of this grant [h] ſet out in the charter, was, all the continent on the weſt of *Carolana*, from the river *St. Mattheo*, lying, according to the patent, in thirty-one degrees of north latitude (though by later and more accurate obſervation, it is found to lie exactly in lat. 30°. 10′.) to the river *Paſſo Magno*, in north lat. 36°. extending in longitude from the *Atlantic* to the *Pacific* ſea, a tract which was not then poſſeſſed by any Chriſtian power, together with all the iſlands of *Veanis* and *Bahama*, and ſeveral adjacent iſlands lying ſouth from the continent, within the ſaid degrees of latitude, to be all called by the name of the *Carolana* iſlands. Sir *Robert Heath* conveyed over his right to the earl of *Arundel*, who was at the expence of planting ſeveral parts of the country, when the civil wars broke out, which put a ſtop to that noble deſign. By different conveyances, immaterial here to be mentioned, the property of the whole country devolved upon one Dr. *Cox*, who, at a large expence, diſcovered part of it, and, who actually preſented to king *William* a memorial, in which he inconteſtibly proved his claim to it, and his ſon *Daniel Cox*, Eſq; who reſided fourteen years in the country, continued his father's claim, and publiſhed a very full account of it [1].

---

[h] Syſtem of Geography, Vol. II. p. 632.

fifty ſorts of ſavage nations, as well upon the banks, as in the parts adjoining, the moſt numerous of which did not amount to above 1000 men; the people are well ſet, and tall enough, but without any religion; and they frequently make war one upon another, for the poſſeſſion of women: ſtriving to enlarge our diſcovery, we lit upon one of theſe nations, who, upon our arrival, were ſo kind as to leap upon our ſhoulders in ſign of peace, and puſhed on their civility ſo far, as to rock us all night, but we admitted the impertinent ceremony for fear of worſe. We ſaw them throw three children into the fire, by way of ſacrifice, upon occaſion of thunder, and they would have ſacrificed ſeven, according to cuſtom, had we not given them to underſtand, that ſuch a barbarous action rather provoked than appeaſed the great thunderer. They ſtill preſerve ſome remainders of ancient paganiſm, as to kill a great number of men and women upon the death of their principal ſovereign, to bear him company; and it is a great favour to obtain leave to follow them into the other world. They knock their old people on the head, out of a principle of charity; and they carefully preſerve their bones in a temple like a *duomo*, where a ſacred fire burns night and day in honour of their dead. I know not how the *Spaniards* of *Mexico* will like our neighbourhood. They ſhewed themſelves ſome days after our arrival, with their fire-arms in their hands, doubtleſs to have given us a ſhort ſummons to depart the country; but finding us more numerous than themſelves, they pretended they came to pay us a viſit, which occaſioned a kind reception on our ſide. We had a great deal of diſcourſe of the country, but all to no purpoſe. *Ditto. October.* 1700.

The Engliſh *poſſeſſors of* Louiſiana *before the* French *diſcovery.*

It is therefore idle, and contradictory to a thouſand evidences, to ſuppoſe the *Engliſh* to have had no information of this country, but from *Hennepin*, whoſe firſt diſcoveries were made at the expence of the *French* king. *Callieres* in his letters to *Pontchartrain* affects to be of that opinion; but the facts, with many others too tedious to introduce here in favour of the *Engliſh*, are ſo evident it would be ſuperfluous to inſiſt upon them. King *William* himſelf was ſo much convinced of the right his ſubjects had to this country, that about the year 1698 he had ſome thoughts of planting it with a colony of *French* proteſtants. It happened, however, unfortunately for the *Engliſh* claims, that the people of *New York* likewiſe put up a title to *Louiſiana*: and twenty of the *New York* people actually ſet out from thence to treat with the *Illinois*, on pretence that it had been ceded to them by the *Iroquois* who had conquered it. Be this as it will, it is certain, that three ſhips were ſent from *England* to take poſſeſſion of the *Miſſiſſippi* at the ſame time the *New York* people were treating with the *Illinois*. This was in the month of *October* 1698. The *Engliſh* ſhips ſtopt at *Carolina*; but two of them, one of twenty-four, and the other of twelve, guns, proceeded to the gulph of *Mexico*, and holding always towards the eaſt, the ſmaller ſhip actually entered the *Miſſiſſippi*, and was that which had been met with by *Bienville*, while the other ſailed weſtward to the province of *Panuco* in *New Spain*, there to concert meaſures for driving the *French* from the *Miſſiſſippi*.

It muſt be confeſſed that the intereſt of the *Spaniards* and the *French* with regard to this new ſettlement, were, at this time, ſtrangely intangled. The *Spaniards* diſliked the neighbourhood of the *French* on the gulph of *Mexico*; but they could get rid of them only by the *Engliſh*, whoſe neighbourhood was ſtill more formidable to them. King *William*, on the other hand, who, on all occaſions, was, perhaps, too tender of the intereſts of *Spain* in *America*, had the ſettlement of the *French* proteſtants on the *Miſſiſſippi* greatly at heart. But though the *Spaniards* would willingly have joined him in driving away the *French*, they could not bear the thoughts of the *Engliſh* ſucceeding them, or rather the *French* under the *Engliſh* protection. King *William* became ſenſible of this, and gradually relented in his intention of the *French* proteſtant eſtabliſhment. Great numbers of the latter had, by this time, tranſported themſelves to *Carolina,* where their preſence was not very agreeable to the colony; but they had heard ſo much of the beauty and fertility of their new ſettlement, that finding themſelves in danger of being diſappointed, they privately applied to the *French* king for leave to ſettle there under his protection, where they promiſed to live as loyal ſubjects, and without aſking for any thing more than liberty of conſcience to repair thither in ſuch numbers, as ſoon to render *Louiſiana* a great and flouriſhing province.

---

[1] It was republiſhed in 1762, and is indeed a very curious performance.

Miſmanagement of the French *miniſtry.*

NONE but a thorough bigot, as *Lewis* XIV. was, could have rejected a propoſal ſo evidently for the intereſt of his crown and people. But the jeſuits touched upon his religion in ſuffering heretics to enjoy liberty of conſcience; and this was the ſole reaſon why their propoſal was rejected; though it was ſupported by the ableſt miniſters he had, who were not under the ſame deluſions. On the defeat of this application, the *Spaniards*, rather than call in the *Engliſh* to their aſſiſtance, very politickly took their meaſures for rendering the *French* weary of their new ſettlement. All the trade the latter carried on was between the bay of *Penſacola* and the eaſt ſide of the *Miſſiſſippi*, where all the coaſt, as well as the iſle of *Dauphin*, was barren ſand; and upon the river *Mobile*, which was of very little conſequence. *Iberville* has been blamed for not having forced a trade at this time. But it is to be conſidered that it was not in his power, and that had his force been triple what it was he could not poſſibly have got the better of that innate averſion, which the *Spaniards* have ever expreſſed for all who pretend to interfere with them in *America*. *Iberville*, having finiſhed his fort upon the *Miſſiſſippi*, ſailed up that river as far as the country of the *Natches*, where he had intended to build a town under the name of *Roſalia*. It was probably on this occaſion, though not taken notice of by *Charlevoix*, that he took an *Engliſhman*, whom he ſent priſoner to *Quebec*, for trading with the natives; and indeed it appears as if the chief deſign of his voyage had been to clear the country of *Engliſhmen*, for we know of nothing he did till he returned back to the bay of *Biloxi*, where he had eſtabliſhed the head quarters of his new colony. *Charlevoix*, on this occaſion, notwithſtanding his prepoſſeſſion in favour of *Iberville*, ſeems to think that he was outwitted by the *Spaniards*, who, without oppoſing him, confined him to a very inſignificant compaſs of trade.

Who are out-witted by the Spaniards.

IN the mean while, it appears pretty plain, that the court of *France* itſelf, rather than *Iberville*, was outwitted by the *Spaniards*. At this time, the connexions between it and that of *Madrid* were very ſtrong, on account of the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion; ſo that it was eaſy for the *Spaniards* by their agents to put the *French* miniſtry upon a wrong ſcent, in this new eſtabliſhment. This cannot appear better than by tranſcribing the two capital articles of *d'Iberville*'s inſtructions from his court, which ran as follows. "One of the great objects, ſay thoſe inſtructions, which was preſented to the king, when he engaged in the diſcovery of the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, was the advantage ariſing from the wool of the beeves of that country; for which reaſon it is proper to tame thoſe animals, to ſhut them up in parks, and to ſend them young to *France*. Though the pearls that had been preſented to his majeſty, are neither of a good water nor ſhape, yet the ſearch for them muſt be continued, becauſe more valuable ones may be diſcovered; and his majeſty deſires that Mr. *Iberville* will bring along with him as many as he can; that he will make ſure of the places moſt proper for that fiſhery, and that it be performed in his own preſence." As to the pearl fiſhing, all the world knows it to be good for nothing, and notwithſtanding all the precautions taken by *Iberville*, *Old France* never reaped any benefit from the wool, or, what is more extraordinary, from the hides of the buffaloes or beeves. Notwithſtanding this, *Louiſiana* is undoubtedly one of the fineſt countries in *America*, and the moſt capable of being improved for the purpoſes both of culture and commerce. The *Spaniards* knew this, and, therefore, took care to miſrepreſent it to the *French*; and *Iberville* was too little acquainted with it to be able to rectify the notions of his court.

AFTER the return of *Iberville* to the bay of *Biloxi*, which *Charlevoix* thinks was the worſt judged ſtation on all that coaſt to be the head quarters of the colony, the chevalier *de Surgeres* demanded liberty of the governor of *Penſacola* to enter that port. The *Spaniard*, in purſuance, no doubt, of his orders to admit as few *French* as poſſible, replied, that he was commanded not to ſuffer the *Engliſh*, or any trading company, to ſettle in the neighbourhood of the *Miſſiſſippi*, and that he was inſtructed to give admittance to the *French* king's ſhips; but he inſiſted upon *Surgeres* producing ſufficient evidences to him, that he was in the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and not of any of his ſubjects. When *Iberville* gave an account of this interview to *Pontchartrain*, he told him that they who underſtood *American* affairs beſt were of opinion, that the ſettlement of *Louiſiana* never could ſucceed, unleſs every merchant of *France* had a liberty of trading to it. But while the *French* king continued to be beſet by jeſuits and bigots, more care was taken for the propagation of popery than of commerce. *Iberville* had been obliged to introduce into the new colony two or three jeſuits; but their admiſſion being prohibited, unleſs they complied with certain terms, by the biſhop of *Canada*, who claimed *Louiſiana* as part of his dioceſe, the jeſuits were ordered by their ſuperiors to withdraw, and not to co-operate with the other *French* miſſionaries ſent by the biſhop.

Ambition and avarice of the jeſuits.

THIS is a freſh proof of the ambition and avarice of thoſe jeſuit ſuperiors, as they could have no other reaſon for not co-operating with the other miſſionaries, but the fear leſt their practices ſhould be ſeen through, as they pretended that their ends, the converſion of the ſavages, were the ſame. The jeſuits, however, ſtill kept up their intereſt amongſt the *Illinois*, where they exerciſed their miſſions, excluſive of all other eccleſiaſtics. They boaſted that they had rendered the *Illinois*, from being the moſt worthleſs and irreclaimable of all the *New France* ſavages, the moſt tractable, docile, and the moſt attached to the intereſts of *France* of any but the *Abenaquis*. By this time, the ſieur *Jachereau*, a *Canadian* gentleman, had begun a ſettlement at the entry of the river *Wabaſh*, the moſt convenient of any for the *French* in *North America*; becauſe it diſcharges itſelf into the *Miſſiſſippi*, and forms the ſafeſt as well as ſhorteſt communication between *Canada* and *Louiſiana*. Here a good number of the *Maſcoutin* ſavages were ſettled, and one of the jeſuit miſſionaries of the *Illinois* repaired thither to convert them. His ſucceſs, however, was very indifferent: he found them entirely under the influence of their jugglers, and devoted to the worſhip of their manitous (C). A ſevere epidemical diſtemper, which ſwept off great numbers of the ſavages in the ſettlement, was of no ſervice to the jeſuit, farther than by giving him an opportunity of beſprinkling the dying wretches with water, which the jeſuits call converting and baptizing. The ſurvivors redoubled their devotions to the manitous; but they came at laſt to be of opinion, that the manitous of the

---

(C) A manitou is any object, either animate or inanimate, from a mountain and a bull to a mouſe and a bit of red cloth, that thoſe whimſical ſavages worſhip as tutelar deities.

Chriſtians were more powerful than their own; and one of their chiefs, making choice of the jeſuit miſſionary himſelf for his manitou, went to the Chriſtian quarter, and implored pardon from him. The jeſuit promiſed to do all he could for him and his countrymen, but all was in vain, for the diſeaſe continued to ſpread, till it ſwept off half the ſettlement, and *Jachereau* was obliged to give over all farther thoughts of his project.

1700.

State of Louiſiana *in* 1701.

THE public of *France* were ſtill in expectation, that *Louiſiana* contained mines; and this was owing to ſome diſcoveries, lately ſaid to have been made by *la Sale* and *Tonti*. The *French*, before that notion prevailed, were as indifferent about the country of *Louiſiana*, as the *Spaniards* had been, who neglected it, becauſe they thought it contained no mines; ſo ignorant were both thoſe people, that commerce and induſtry are the richeſt of mines. In *April*, 1700, when *Iberville* returned to *France*, all the buildings the *French* had in *Louiſiana* conſiſted of a few ſtraggling houſes, belonging to ſome *French Canadians*, who had been ſettled amongſt the *Illinois*; the fort at the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*; and another which was their head quarters on the bay of *Biloxi*, and which was commanded by *de Sauvole*. *Iberville* had left the care of the fort at the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi* to his brother *Bienville*, *Jachereau*, and the ſieur *de St. Denys*, his wife's uncle, who was a man of enterprize, underſtood many of the ſavage idioms, and ſeemed to inherit all the ſpirit of *la Sale*. About this time, one *le Sueur*, another relation of *Iberville*, diſcovered in the country of the *Sieux* a copper-mine, which, by *Iberville*'s orders, he went to take poſſeſſion of; but, though it was only the end of *September* when he ſet out, he found the weather ſo ſevere, that he was obliged to winter in a fort, which he built, upon the banks of a river, which falls into that of *St. Peter*. Their proviſions falling ſhort, they were obliged to hunt buffaloes, and after they were killed, for want of ſalt, they hung up pieces of their fleſh in the air, where it was ſoon tainted. This food was, at firſt, ſo diſagreeable, that it threw them into fluxes and fevers; but, by degrees, in ſix weeks time, they were ſo well reconciled to it, that their appetites returned to them even to voracity; ſo that there was not a ſick perſon amongſt them, and all of them grew fat and fleſhy. They remained here till the beginning of *April*, during a moſt ſevere winter, and arriving at the mine, they worked it to ſuch purpoſe, that in twenty-two days, they dug from it above 30,000 lb. weight of real copper, of which they ſent about 4000 of the fineſt kind to *France*. This mine lay at the opening of a mountain, ten leagues long, on the ſide of a river, where not a tree grows, and which is continually ſurrounded with tempeſts, and thunder-ſhowers. Notwithſtanding thoſe promiſing appearances, we perceive, that *le Sueur* was ſoon obliged to give over his undertaking. Next year, *Iberville* returned for a third time to *Louiſiana*, and began a ſettlement upon the *Mobile*, of which *Bienville* was commandant, and he abandoned the poſt at *Biloxi*, carrying to the new ſettlement all its inhabitants.

and in 1702.

In this languiſhing ſtate were the affairs of *Louiſiana*, during the remainder of the year 1702. It was in vain for *Iberville* to go backwards and forwards to *France*, which he did this year for the fourth time. The people, being as yet in no expectation of mines equal to thoſe of *Peru* and *Mexico*, looked coldly upon his project; but he got ſome patrons at court, whom he convinced of its utility: ſo that, upon his return to *America*, he was enabled to build magazines on the iſle of *Dauphin*, as being far more convenient than the fort at *Mobile* was for landing goods from *France*. Soon after, but gradually, a fort was built there with caſerns and additional ſtorehouſes, till, at laſt, it became the head quarters of the colony. All this while, no great general meaſure was taken, for rendering it either commercial or territorial; ſo that it can be ſaid only to have been local. No trade was carried on for the profit, no lands were cleared for the ſubſiſtence, of the inhabitants, who enjoyed only the ſmall ſpot on which they dwelt. They ſubſiſted upon precarious ſupplies from *France*; but the *Apalache* ſavages, fortunately for them, preferred their neighbourhood to that of the *Spaniards*, and cultivated ſome lands upon the *Mobile*, which contributed greatly to their ſubſiſtence. But no care was taken to aſſociate them with the colony, or to convert them to chriſtianity. Matters ſtill continued in this languid ſtate, owing undoubtedly to the diſtreſſes of *France* in *Europe*, till the year 1708, when M. *Diron d'Artaguctte* arrived in quality of regulating-commiſſary. His firſt care was the cultivation of the lands upon the *Mobile*, which reſcued the ſettlers from the neceſſity of aſſociating themſelves with the ſavages in their hunting, when any accident retarded their ſupplies from *France*. The cares of this magiſtrate did not ſucceed. The lands upon the *Mobile* were unfavourable for grain, and the little which they produced was apt to be damaged by ſtorms, which rendered it muſty. To remedy this, the ſettlers applied themſelves to the cultivation of tobacco, which, upon the *Mobile*, was found to be ſuperior to that of *Virginia*.

However inconſiderable this colony was, the reſt of *Europe* at this time conceived the higheſt ideas of it, and perceiving it to be ſupported by the *French*, amidſt all their diſtreſſes in *Europe*, many believed that the profits of it enabled them to carry on the war; ſo that an *Engliſh* privateer invaded the iſle of *Dauphin*, and, as *d'Artaguette* pretended, committed great cruelties upon the inhabitants to oblige them to diſcover where they had concealed their riches. The damage on this occaſion amounted to above 4000 franks. *D'Artaguette*, whoſe chief buſineſs in *Louiſiana* was to inform himſelf of the nature of the country, and the ſituation of the ſettlement, upon his return to *France* gave the court great lights as to both, and notwithſtanding the almoſt unheard-of miſeries of *France* at that time, a reſolution was taken to carry the ſettlement of *Louiſiana* into a colony; a meaſure that in other countries has alway required the moſt proſperous ſtate to effect. A proud court, through all its poverty, preſerves its forms and titles. *De Muys*, the *Canadian* officer we have already mentioned, was named governor of *Louiſiana*, as was, upon his death, *la Motte Cadillac*. The ſieur *Crozat*, by this time had obtained his moſt chriſtian majeſty's letters patent, for the excluſive privilege of the commerce of *Louiſiana* for ſixteen years, and the perpetual property, for him and his heirs, of all its mines and minerals; on condition of his ſending, by every ſhip of his that arrived at the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*, ſix girls or boys for planting the colony. At the ſame time, to give it the greater credit with the public, the ſieur *Duclos* was appointed regulating commiſſary, and the governor and he were placed at the head of a ſuperior council, whoſe powers were to laſt for three years, and who were to be judges in all affairs civil and criminal. *La Motte Cadillac* had been recommended by *Crozac* for governor, on account of his great experience of the ſavages, the *Illinois* in particular, from whom great things were expected for the intereſt of the colony, particularly in the diſcovery of mines, which, after the moſt unbounded expectations of them had been raiſed, not only in *America*, but all over *Europe*, came to nothing. The other great object, which *Crozat*, who aſſociated *Cadillac* in his patent, had in view, was a trade with *New Mexico*. It is true, that, by this time, *Spaniſh America* was in the hands of the houſe of *Bourbon*; but the *Spaniards* underſtood their own intereſt too well to forego its great palladium by ſuffering any foreign nation to interfere in their trade. When *Cadillac* came to the iſle of *Dauphin*, he ſent a ſhip commanded by *Joncaire* to trade at *Vera Cruz*, where the governor furniſhed him with ſome proviſions, but without ſuffering him to ſell his cargo, obliged him inſtantly to depart. *Crozat* was as unſucceſsful afterwards in attempting

Crozat's *excluſive patent.*

ing to carry on a trade by land; the hiſtory of which cannot fail to be acceptable to an *Engliſh* reader.

Adventures of St. Denys.

THE famous ſieur *de St. Denys* was employed in this commerce, and furniſhed with 10,000 franks worth of merchandizes; his inſtructions were to deal with the *Natchitoches*. Thoſe were a people who lived upon the *Red River*; and, by means of one *Penicaut*, a ſhip-carpenter, who underſtood the ſavage languages, and had accompanied *le Sueur* to the copper-mines, had been prevailed upon to ſettle amongſt the *Colapiſſas*, a race of ſavages in the neighbourhood of the *Mobile*. It was natural for *St. Denys*, when going to the country of the *Natchitoches*, to carry along with him thoſe who had been ſettled amongſt the *Colapiſſas*, and they were ſo very fond of attending him to their mother-country, that they ſet out on their march, without taking leave of their hoſpitable landlords, the *Colapiſſas*. The latter were ſo affronted at this, that they ran to arms, purſued their gueſts, killed ſeventeen of them, and brought back priſoners a number of their women. Thoſe, who eſcaped, joined *St. Denis* at *Biloxi*; and, in paſſing by the village of the *Tonicas*, he engaged the head man of it, with fifteen of his beſt hunters, to attend him upon his journey. Arriving at the townſhip of the *Natchitoches*, which lies in an iſle of the *Red River*, about forty miles above the place, where it diſcharges itſelf into the *Miſſiſſippi*, he built ſome houſes for the *French* he intended to leave there, and prevailing with ſome ſavages to aſſociate themſelves with the *Natchitoches*, he gave them all kinds of utenſils proper for agriculture, and ſeed corn to ſow. He then left the *Red River*, which was navigable no higher, attended with twelve *French* and ſome ſavages, and, after travelling weſt, he arrived at the country of the *Cenis*; but he could find none of them who had the leaſt idea of an *European*, excepting the *Spaniards*, whoſe manners and appearance are the ſame with their own. They furniſhed guides to *St. Denys*, who travelled to the ſouth-weſt fifty leagues before he reached the firſt *Spaniſh* ſettlement, which was a fort ſituated on a large river, and called the *North Garriſon*. He and his attendants here were very courteouſly received by don *Pedro de Vileſcas*, who accommodated them all with lodgings; and, in a few days, *St. Denys* opened the purport of his journey, which was to eſtabliſh a trade between the *Spaniards* and *Louiſiana*, and informed don *Pedro*, that the terms ſhould be of his own making. Don *Pedro* directly diſpatched an expreſs to his ſuperior, the governor of *Caouis*, which lay at the diſtance of ſixty leagues. This governor ſent twenty-five horſemen, who next year conducted *St. Denys*, and his ſurgeon *Jalot*, firſt to *Caouis*, from whence he wrote to the attendants he had left at the *North Garriſon*, ordering them to return to the *Natchitoches*. *St. Denys* then travelled an hundred and fifty miles before he reached *Mexico*, where, without any examination, he was inſtantly committed to priſon by the viceroy, where he lay for three months, when he was releaſed at the interceſſion of ſome officers, who knew his family and connexions with the governor of *Louiſiana*. Upon his deliverance, the viceroy of *Mexico* conceived ſo high an opinion of his abilities, that he did all he could to engage him in the ſervice of *Spain*; but, though poor, he was proof againſt all the tempting offers he could make him. According to *St. Denys*'s own report, the viceroy made him firſt a preſent of three hundred dollars, and offered to ſecond him in his courtſhip of donna *Maria*, daughter to don *Pedro de Vileſcas*, with whom he was in love; but, finding him immoveable, even by this temptation, his excellency made him a preſent of 1000 piaſtres, to defray, as he ſaid, the expences of his nuptials: but told him he had nothing to hope for with regard to the trade propoſed between *Louiſiana* and *Mexico*. Next day, the viceroy made him a preſent of a fine horſe, and appointed him a convoy to *Caouis*, which he reached. Here he found don *Pedro* in great perplexity, about four townſhips of ſavages, who ſupplied his garriſon with neceſſaries, but were ready to depart from it, on account of the inſults they met with from the *Spaniards*. *St. Denys* undertook to bring them back, though they were already upon their journey, and acted with ſo much addreſs, that he returned with them to their ancient habitations, which were rendered inacceſſible to the *Spaniards* upon pain of death.

who is married to a Spaniſh *lady.*

THIS important ſervice immediately made *St. Denys* the huſband of his miſtreſs, and after ſix months cohabitation, he ſet out along with the uncle of his wife, whom he left with child, on his return to the *Mobile*. *Cadillac*, by this time, had diſpatched the ſieur *de la Loire* with ſome merchandizes to make a ſettlement amongſt the *Natches*. Here he found ſome *Engliſh* traders from *Carolina*, who, according to *Charlevoix*, had not only ſpirited up a war amongſt the ſavages, but had entered into practices againſt the intereſt of the *French*. *La Loire* therefore was ordered to arreſt the *Engliſh* officer, who remained alone amongſt the *Natches*; which he did, and ſent him priſoner to the *Mobile*, where *Bienville*, who commanded in the abſence of *Cadillac*, treated him for three days with great civility, and then diſmiſſed him. The officer, on his return, took *Penſacola* in his way, where he likewiſe met with a favourable reception from the governor;

but travelling afterwards towards *Carolina*, by the *Alibamons*, he fell in with a hunting party of the *Tomez*, who murdered him; ſo inveterate had the *French* practices, at that time, rendered all the ſavages towards the *Engliſh*. The latter had a ſtorehouſe in a village of the *Chactaws*, which thoſe barbarians plundered, and murdered all that were in it. This cruelty was a kind of a watch word for the *Alibamons*, and the neighbouring ſavages, to confederate againſt the *Engliſh*, and they made an irruption into *Carolina*, from whence they carried off great numbers of priſoners. *France*, at this time, was in peace with *Great Britain*, and her governors, therefore, durſt not avow the infamous practices made uſe of to excite thoſe violences. The priſoners were carried to the *Mobile*, where, under the ſtale pretext of redeeming them, the *French* commandant gave them an intimation of what they were to expect, if they ſhould continue to trade with the natives; and after this he diſmiſſed them. *Cadillac* was at this time amongſt the *Illinois*, and upon his return to the *Mobile*, it was given out, that he had diſcovered a ſilver mine in that country; a report that had a moſt wonderful effect all over *Europe*, and was undoubtedly encouraged for the purpoſes that were then hatching in the *French* councils. Upon his return to the *Mobile*, he was waited upon by a ſavage deputy of great credit and authority on the part of ſeveral ſavage nations round, particularly of the *Alibamons*, who, till that time, had always been declared enemies to the *French*, but now offered, at their own expence, to build in their village a fort, that was to be garriſoned by *French*. This offer was accepted of, the fort was built, and a garriſon placed in it under the command of M. *de la Tour*.

The Engliſh *maſſacred by the* French.

Confederacy of the Natches *againſt the* French.

LA LOIRE was all this while continuing his negotiations with the *Natches*, but ſoon diſcovered amongſt them ſymptoms, that were extremely unfavourable to the *French* intereſt. Four *Frenchmen* were murdered, while they were travelling in their country, and *la Loire* with his brother were threatened with the ſame fate. The elder *la Loire* had ſet out for the country of the *Illinois*, attended by ſome of thoſe ſavages, one of whom put him upon his guard. From the romantic manner, in which the *French* have related this conſpiracy of the *Natches*, it is plain, that it was a conſpiracy of their own inventing, to excuſe their barbarous and bloody dealings towards that brave and humane people. They tell us, with what probability the reader may judge, that the elder *la Loire*, after being put upon his guard, ſifted the ſavages, who were with him, ſeparately, and that all of them confeſſed that they had an intention to murder him at a certain place. Upon this information, *la Loire*, who ſuſpected that the conſpiracy was general amongſt all the *Natches*, returned to advertiſe his brother of his danger. The difficulty was how to get acceſs to him, but *Penicaut* undertook to remove it. When the company came to the landing place of the *Natches*, *Penicaut* went a-ſhore, but told *la Loire*, that, if he did not ſee him by midnight, he might conclude him dead, and that he muſt purſue his voyage. *Penicaut* then, armed only with his fuſee, made the beſt of his way towards young *la Loire*'s habitation; and the latter, being advertiſed by ſome *Natches* of his approach, came out to meet him and aſked him news of his brother. *Penicaut* pretended that he was fallen ill; but afterwards deſired him to ſend for the chief *Natche*, to whom he told, that ſix out of the eight *Natches* who had attended him, and *la Loire*, being ſick, they had been obliged to put back to the landing-place, and he begged that, early next morning, the chief would ſend thirty of his ſavages to unload the grand canoe, and carry the merchandizes to the ſtorehouſe, which the chief accordingly promiſed ſhould be complied with; expreſſing, at the ſame time, the great apprehenſions he had been under, leſt the elder *la Loire* ſhould have fallen into the hands of the *Yaſous*, a perfidious people, and enemies to the *French*. *Penicaut*, without making any anſwer, expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the chief's behaviour; but, on his departure, he let *la Loire* into the real ſecret of his journey, and ſhewed him that he had not a ſingle moment to loſe in making his eſcape. In this there was ſome difficulty, as three of the natives ſlept in his room, but the exigency being preſſing, they opened the door while the ſavages were found aſleep, and made the beſt of their way to the landing-place, where they met with the elder *la Loire*, and, having made handſome preſents to the eight *Natches*, they diſcharged them, and proceeded on their voyage.

They are diſappointed.

THE firſt place they ſtopt at was a townſhip belonging to the *Tonicas*, where they found three *Natches*. They had been diſpatched by their grand chief, who, finding that he had been outwitted, had ſent them to perſuade the chief of the *Tonicas* to murder all the *French* who ſhould fall into his hands. This chief, who was a friend to the *French*, was ſo much offended by the inhumanity of this propoſal, that he would have put the meſſengers to death, had he not been diſſuaded from it by a meſſenger reſiding in his village. Upon the arrival of the two *la Loires* at *Mobile*, and relating their ſtory to *Cadillac*, the latter immediately raiſed a party of an hundred men, who ſet out to chaſtiſe the *Natches*. In their voyage, perceiving a pocket hanging at a tree, they ſearched, and found in it a letter from the *Tonica* miſſionary, informing them of a *French* trader, who had been robbed and murdered by the *Natches*. This letter cured *Bienville*, who commanded the party, of ſome doubts as to the reality of *la Loire*'s danger, and not conceiving himſelf to be ſtrong enough to proceed againſt the *Natches*, he ſtopt in the bay of the *Tonicas*, where he built a fort, and diſpatched from thence an officer with twenty men to the grand chief of the *Natches*, deſiring an interview with him at the fort. The officer returned, and ſaid that the chief was following him; but this proved not to be true, for, without leaving his village, he only ſent ſome of his ſubaltern chiefs, with about twenty-five men. *Bienville* received them with great ſtate; but, upon their entering the fort, he demanded from them ſatisfaction for the death of five *Frenchmen*, who had been murdered by their nation, and that their murderers ſhould be delivered up. The ſavages pleaded that their grand chief alone could give him the ſatisfaction he required; and ſome of them offered to wait upon him for that purpoſe, while the reſt of them were to remain priſoners in the fort, till the grand chief's anſwer arrived. This propoſal was accepted of; and, in a ſhort time, meſſengers returned with the head of a man, whom the grand chief had put to death, but who was innocent of the murders. *Bienville* expreſſed ſome reſentment at this attempt to impoſe upon him, and demanded that the real murderer ſhould be produced, and, particularly, a chief, whom he named. The meſſengers replied, that that chief was the nephew of the *Sun*, the braveſt of all their countrymen, who would rather ſee their village deſtroyed than give him up. They added that the four murderers were amongſt the priſoners, whom they had left behind in the fort, and that they might inflict upon them what puniſhment he pleaſed. *Bienville* immediately ordered them to appear, and, tho' they denied the fact, the brains of all them were beat out with clubs upon the ſpot. Amongſt them was, as is pretended, a chief ſo obnoxious for his cruelties, that his death had been long wiſhed for by the neighbouring nations (D).

THIS

(D) Though we have been obliged to give the ſtory of this maſſacre, (for ſo we may call it) as related by *Charlevoix*, yet we cannot help thinking it to be full of inconſiſtencies. How could *Bienville* know who were the real murderers? Where is the evidence that ſuch murders had been committed, or the proof that the perſons they barbarouſly put to death were the murderers? not to mention the improbability of the grand *Natche*'s ſending them upon ſuch a deputation. In ſhort, the whole

THIS cataſtrophe being over, the *French*, at the *Tonica* fort, reflecting that it was in the power of the *Natches* to interrupt all communication by water between the *Mobile* and the *Illinois* country, reſolved to avail themſelves of the panick ſtruck into the *Natches* by the late executions, and propoſed to them the following terms of peace. Firſt, that they ſhould build, at their own expence, and upon a certain ſpot to be pointed out to them in their largeſt townſhip, a fort and ſtorehouſes, with proper accommodations for a garriſon and a commiſſary, who were to be left there. Secondly, that they ſhould reſtore all the effects they had taken from the *French*, and indemnify them for all the other loſſes they had ſuffered in their country. Thirdly, that the nephew of their grand chief, of whom the *French* complained, ſhould not ſtir out of the village on pain of having his brains beat out. The deputies approved of thoſe articles, which were read to them, and *de Pailloux*, a *French* officer, was diſpatched with twenty men to get them ratified by the grand chief of the *Natches*. He entered their village with drums beating and colours flying, and was received with great cordiality by all the inhabitants, who were friends to the *French*. Being introduced to the cabin of the *Sun*, where the grand *Natche* reſided, the latter approved of the terms, and ſaid that he only waited for M. *de Bienville*'s orders to ſet about the conſtruction of the fort. *Bienville*, underſtanding this, immediately ſet out from the *Tonica* village, at the head of fifty men, and was received by the *Sun*, or grand chief of the *Natches*, with great ceremony. The ſpot on which the fort was to be erected was immediately marked out, and *de Pailloux* was appointed to ſuperintend the building. It was completely finiſhed in ſix weeks, and *Bienville*, who was returned to the *Tonica* village again, ſet out from thence and took poſſeſſion of it under the name of fort *Roſalie*. The *Natches* appearing to be quite reconciled to the *French*, *Bienville* paſſed all the year 1714 at this fort; and, upon his return to the *Mobile*, he left *de Pailloux* to command it, and one *du Tiſné* for his lieutenant.

Wrong principles of the French *colony at* Louiſiana.

LA MOTTE CADILLAC concluded from the anſwer ſent him by *St. Denys* from the viceroy of *New Spain*, that it was in vain to hope to open a trade between *Mexico* and *Louiſiana*; but, to prevent any interruption from the *Spaniards*, he charged *du Tiſné* to build a fort in the iſle of the *Natchitoches*. Scarcely was it finiſhed, when *du Tiſné* was informed

whole credit of the ſtory ſeems to depend upon the *Tonica* miſſionary, who might have his particular reaſons for exterminating the *Natches*, as they ſoon after were.

that the *Spaniards* had made a ſettlement among the *Aſſinais* or *Cenis*, which they were endeavouring to extend to the *Miſſiſſippi*; and this determined *Cadillac* to reinforce the garriſon of the *Natchitoches* fort: but all the precautions of this governor were in vain, as the whole eſtabliſhment of the colony was founded upon wrong principles, which were equally prejudicial to the patentee as to the province. In the year 1712, no more than twenty-four *French* families were ſettled in *Louiſiana*; one half of whom were traders or workmen, who never minded the clearing or cultivating the lands. All the commerce of the province was then carried on about the *Mobile*, and the iſle of *Dauphin*; and conſiſted only in timber, or what is called lumber and peltries. The *Canadian* rangers trafficked with the ſavages, by exchanging *French* commodities with their furs and ſlaves, by whom we are to underſtand their priſoners made in war, both which they ſold to the *French* inhabitants of *Louiſiana*. The latter diſpoſed of the peltries, either to *French* ſhips, or to the *Spaniards* of *Penſacola*, but employed the ſlaves in clearing their lands or in ſawing deals, which they ſent ſometimes to *Penſacola*, but oftener to the *French* iſlands; from whence they returned ſugars, tobacco, cacao, and *French* commodities. They likewiſe carried to *Penſacola*, where the *Spaniards* were too idle and too lazy to cultivate the grounds, or to practiſe the habits of induſtry, pulſe of all kinds, maiz, wild-fowl, and other fruits of their own labour, all which were paid for in ready money, which enabled the *Louiſianians* to live comfortably, though not affluently. They were not inſenſible, that their country was proper for producing tobacco, indigo, and ſilk; but they had not hands for rearing them, and not a perſon of the colony knew in what manner they were to be cultivated.

It is ſurprizing that *Crozat*, before he obtained his extenſive excluſive patent, did not take meaſures for removing, at leaſt, ſome of the inconveniencies to which his infant colony was expoſed, by employing ſkilful perſons, who might have found their intereſt in promoting it. But *Crozat* was the moſt unfit man that can be well conceived for undertaking a new ſettlement. His narrow notions kept him from perceiving that no project of that kind could ever ſucceed, unleſs thoſe who were employed in it were in a condition to enrich themſelves; to which his excluſive patent was an abſolute bar. *Crozat* thought only of enriching himſelf, by beggaring all about him. No ſooner did he take poſſeſſion of his excluſive privilege, than all the *French* iſland ſhips diſappeared at *Louiſiana*. At the ſame time, he publiſhed an

Complaints of Crozat,

order to all the inhabitants there, prohibiting them from trading with *Penſacola*, by which they were cut off from all their ready money commerce; and another prohibition was publiſhed againſt the coloniſts trading with any one but the commiſſaries appointed by the patentee. This prohibition threw into the hands of the latter the power of putting a valuation upon all the commodities of the colony; the conſequence of which was, that they allowed ſo poor a price for the peltry, that the hunters choſe to diſpoſe of their furs and hides to the *Canadians* and the *Engliſh*, rather than to the *Louiſianians*. This frantic conduct of *Crozat* and his creatures diſcouraged the coloniſts from cultivating their grounds; ſo that, in the year 1714, the colony was on the brink of ruin, and *Crozat* preſented to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty certain propoſitions and complaints. The latter conſiſted of the following heads. Firſt, that the weakneſs of the colony rendered it contemptible in the eyes of the ſavages, who were thereby encouraged to make continual war upon it, by which all inland commerce was rendered either unprofitable or impracticable. Secondly, that the *Engliſh* were making ſettlements upon the *Miſſiſſippi*, from whence they might trade with *Mexico* and *New Biſcay*, while the *French* were confined to the barren ſpots upon the *Mobile* and the iſle of *Dauphin*. Thirdly, *Crozat* complained of the indifference ſhown by his countrymen with regard to *Louiſiana*; the preſervation and improvement of which colony he maintained ought to be the firſt object of the ſtate. "The maritime commerce of *France*, (ſaid he, in one of his memorials) is now next to nothing, and yet merchant ſhips are the nurſeries from which his majeſty is to draw the ſailors, which he muſt employ in any future war. It is therefore of the utmoſt importance for *France* to encreaſe her navigation, which may be done by means of the different ſettlements, that may be made in *Louiſiana*, which, if ſeriouſly thought of, would in a few years be ſufficient to employ a conſiderable number of ſhipping. The *Engliſh* (continued he, very weakly) are ſo ſenſible of the importance of *Louiſiana*, that we need but aſk the marſhal *D'Uxelles* what they ſaid of it at *Utrecht*." The fourth complaint of *Crozat*, in anſwer to the objection that the colony was in a worſe ſtate than he found it in, was, that the council of *Louiſiana* had refuſed to regiſter his letters patent, and that the univerſal oppoſition he met with amongſt the coloniſts was fomented by officers, who carried on trade with the *Spaniards*.

who ſurrenders his patent.

THOSE complaints not meeting with an eaſy remedy, *Crozat* actually ſurrendered his patent, in 1717, to his moſt

Chriſtian majeſty. Upon this ſurrender was formed the famous weſtern, or what is commonly called the *Miſſiſſippi* company, under the direction of Mr. *Law*, a *Scotch* fugitive, which was afterwards productive of ſo many calamities to *France*, and almoſt all *Europe*. The letters patent, erecting this eſtabliſhment under the name of the Weſtern Company for twenty-five years, were regiſtered the 26th of *September*, that ſame year, and contained the following heads. Firſt, a privilege of trading with *Canada*, provided the coloniſts took care to cultivate their grounds, and raiſe plantations. Secondly, that for twenty-five years after the day of regiſtration, the commerce of the province and government of *Louiſiana* ſhould be wholly inveſted in the company; and that they were to have in perpetuity all the property, ſuperiority, and judicature, of the lands, ports, ſhores, harbours, and iſlands, of which the ſaid province is compoſed; his majeſty reſerving to himſelf only the fealty and liege homage of the company; but, that upon each future coronation of a king of *France*, the company ſhould be obliged to preſent him with a golden crown of thirty marks weight. At the ſame time, by an arret of the 27th of the ſame month, the country of the *Illinois* was ſeparated from the government of *New France*, and annexed to that of *Louiſiana*. By the third article, the company was impowered to form alliances, and conclude treaties, in his majeſty's name, with all the neighbouring people, who did not depend on any *European* power, and likewiſe to make truces, or declare war in caſes of inſult. By the fourth article, the company was inveſted in the property of all the mines and minerals, that ſhould be diſcovered or worked during the term of its privilege. The fifth article gave them permiſſion to ſell or alienate lands within their grant, and to erect upon them ſuch forts, caſtles, and edifices, as they ſhould think proper for the defence of the ſettlement; together with a power to garriſon the ſame, and, for that purpoſe, with his majeſty's permiſſion, to raiſe ſoldiers in *Old France*, and to nominate, for the command of their troops, ſuch governors and officers as they pleaſed.

New Eſtabliſhment of Louiſiana.

By this time, the company had appointed *de l'Epinai* to ſucceed *de la Motte Cadillac*, as *Hubert* did *Duclos*, and both of them arrived at the iſle of *Dauphin* in *March*; but ſoon after *Bienville* was appointed commandant-general of the province; though he did not enter upon the poſſeſſion of his office till next year. *De l'Epinai* carried with him three ſhips, with a number of officers, proviſions, ammunition, and merchandizes of all kinds on board; all which were lodged in the ſtore-houſes in the iſle of *Dauphin*, excepting the cargo of one ſhip, which was to trade with *Vera Cruz*. This veſſel was commanded by one *de Golleville*, who, thinking it was in vain for him to attempt an open trade, caſt anchor at *Villa-rica*, where, in a clandeſtine manner, he diſpoſed of all his cargo to *Spaniſh* merchants for ready money. All this while, *l'Epinai* was buſied in raiſing fortifications on the iſle of *Dauphin*, for the ſecurity of the ſtore-houſes there; and no fewer than twenty-four ſavage nations ſent deputies to him, ſinging their calumets of peace, and to make him their compliments. Towards the month of *Auguſt*, a hurricane happened, which choaked up the entrance of the only harbour of the iſland, and laid the whole under water, to the deſtruction of great numbers of cattle. *L'Epinai*, by this accident, was obliged to look out for a new anchoring place for the ſhipping, and pitched upon the iſle of *Surgere*, ſince called the iſle of *Veſſels*; in which was a tolerable harbour, except when the wind was at the north, or north-weſt, which ſeldom happened. Here a little fort was built to protect the ſhipping, and the ſettlement at the iſle of *Dauphin* was transferred to *Biloxi*, which lies to the northward of the iſle of *Veſſels*, though no ſhip can come nearer to it than the diſtance of four leagues. This removal was to facilitate the private traffick with the *Spaniards*, as the place was in every reſpect incommodious and inacceſſible, its ſoil barren, and a dead ſand.

Original of the Miſſiſſippi *company.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all thoſe diſcouragements, Mr. *Law*, and the members of the *Miſſiſſippi* company, publiſhed ſuch prodigies concerning the benefits of *Louiſiana*, that the people of *France* were fond to enthuſiaſm of the new ſettlement, and reſolved at any rate to ſupport it; ſo that this year the foundation of *New Orleans*, the capital of *Louiſiana*, was begun. *Bienville* came from the country of the *Natches* to the *Mobile*, to pay his reſpects to the new governor, and informed him of his having obſerved on the banks of the *Miſſiſſippi*, a ſpot extremely proper for a new ſettlement. *L'Epinai* immediately gave him eighty maſons, with a proportionable number of carpenters, for raiſing the buildings, and carrying the plan into execution; but *Charlevoix*, ſeemingly with great reaſon, finds fault with the ſituation. The undertaking was purſued with great ſpirit. *De Pailloux* was ordered to aſſiſt *Bienville* in the execution; and *Blondel* ſucceeded *de Pailloux* in his government among the *Natches*. All this while the ſettlement of *New Orleans* was puſhed ſo inconſiderately, that it was not known whether a ſhip of any burthen could enter the *Miſſiſſippi*; but after founding, it was found that the bar was eighteen feet deep, upon which the *Neptune*, a ſhip juſt arrived from *France*, ſailed up the river, as far as *New Orleans*. *Charlevoix* is juſtly ſurprized, that after the ſucceſs of this experiment, the government of *Louiſiana* ſhould ſuffer thouſands of people, who came from *Old France*, to periſh of want, hunger, and thirſt, in the old ſettlements, when the very ſhips which brought them from their native country could have carried them to *New Orleans*, and even higher up the river to the very center of the colony. 1718. In the beginning of *March*, 1718, the firſt grantees arrived at *Louiſiana*, attended by the ſieur *Dugué de Boiſbriand*, who brought a commiſſion from the company, nominating him, with his majeſty's approbation, to be commandant in the country of the *Illinois*; *Bienville* commandant general of *Louiſiana*, and director of the company; and *de Pailloux* major-general. *Boiſbriand* ſet out directly for the country of the *Illinois*, and carried with him the two brothers *Diron*, and the chevalier *d'Artaguette*; the firſt of them in the quality of a captain, and inſpector-general of *Louiſiana*, and the ſecond in that of his lieutenant. Mean while, the *Chitimachas*, and ſeveral ſavage nations, formerly no friends to the *French*, ſettled upon the *Miſſiſſippi*, where, by their induſtry in clearing the neighbouring grounds, they were very ſerviceable in furniſhing *New Orleans*, in its infant ſtate, with proviſions. In a ſhort time, the banks of the *Miſſiſſippi* were covered with inhabitants, who lived in perfect friendſhip with the ſavages, and without dread of any moleſtation from the *Engliſh*. In *June*, 1718, *Bienville* ordered his brother *Chateauguoé* to take poſſeſſion of *St. Joſeph*'s bay, which lies fifty leagues to the eaſt of the iſland of *Dauphin*, and, meeting with no impediment, he there built a ſtone fort. This formerly had been a poſt belonging to the *Spaniards*, and, though they had abandoned it for eighteen years, their governor of *Penſacola*, underſtanding what the *French* were about, immediately informed *Bienville* by writing, that the bay of *St. Joſeph* belonged to his Catholic majeſty. It is difficult to account for the reaſons, why this fort was built; for no ſooner did the *Spaniſh* remonſtrance come into *Bienville*'s hands, than the *French* abandoned it, as being uſeleſs, untenable, and uninhabitable. 1719. *The* French *attack* Penſacola. In *February*, 1719, the *French* and *Spaniards* being then at war, M. *Serigny* came to *Louiſiana* with three ſhips, and produced from his court an order to make himſelf maſter of *Penſacola*. This bay, according to the *Spaniards*, was firſt diſcovered by *Pamphile de Narvaez*, who landed there in his expedition to *Florida*. After that, *Diego de Maldonado*, another *Spaniard*, and an officer under *Ferdinand de Soto*, took poſſeſſion of it a-new, and called it the harbour of *Anchuſi*. In

1558, don *Triſtan de Luna* gave it the name of *St. Mary's* bay, which name afterwards received, in honour of the then viceroy of *Mexico*, the addition of *de Galve*. But, notwithſtanding all thoſe nominations, the *Indian* name of *Penſacola*, ſtill took place. In 1696, *Andres de Arriola* was named firſt governor of that province, and, when he took poſſeſſion of it, he built in the bay a fort, with four baſtions called fort *St. Charles*, with a church, and ſome houſes.

THE *French Miſſiſſippi* company, at the time of *Serigny's* landing in *Louiſiana*, had no harbour on the northern coaſt of *Florida*; and therefore they were glad to lay hold of the rupture between the two crowns, to make themſelves maſters of *Penſacola*. *Serigny*, upon his arrival, aſſembled a council of war, where it was reſolved, that *Bienville* and *Chateaugué* ſhould aſſemble, at the *Mobile*, all their *Indian* allies, and *French* inhabitants, and march them by land to *Penſacola*; and that, in the mean time, three *French* veſſels with one hundred and fifty ſoldiers on board, under *Serigny*, ſhould enter the bay: all which was performed with punctuality and ſecreſy. No ſooner was *Serigny* within the bay, on the 14th of *May*, than *Matamoros*, the *Spaniſh* governor of fort *St. Charles*, ſent to the governor of *St. Joſeph* for aſſiſtance. *Serigny*, in the mean while, began a briſk fire upon the fort, which continued five hours. After this, the governor, who had not heard of war being declared in *Europe*, ſent a meſſenger to know the reaſon of this unexpected hoſtility; upon which, *Serigny* informed him of the truth, and ſummoned him to ſurrender the place. The governor had but an hundred and ſixty men in garriſon, and, underſtanding that the number of his beſiegers, by ſea and land, amounted to 1300, he agreed to capitulate, which he did, on condition of his being tranſported with his garriſon, but without arms or ammunition, to the *Havannah*, in two ſhips, and a ceſſation of hoſtilities taking place for ſixteen days. This capitulation being ſigned by both parties, *Chateaugué* took poſſeſſion of the fort with three hundred men; and the garriſon ſailed, in two *French* ſhips, for the *Havannah*. Before they reached that place, they were attacked by two *Engliſh* privateers, who perceiving the ſhips were *French*, made apologies for their miſtake, and deſiſted from any farther attempt againſt them.

which capitulates.

IN the mean while, don *Gregorio Guaſco* had ſent out a ſquadron, commanded by *de la Torre*, a *Spaniſh* ſea-officer, againſt *Carolina*, which he was in hopes of conquering from the *Engliſh*; but when he ſaw the *French* frigates, he immediately ordered don *Alphonſo* to attack them. The *French*, being inferior in force, thought themſelves ſafe under the capitulation;

The capitulation broke.

capitulation; but they were carried priſoners into the *Havannah.* The governor there, underſtanding what had paſſed, ſtopped the *Carolina* expedition to retake *Penſacola.* For this purpoſe, he manned *de la Torre*'s fleet with a large number of volunteers, who engaged in the expedition in hopes of conquering all *Louiſiana*, and, in the mean while, he ſent the *French* to *St. Domingo* and *Cumana.* He likewiſe diſpatched a light ſhip to the marquis *de Valero*, viceroy of *Mexico*, with advice that he ought to order don *Franceſco Cornejo*, the commodore of the *Barlavento* ſquadron, who was then at *Vera Cruz*, to join *la Torre*, as ſoon as he ſhould hear of his arrival at *Penſacola.* The viceroy had by this time heard by the governor of *St. Joſeph*, and by other accounts, of the loſs of that fort. He was farther alarmed with the news, that the *French* had made themſelves maſters of *Penſacola*, only that they might penetrate into *New Mexico*; and he had ſent couriers from all the ports of *New Spain*, to ſummon the *Spaniſh* marine to aſſemble at *Vera Cruz.* This done, he raiſed all the men he could, but was at a loſs how to tranſport them, when *Cornejo* entered the harbour of *Vera Cruz*, with five ſhips of war, belonging to the *Barlavento* fleet. Upon his arrival, he received an order from the viceroy, to poſtpone his voyage to *Europe* for ſome time.

In the mean while the change of the deſtination of the *Havannah* fleet from *Carolina* to *Penſacola* was ſo diſagreeable to thoſe who had embarked in it, that above four hundred deſerted from that ſervice, but were replaced with ſixty grenadiers of the garriſon by orders of the governor. On the 29th of *June de la Torre* ſet ſail with twelve ſhips, three frigates, and nine bylanders, with about eight hundred and fifty men on board. When he came in ſight of *St. Joſeph* he ſent a lieutenant-colonel to the governor of that fort to learn ſome account of the ſituation of the *French* garriſon at *Penſacola*; the anſwer was, that the place upon the whole was in ſo miſerable a ſituation, that it muſt ſurrender upon the firſt ſummons. *La Torre*, upon this, ſailed within half a league of *Penſacola* bay, and coming to an anchor in the night time, he ſent aſhore one hundred men, who, without any oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of *Siguenza*, the weſternmoſt point of the iſle of *St. Roſa.* They had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion, than fifty of the garriſon ſoldiers joined them, and aſſured them, that the moment they came before the place it would ſurrender, and that all the garriſon were ſtrongly diſpoſed to enter into the ſervice of his Catholic majeſty. The truth is, the *French* had miſtaken their meaſures in employing thoſe of

The Spaniards *retake* Penſacola.

whom the garriſon conſiſted, in a military capacity. Moſt, or all of them, were felons or profligates tranſported for their crimes from *Old France* to *Louiſiana*. The *Spaniſh* commander, not truſting to this report, went into a chaloupe to examine the ſituation of things in the bay, and taking care to keep without cannon ſhot he examined the ſituation of the fort, and of two frigates that lay near it. Upon his return to *Siguenza* he ordered the bylanders to enter the harbour, and to cannonade both the frigates and the fort. One of the former was boarded and taken; the crew of the other ſet it on fire, and retired into the fort, which was ſoon after inveſted by all the bylanders. The fire for ſome time continued very hot on both ſides; but in the evening the *Spaniſh* commandant ſummoned *Chateaugué*, with all his garriſon, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, declaring, that if he held out till he mounted his batteries with cannon he would give them no quarter. *Chateaugué* demanded till ten next morning to deliberate on what anſwer he ſhould return, which was granted him; but the *Spaniards* in the mean while took poſſeſſion of all the avenues by which the ſavages could throw themſelves into the fort. *Chateaugué* would have defended it, but his garriſon unanimouſly declared that they would not fight againſt a prince of the houſe of *Bourbon* (meaning his Catholic majeſty) and he was obliged to march out of the place with the honours of war, but to conſent to be carried to *Spain*. As to the garriſon all of them but a very few (who were for that reaſon maltreated) entered into the *Spaniſh* ſervice; but the governor, his lieutenant, and the director of the *Miſſiſſippi* company, with all the officers of the garriſon, had their liberty upon their parole, till they could get a ſhip to carry them to the *Havannah*. *La Torre* that ſame day took poſſeſſion of the fort, which he found well provided and full of merchandiſes, and gave the command of it, with a proper garriſon, to *don Juan Pedro Matamoros*.

On the 25th of *Auguſt*, *la Torre* diſpatched *don Franciſco Mendez*, the captain of a veſſel, to the viceroy of *New Spain*, with an account of his ſucceſs, and that officer found *Cornejo* with a ſquadron ſtill at *Vera Cruz*. The viceroy was overjoyed that *Penſacola* was again reduced under the power of his maſter, and ordered *Cornejo* immediately to ſet ſail, and taking with him ſome ſhips which had arrived from the *Havannah*, to drive the *French* entirely out of the gulph of *Mexico*. While this was doing *la Torre*'s men mutinied, upon their having been debarred from plundering the *French*, the great object which they had in view, when they embarked upon the expedition. The mutiny, at laſt, was quelled by making the mutineers ſome preſents, and giving them the profits of one hundred and ſixty negroes belonging to the *Miſſiſſippi* company, who had taken refuge in an *Indian* townſhip. *La Torre* then took his meaſures for making himſelf maſter of the iſle of *Dauphin*. For this purpoſe he gave to *don Antonio Mendieta* the command of three hundred pickt men, with orders to approach as near as he poſſibly could to the iſland to reconnoitre its force and ſituation. *Mendieta* found in its road the *Philip*, a ſhip of war, commanded by *Serigny*, under the protection of four ſtrong batteries; and viſiting the other parts of the iſland, notwithſtanding a briſk fire, which poured upon them from all quarters, he judged that the *French* and their allies upon it could not be fewer than 2000. He then entered the river *Mobile*, and approaching fort *Louis* he took four *French* ſhips as they came out of the harbour laden with proviſions. Great part of his detachment conſiſted of *Frenchmen*, who, having no pardon to hope for, were bold and deſperate, and going aſhore they began to plunder a country-houſe which ſtood by itſelf. A *French* officer, *Vilinville*, who had been ſent by *Bienville* with a party to the aſſiſtance of *Serigny*, perceiving the marauders, took his meaſures ſo well that he killed, drowned, or took priſoners all but a few, who eſcaped to their ſhips. As all of them were *French* deſerters, ſuch of them as were taken were put to death by *Bienville* and *Serigny*.

DURING thoſe tranſactions on the *Mobile*, don *Eſtevan Berroa* ſailed with two ſhips to attack the *Philip*, and to carry *Mendieta*'s detachment aſhore on the iſle of *Dauphin* with a reinforcement, which he carried along with him. His orders were to burn the town, if poſſible, to oblige the ſavages to leave the iſland, and, in general, to do whatever he thought moſt proper for his maſter's ſervice. He then ſent a ſummons to the captain of the *Philip* in the following very extraordinary terms, which we inſert, that the reader may have ſome idea how barbarouſly jealous the *Spaniards* are even of the *French*, when they interfere in their *American* affairs. "Sir, I ſend you my canoe to ſummon you to ſurrender, and to ſave any harm being done to your veſſel, and if you do not comply I will treat you as incendiaries, without giving quarter to any perſon on board your ſhip. I will not ſpare even Monſ. *Chateaugué*, your brother, or your friend, who is in my power with all the garriſon of *Penſacola*. It is the pleaſure of my maſter king *Philip*, that all who are taken with arms in their hands ſhould be treated with the utmoſt rigour, but that all who yield themſelves ſhould experience the greateſt tenderneſs, and meet with all the aſſiſtance they ſtand in need of." *Serigny*, in anſwer to this ſummons, bad the *Spaniards* defiance. He had now received very conſiderable reinforcements of ſavages as well as *French* under *Vilinville*, *St. Denys*, and the company. *Berroa* ſoon perceived this by the reſiſtance he met with; and he told *Mendieta* when he joined him, that the iſland being full of *French* and ſavages, all of them well armed, a deſcent upon it was impracticable. Notwithſtanding this; he attempted to land at the little iſland of *Guillory*, adjoining to the iſle of *Dauphin*; but the *Canadians* and ſavages repulſed them with the loſs of twenty *Spaniards*. Two days after *Berroa*, on board the mareſchal *de Villars*, and attended by a large privateer that mounted ten guns, and ſeven ſloops, anchored within cannon ſhot of the *Philip*. The ſloops which were full of ſoldiers, and the privateer ſoon after, entered the harbour as if they intended to cannonade the town, and to land under the cover of their fire; but finding the *French* and ſavages prepared to receive them they deſiſted, but renewed the ſame attempt for fourteen days ſucceſſively at fourteen different places. At laſt they retired, without doing any thing. It was remarkable, that *Serigny*'s regulars did not amount to above eighty, and being of the ſame kind with the *Penſacola* deſerters, he dreaded them as much as he did the enemy. His ſavages upon the iſland did not amount to above two hundred, and his *Canadians* and volunteers were not ſo many. At laſt the *Spaniards* weighed anchor, and returned to *Penſacola* with a conſiderable loſs. Thus ended this ill concerted attempt, which was an evident proof of the degeneracy of the *Spaniards* in *America*; for had they perſiſted with their ſuperiority of force in blocking up the iſland but a few days longer the *French* muſt have ſurrendered, ſo great was the diſtreſs to which they were reduced by diſeaſes, and by lying for three weeks upon the ſtrand.

DE LA TORRE, the governor of *Penſacola*, was all this while buſy in fortifying that place to prevent its being ſurprized afreſh, and built a fort upon the point of the iſle of *St. Roſa*, which commands the entrance into the harbour, and on which he employed all his negroe priſoners. While this work was going on it was frequently interrupted by the *French* ſavages, whom the *Spaniards* repulſed, but were unable to follow them, ſo nimbly did they ſkip from one mountain to another. Thoſe interruptions, with the impoſſibility of the *Spaniards* making a deſcent upon the iſle of *Dauphin*, convinced the *Spaniſh* governor that he could do nothing without a larger force. He had been aſſured of an immediate reinforcement by a brigantine from *Vera Cruz*; a fort upon *Siguenza* point was almoſt finiſhed, and likewiſe a battery of fifteen pieces of cannon, which commanded the entrance into the harbour, and the fortifications of fort *St. Charles* were ſtrengthened; but ſickneſs and famine had now ſwept off great numbers of his men. The aſſurance of a ſpeedy reinforcement kept up the ſpirits of the ſurvivors for ſome time, but meeting with nothing but diſappointments, they began to talk of abandoning a place which they muſt be obliged to ſurrender if they ſhould be again attacked by the *French*; and that their ſupplies of reinforcements muſt have been loſt, as it was not to be ſuppoſed that the governors of *New Spain* and the *Havannah* would fail in their promiſes. As they had but proviſions juſt ſufficient to carry them to the *Havannah*, the governor had great difficulty in keeping them to their duty; but at laſt he underſtood that five ſhips were ſeen off the iſle of *Dauphin*. There being no doubt that theſe ſhips belonged to the *French*, and that they had been joined by the ſavages, who diſappeared from that coaſt for ſome time, the governor of fort *St. Charles*, who expected to be attacked firſt, propoſed to blow it up, to render it unſerviceable for the *French*, and to carry over all its artillery and ammunition to *Point Siguenza*; but being ſingle in this opinion that project was dropt. Next morning the *Spaniſh* general underſtood that the ſhips, which had been ſeen, were either merchantment or tranſports, but ſoon after ſix real ſhips of war appeared towards the ſouth-eaſt. The *Spaniards* flattered themſelves at firſt, that they were the *Barlavento* fleet under *Cornejo*, but as they approached they ſoon appeared to be *French*. The *Spaniſh* governor upon this ſent *don Bruno Cavallero* with one hundred men to the fort upon the point of *Siguenza*, while he ſtationed himſelf in his own frigate, with the mareſchal *de Villars*, and two other frigates, in order of battle in the middle of the canal. While thoſe diſpoſitions were making, the *French* tacked towards the harbour, and fort *St. Charles* was aſſaulted by a number of ſavages, and ſome *French*.

which again falls into the hands of the French

THE commodore of the *French* ſquadron was the count *de Champmelin*, who, on the 31ſt of *Auguſt*, had arrived near the iſle of *Dauphin*, with five ſhips of war and two frigates belonging to the company. He met with two *Spaniſh* bylanders in the road, who had been ſtationed there to cut off all communication between the iſland and the *Mobile*; but on the appearance of his ſquadron they made the beſt of their way for *Penſacola*. Upon the arrival of *Champmelin*, *Serigny* diſpatched an expreſs from *Bienville* to aſſemble all the ſavages and *French* he could, and to carry them to the iſle of *Dau-*

Dauphin. A council of war was then held on the 5th of *September*, where it was agreed that *Bienville* ſhould inveſt fort *St. Charles* in *Penſacola*, with four or five hundred ſavages by land, while *Serigny* was to embark on board *Champmelin's* ſquadron to pilot it along the coaſt into the harbour. On the 7th a *Canadian*, who had been ſent to reconnoitre *Penſacola*, reported that eight veſſels were at anchor at the iſle of *St. Roſa*, where he could perceive a good number of tents and people walking about, and that in his opinion the fortifications, both on that iſland and upon *Penſocola*, were in a good condition, and well garriſoned. On the 10th the *Appalachian* ſavages brought in a *Spaniſh* priſoner, but he would diſcover nothing. On the 12th *Bienville* came on board the admiral; and on the night between the 13th and 14th, the admiral made the ſignal for three ſhips of war, the two companies frigates, and a little bark, to weigh anchor, and to cover the landing. The *Miſſiſſippi* company had ſent two hundred and fifty men to *Louiſiana*, who were diſtributed on board the ſhips of war; and *Bienville*, with the ſoldiers and volunteers, had been joined at *Rio Perdido* by the ſavages under the chevalier *de la Longueville*. Thus, he was in a condition to inveſt fort *St. Charles*, and to harraſs the *Spaniards* at *Penſacola*, which he did with great effect. On the 15th in the morning the *French* ſquadron weighed their anchors, and on the evening of the 16th they were within two cannon ſhot of the bar on the ſouth of the fort. Here *Champmelin* came to anchor, that he might ſound whether there was water ſufficient to carry his large ſhips over the bar. The officers were divided on that point; but *Serigny* offering to anſwer for the conſequences with his head, and affirming that there was a ſufficient depth, the ſquadron paſſed the bar, and a hot cannonading began for two hours and a half between them and the *Spaniards*, both from the ſhips and the forts, but at firſt to the advantage of the *Spaniards*, the *French* finding ſome difficulty to bring their ſhips to bear upon their enemy. At laſt the *French* entirely demoliſhed the fort and battery at *Point Siguenza*, and all the *Spaniſh* ſhips but two were diſabled; upon which *Champmelin* ſummoned *la Torre* to ſurrender, which he did, as did *Bruno*, who commanded at *Point Siguenza*. *Champmelin* then ſummoned *Matamoros*, who commanded at fort *St. Charles*, to ſurrender himſelf with his garriſon priſoners of war, otherwiſe neither he nor they were to expect any quarter, as *Bienville* would be ordered to ſtorm the place with five hundred ſavages and one hundred and fifty *Canadians*. *Matamoros* at firſt required two days to conſider, and diſmiſſed the *French* officer, who brought him the ſummons, without any other anſwer. But his garriſon inſiſting that the place was no longer tenable, he ſurrendered it, and *Champmelin* treated all the *Spaniſh* officers with great politeneſs. Next day *Champmelin* ſent his long-boat, with one of his officers, attended by a *Spaniſh* officer likewiſe, to order the commanders of the bylanders, which had run aground on the bottom of the bay, to bring them into the harbour: but they had ſaved themſelves by ſailing to fort *St. Joſeph*. The ſame day the *Spaniſh* garriſon evacuated fort *St. Charles*, and were ſent on board the *French* ſhips with all their cloaths and effects, but without their arms. *Champmelin* accommodated on board his own ſhip the principal of the *Spaniſh* officers; but was greatly puzzled how he ſhould diſpoſe of the other priſoners, who amounted to between twelve and fifteen hundred, and whoſe entertainment muſt have created a famine in his ſquadron, till at laſt he put ſix hundred of them on board the *St. Louis*, and ſent them to the *Havannah*. The loſs of the *French*, on this occaſion, did not amount to above ſix or ſeven killed, that of the *Spaniards* was unknown, for not above ſixty of their dead and wounded were diſcovered.

Severities of the Spaniards *to the* French *priſoners.*

ON the 24th, early in the morning, a *Spaniſh* brigantine entered the harbour of *Penſacola* without any diſtruſt, and was ſeized by *Champmelin*. It was commanded by one *Gonzalez*, and had ſailed from the *Havannah* with the proviſions, which the garriſon of *Penſacola* had ſo long expected; and which came in good ſeaſon to the half famiſhed *French*. Amongſt other letters brought by this ſhip, was one from *Chateaugué*, who was ſtill priſoner at the *Havannah* to *Bienville*, informing him, that the *Spaniſh* governor there refuſed to furniſh the *French* priſoners, officers, as well as ſoldiers and ſailors, with any allowance of proviſions, and that the common men were obliged to ſaw ſtones, and to work on the fortifications for their ſubſiſtence. *Champmelin* mentioned to the *Spaniards*, who were with him, thoſe inhumanities with great indignation, but he reſented them in no other ſhape than by informing the governor of the *Havannah* by a letter, that he was no ſtranger to his cruelty. After this, he puniſhed the *French*, who had been found at the garriſon of *Penſacola*, by ordering the moſt culpable to be hanged, and the others to be ſent to the gallies.

THE next ſubject of the *French* commodore's deliberation was, whether he ſhould preſerve or demoliſh the fort at *Penſacola*. The difficulty was, whether they could truſt the ſoldiers who were on board the fleet to garriſon it, they being a moſt worthleſs ſet of people, and either forced into the ſervice,

vice, or deſerters from the regulars. At laſt a middle way was reſolved on to avoid what had happened before. The two baſtions towards the land were demoliſhed, and the two towards the ſea preſerved, with a garriſon conſiſting of an officer, two ſerjeants, twenty ſoldiers, and twelve ſavages. On the third of *October* the duke *de Noailles* frigate arrived in *Penſacola* bay with inſtructions for the count *de Champmelin* from his court, that he ſhould winter with his ſquadron in *Louiſiana*, intelligence having been received, that a ſtrong fleet had ſailed from *Old Spain* to the gulph of *Mexico*. But *Champmelin*'s ſquadron, both ſhips and men, was in ſo miſerable a plight that he could not comply with thoſe orders. Some days after a *Spaniard*, who was the only man that had been ſaved out of the crew of a twenty-four gun frigate, that had been wrecked as ſhe was ſailing to revictual fort *St. Joſeph*, gave an account that he had ſailed ſixteen days before from *la Vera Cruz*, where he had left ſix ſhips of war, each mounting from fifty to ſeventy guns, with a large number of land forces, who were to be employed in diſpoſſeſſing the *French* from all the poſts they held in *Louiſiana*. Soon after, another *French* ſhip, which had ſailed thirty-five days from *Vera Cruz*, laden with proviſions and recruits for the garriſon at *Penſacola*, commanded by *don Franciſco de la Pena*, fell into *Champmelin's* hands, and the diſpatches which he found on board it confirmed all that the firſt *Spaniard* had reported. This intelligence did not alter *Champmelin*'s reſolution to ſet ſail for *France*, before the diſeaſes, that every day encreaſed amongſt the ſailors, ſhould entirely ruin his ſquadron. He was, however, obliged to leave behind him the *Mars*, on account of a peſtilential diſtemper, which prevailed amongſt her crew, with the mareſchal *de Villars*, and the count *de Thoulouſe*, both which ſhips were ſo ſhattered, that they could not put to ſea. *Champmelin*'s next care was to order *St. Denys*, who was greatly beloved amongſt the ſavages, to aſſemble in a body, that they might receive his thanks for their ſervices, and the affection they had manifeſted towards the *French* nation. *St. Denys* performed his orders with great propriety. When he convened them in a body he made them ſing the calumet in praiſe of the general, who, with his officers, aſſiſted at the ceremony. *St. Denys* then harangued them upon the manifeſt ſuperiority which the *French* nation had over all their enemies; and having exhorted them to continue ſtedfaſt in their attachments, he diſtributed amongſt them the preſents of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, and then he diſmiſſed them, highly ſatisfied with their treatment.

Preparations of the Spaniards *to retake* Penſacola

On

are laid aſide.

On the 21ſt of *October*, while the *French* ſquadron was getting under ſail, another *Spaniſh* bylander was taken in the bay of *Penſacola*, the captain of which reported, that he had left *Vera Cruz* eighteen days before, in company with a ſhip carrying forty-four guns, and three others of thirty, eighteen and twelve, and another bylander, the whole under the command of general *Cornejo*, whoſe orders were to join the governor of *Penſacola*, and to aſſiſt him in driving the *French* from all their poſts in *Louiſiana*. The ſame commander added, that he made no doubt that the iſle of *Dauphin*, and the fort upon the *Mobile*, were already in the hands of the *Spaniards*; and that having ſeparated from the ſquadron three days after he had left *Vera Cruz*, he knew not what had become of it. This account determined *Champmelin* to remain for ſome days longer at *Penſacola*; but no *Spaniards* then appearing, he ſet ſail for *France*. As to *Cornejo*, hearing on his voyage, that *Penſacola* had been taken by the *French*, and that their ſquadron was ſtill in that bay, he returned to *Vera Cruz*. Upon the departure of *Champmelin*, the chevalier *de Saujon*, another *French* commodore and general, arrived with a new ſquadron at *Louiſiana*; and, by his preſence, overawed the *Spaniards* from executing the deſigns we have mentioned. His intention, at firſt, was to have ſailed to fort *St. Joſeph*, to drive from thence the *Spaniards*. But *Bienville*, who had taken and abandoned it the year before, convinced him of its inutility, the difficulty of maintaining it, the danger to which ſhips are there expoſed; and, above all, the almoſt impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in ſo barren a country. His remonſtrances were backed by *Serigny*, who repreſented that the colony of *Louiſiana* itſelf was in ſuch imminent danger of being famiſhed, that they muſt be obliged to ſend to *France* a great many of their mouths on board the company's ſhips. *Saujou* upon all thoſe conſiderations laid aſide his expedition againſt fort *St. Joſeph*, and ſet ſail for *France*. He was followed by *Serigny*, who, upon his arrival at *Breſt*, was, in conſideration of the ſervices he had performed, appointed to the command of a king's ſhip. Three days after his departure, the *Toulouſe* and the *Henry*, both of them from *Toulon*, the one commanded by *de Valette*, and the other by *de Caſaro*, arrived in a very ſhattered condition in the road of the iſle of *Dauphin*. We ſhall but juſt mention, that before this time the *Miſſiſſippi* company had attracted the eyes of all *Europe*.

Account of the Miſſiſſippi *company.*

Mr. *LAW* had prevailed in transferring all the privileges of the *Eaſt India* company to the *Miſſiſſippi*, or *Weſt India* company, and in conſolidating both under the more ſimple title of the *India* company; and to their capital, which already conſiſted of a hundred million of livres, they were allowed to add five and twenty millions. The treaſurer of the royal bank at the ſame time was ordered to deliver them bank bills to the amount of twenty-five millions of livres, to be employed for the benefit of their trade in *Louiſiana*. In *July* following, the company obtained the grant of all the profits for nine years, ariſing from the coinage of gold and ſilver; in conſideration of twenty-five millions in ſpecie advanced to the government; and an arret, about the ſame time, was publiſhed, enabling the directors of the bank to iſſue two hundred and forty millions in bank bills, which rendered the ſtock of the company to conſiſt of four hundred millions of livres. Poſterity will have difficulty in believing to what a pitch the ſpirit of gaming prevailed at this time not only in *France*, but all over *Europe*. Though no dividend had been as yet made by the *Miſſiſſippi* company, yet, in *Auguſt* 1719, every ſhare of it that had been purchaſed for one hundred livres ſold for nine hundred. The romantic ſchemes which this infatuation produced, are incredible, and the madneſs prevailed ſo far, that the company at laſt offered to lend to the government one hundred and fifty millions ſterling, and even that ſum was found inſufficient for diſcharging the public debt. The court, however, availed themſelves of the phrenzy to get into their hands almoſt all the ready money in *France*, and, at laſt, the people came ſo far to their ſenſes, that the bubble burſt, but to the ruin of almoſt all the individuals in *France*, and of many in other parts of *Europe*. It was with difficulty that the *French* king's guards were able to protect *Law* from being torn in pieces, and to convey him ſafe out of *France*. As to the *Miſſiſſippi* company, it was ſeparated from that of the *Eaſt Indies*, and the trade to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies* returned to its former channels.

In the mean while, the directors of the *Miſſiſſippi* company had built no fewer than one hundred ſhips for carrying on the trade to *Louiſiana*, and father *Laval*, a jeſuit, profeſſor royal of hydrography in *Toulon*, had embarked on board one of the laſt ſhips from *France*, in order to make obſervations with regard to *Louiſiana*, but above all to fix the longitude on the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi*. The peſtilence, which then depopulated the ſouth of *France* had got into the two ſhips to ſuch a degree, that almoſt every ſailor was infected, and *Caſaro* dying of it, *Laval* remained on board without ever going to the *Miſſiſſippi*, from which he was diſtant but fourteen leagues, in order to take care of the ſick. All this while the *French* fort, which had been built amongſt the *Natches* and *Natchitoches*, ſupported itſelf, but ſome people of the company repaired thither, that they might have an opportunity of trading with the *Spaniards*; in which they were diſappointed; and this attempt contributed greatly to their ruin. Towards the end of the year, *Bienville* received an order from his court to ſend thither *St. Denys*, whom his moſt Chriſtian majeſty had, in conſideration of his ſervices, honoured with a captain's brevet, and the croſs of *St. Lewis*; and accordingly he ſet out the beginning of next year with a recruit of proviſions, and a reinforcement of men. At the ſame time *Chateaugué*, who, being freed from his impriſonment at the *Havannah*, had gone over to *France*, returned to *Louiſiana* with a commiſſion to be the king's lieutenant there, and reſumed the command of fort *St. Lewis* upon the *Mobile*, while *Bienville* again eſtabliſhed the head quarters of the colony at *Biloxi*, and there fixed the reſidence of the greateſt part of the troops, and the directors of the company, of whom he was the chief.

The *Louiſianians* were, at this time, under no apprehenſions from the *Spaniards*; for *Valette*, while he was at the iſle of *Dauphin*, had undoubted intelligence, that two *Spaniſh* ſhips of the line, who were to have aſſiſted in the reduction of *Penſacola*, had received counter-orders from the *Havannah*, in conſequence of a ſuſpenſion of arms that had taken place between the two crowns in *Europe*; and one of the preliminaries being, that *Penſacola* ſhould be reſtored to the *Spaniards*, the latter had given orders, that all hoſtilities on that account ſhould be ſuſpended likewiſe, to prevent fruitleſs expences. The late calamities that happened in *France* daily encreaſed the number of ſettlers in *Louiſiana*; and had the affairs of the company been well managed, it was thought they might have peopled both ſides of the *Miſſiſſippi*, from its mouth to the *Illinois* river. But the perpetual inclination which the directors of the company had to trade with the *Spaniards*, and yet to keep them at a diſtance from *Louiſiana*, ſtill led them into chimerical projects. *Bienville* this year formed a deſign of making a ſettlement in the bay *St. Lewis*, formerly that of *St. Bernard*; but he made a wrong choice of the perſon to whom he entruſted the execution of his project, and who failed up the river *Magdalen* for five or ſix leagues. Wherever he came, he found the ſavages upon their guard, and they informed him, that they were determined to ſuffer no ſtrangers to ſettle in their country. It was in vain he repreſented to them the advantages they would reap by their trading with the *French*, for their conſtant anſwer was, that they preferred their liberty to all other conſiderations. The officer, however, found means

Projects of the French *in* Louiſiana *defeated.*

to trepan ſome of their chiefs on board his veſſel, and to carry them to *Biloxi*, where *Bienville* ſeverely reprimanded him for his treachery, and ordered the ſavages to be reconducted to their own country. This attempt put the *Spaniards* upon their guard, and next year it was underſtood that they had built a fort on *St. Bernard*'s bay by way of precaution.

Towards the end of *May* 1722, a *Spaniſh* frigate of twenty-two guns arrived at *Biloxi*, having on board an *Iriſhman*, one *Wauchop*, an officer in the *Spaniſh* ſervice, who brought with him the articles of peace between the two crowns, one of which was the reſtitution of *Penſacola* to his Catholic majeſty, and the peace was celebrated at *Biloxi*, according to *Charlevoix*, who was preſent, with great appearances of ſincerity on both ſides. Every thing being then reſtored to a ſtate of tranquility, as ſoon as the *Spaniſh* frigate was ſailed, the head quarters of the colony of *Louiſiana* was transferred to *New Orleans* from *Biloxi*, with all the magazines, nothing being left there but a ſmall detachment with an officer. But though this removal was made by order of the company, it was executed with ſome reluctance; and a company of *Swiſſes*, with their captain at their head, carried the tranſport, in which they were embarked, to *Carolina*, leaving behind them only two officers, a ſerjeant, and ſome women, whoſe cloaths they carried along with them. This, and many other checks, which the company received about this time, reduced the colony to ſuch ſtraits, that the company was obliged to apply to the mother-country for freſh ſupplies. The *Engliſh* took advantage of their weakneſs to depreciate them in the eſteem of the ſavages, and particularly of the *Chactaws*, to whom they repreſented the friendſhip of the *French* as being inſignificant and uſeleſs, adviſing them to renounce it. The *Chactaws* were at that time the moſt numerous nation of all the ſavages in *Louiſiana*, and they were not inſenſible from their own experience, that great part of what the *Engliſh* ſaid was true. Had they deſerted the friendſhip of the *French*, their example would have been followed by all the other nations, and the colony of *Louiſiana* muſt ſoon have been ruined: nor indeed could any thing have prevented it, but the cloſe connexion at that time ſubſiſting between the courts of *France* and *Great-Britain*.

Many of them go over to the Engliſh. The coloniſts of *Louiſiana* perceiving the ſecurity and affluence, in which the people of *Carolina* lived, deſerted to them in ſuch numbers as put the *Engliſh* governor under ſome difficulties as to their reception. At laſt he ſent notice to

Bienville of the arrival of the *Swiſs* company in *Carolina,* and adviſed him to take meaſures for preventing the farther deſertion of his people, otherwiſe his colony muſt be irretrieveably ruined. It was not in *Bienville*'s power to follow this advice. His colony was made up of people who had been either impreſſed or baniſhed to it, or of adventurers, who had repaired thither from the hopes of gain, in which they now found themſelves diſappointed, and all of them ſought the firſt opportunity to leave it. Add to this, that multitudes were daily periſhing through hunger and ſickneſs. Thus, invincible neceſſity was the plea of the deſerters, who complained that they were forced to abandon *Louiſiana,* that they might obtain the neceſſaries of life elſewhere. Many of them teſtified the ſtrongeſt reluctance at what they did, as appeared by their behaviour towards a *French* ſhip very richly laden, which fell into their hands, and which they robbed only of ſome victuals and drink, leaving the cargoe untouched. When the captain, whoſe name was *Duclos,* ſeemed to be ſurprized at their moderation, they told him that they were not robbers, but brave unhappy people, who were compelled in that manner to ſatisfy the calls of nature.

A dreadful hurricane.

TO complete the misfortunes of the colony, on the 12th of *September* 1722, a moſt dreadful hurricane aroſe upon the *Miſſiſſippi,* which laſted from ten at night till noon next day, and was felt from *Biloxi* to the country of the *Natches.* It overthrew the church, the hoſpital, and thirty of the houſes and barracks of *New Orleans,* but without any perſon being killed, though ſome patients were wounded in the hoſpital: a vaſt number of boats, canoes, and other ſmall craft, were beat in pieces in the harbour, and three veſſels were run aſhore on the banks of the harbour, where the water had riſen eight feet. All the houſes above and below town were overthrown. At *Biloxi* the damage was ſtill greater; for there all the houſes and magazines were beat down, and great part of the fortifications were overflown. The tranſports, which were in the road, were run aſhore on the neighbouring iſlands and banks, and a great number of peruagas, bound to *New Orleans* with proviſions, were ſhipwrecked. All the vegetables that were fully ripe were deſtroyed, and the continual rains, that ſucceeded, ſpoiled the greateſt part of the younger growth.

Tranſactions between the French *and the ſavages of* Louiſiana.

THE *French* all this while had a ſkirmiſhing kind of a war with the *Chicachas,* which was very troubleſome to the colony traders, and it was feared that the effects of the hurricane would have given thoſe ſavages vaſt advantages; but this apprehenſion ſoon blew over. Two *Canadians,* father and ſon, had fallen into the hands of the *Chicachas*, whoſe chiefs, far from treating them ill, employed them to write to *Bienville*, to acquaint him, that if he would pardon them they ſhould be releaſed. They applied, at the ſame time, to *de Grave*, a *French* officer, who commanded amongſt the *Yaſous*, preſented him with a calumet, and begged to live with him in peace, which he thought proper to agree to. The *French* thought they had gained a great point in bringing over to their intereſt the *Chicachas*, who, on account of their connexions with the *Engliſh*, were moſt to be dreaded of all the *Louiſianian* ſavages; but were not ſo fortunate with regard to the *Natches*, who conſidered them as ſo many invaders and plunderers of their natural freedom and rights; and that the terms they were obliged to ſubmit to were impoſed upon them by force and violence, and therefore not binding upon them. The *French*, on the other hand, thinking they had done ſufficient to bridle thoſe ſavages, were at very little pains to manage them, and took few or no precautions to prevent a future rupture; for which the barbarians watched their opportunity. The *Illinois* was the next nation which the *Louiſianians*, at this time, had upon their hands; and the government, both of *Old* and *New France*, had always courted their friendſhip, on account of the conveniency which their territory and river afforded, for their retrieving all they had ceded in *America* in the treaty of *Utrecht*, by their forming a communication between *Canada* and *Louiſiana*. Monſ. *de Boiſbriand*, who commanded in that country, underſtanding that the *Illinois* of *Rocker* and *Pimiteouy* were beſieged by the *Outagamis*, ſet out to deliver them with a detachment of one hundred men, beſides ſeveral officers of diſtinction, and, at the ſame time, he ordered forty *French*, and four hundred ſavages to join him at *Pimiteouy*; but before thoſe reinforcements proceeded half-way they underſtood that the *Outagamis* had been obliged to retreat with the loſs of above ſixſcore men. Notwithſtanding this, the *Illinois*, though they had not loſt above twenty men, with a few women and children, reſolved to abandon *Rocher* and *Pimiteouy*, and to ſettle with their brethren living in *Louiſiana* upon the *Miſſiſſippi*; a junction, by no means unfavourable for the *French* jeſuits, who were thereby relieved from great fatigues: but it almoſt proved fatal to the intereſts of the two colonies of *New France* and *Louiſiana*, by the *Outagamis* cutting off the communication between them, and extending their incurſions all along the river of the *Illinois*.

The French maſſacred by the latter.

A *FRENCH* officer, one *St. Ange*, at that time, commanded in fort *du Chartres*, lying within the country of the *Illinois*, and by decoying a conſiderable number of the *Outagamis* into an ambuſcade, he put almoſt all of them to the ſword, and other parties met with the like fate. Such, however, was the nature of thoſe ſavages, that their enmity with the *French* ſeemed to encreaſe with their loſſes; and they found means to make other nations parties in their quarrel, who had before lived in good correſpondence with the *French*. In a ſhort time, all the neighbourhood of the *Miſſiſſippi* was ſo much infeſted by thoſe nations, that no *Frenchman* could come near it; they never giving any quarter, and always cutting them off, when an occaſion preſented. The *Natches*, who were enemies to the *French*, took this opportunity to declare openly againſt them, and put the brother of their grand chief at their head. This was an embarraſſing circumſtance to *Bienville*, who had no means of making head againſt ſo powerful a confederacy; but he was delivered from part of his diſtreſs by *Deliette*, who commanded in the *Natches* poſt, for he managed them with ſo much addreſs, that he perſuaded the grand chief of the *Natches* to deliver his brother into the hands of *Bienville*, who, on his part, generouſly pardoned him, and took him into his friendſhip; and ſo great were the marks of reciprocal confidence that paſſed between them, that their good underſtanding ſeemed to be perfectly reeſtabliſhed.

Religious ſtate of the colony.

FATHER *Charlevoix*, the hiſtorian of *New France*, was in the year 1722 in *Louiſiana*, and when he left it on his return to *Old France*, matters were there as we have deſcribed them. As this father's profeſſion and employment led him to report the fruits of his labours to the court who had ſent him on his travels, he repreſented, that *Louiſiana* was deſtitute of ſpiritual inſtructors (E); upon which, a number of capuchins were ſent over, and diſtributed amongſt the *French* ſettlers there. The miſſions amongſt the ſavages were ſupplied by the jeſuits, who offered themſelves volun-

---

(E) *Charlevoix*, on this occaſion, ſaid a great deal more, which may be expected from a jeſuit, upon the vaſt utility of his order, when acting as miſſionaries amongſt the ſavages. We are far from doubting either their zeal or addreſs; but we think it is plain from the courſe of this hiſtory, that thoſe fathers encouraged the ſavages in all their idle habits, and were even at pains to diſſuade them from the arts of induſtry, and that the vaſt intereſt they had at the court of *France* was, in fact, the great obſtacle to the proſperity of *Canada*.

tarily for that purpoſe. It happened, however, that no miſſionary was ſent amongſt the *Natches*, whoſe friendſhip was ſo valuable to the *French* in *Louiſiana*, and to this omiſſion *Charlevoix* attributes all the misfortunes that followed amongſt that people. About the ſame time, a number of *Urſulin* nuns went from *Old France* to *New Orleans*, where they undertook the education of their young countrywomen. Nothing more remarkable happened, with regard to this colony, till the
1726. year 1726, when *Perrier* was named commandant-general in *Louiſiana*, in the room of *de Bienville*, who returned to *France*.

DePerrier *governor.* EVERY thing was then in a ſtate of ſeeming tranquillity; but the new governor ſoon perceived the neceſſity he was under of applying to his court for an additional number of troops, for the protection of the colony. He plainly ſaw, that nothing but terror could continue the ſavages in their friendſhip with the *French*, and that the defenceleſs condition of the out-forts gave opportunities, both to the *Spaniards* and the *Engliſh*, of exciting the natives againſt the coloniſts. His apprehenſions, however, appear to have been groundleſs; nor do we know of any attempt made againſt the tranquillity of his government, during the firſt two years of it. His firſt application for an additional force ſeems to have been in 1759, when he demanded a reinforcement of three hundred good troops. It appears from the correſpondence, that paſſed between him and the company, that he was ſecretly thwarted in this ſollicitation by ſome people in *Louiſiana*; for the company's anſwer was, that he wanted more troops only that he might encreaſe the number of thoſe under him, or to make a war of parade at the company's expence. In return, he complained bitterly of thoſe who had adviſed the company not only to refuſe him his requeſt, but likewiſe the uſual preſents made to the ſavages to keep them in good humour. In another letter, he gives the following real, but new, character of thoſe barbarians. "We are, ſaid he, ſure of being good friends with them as long as we give them all they aſk for; but no ſooner are they ſenſible that we ſtand in need of them, than they multiply their neceſſities in ſuch a manner, that both the *Engliſh* and we become the dupes of thoſe ſavages, who are far leſs ſo than we are." *Charlevoix*, however, thinks *Perrier* was miſtaken, in adding that they never become what they ought to be, till after a good beating; for the father, whoſe order pretends to have the key to the characters of all thoſe *Indians*, is of opinion, that they never grow better after a beating, but when they know themſelves to be in the wrong; and that nothing renders them ſo irreclaimable, as when they are attacked and puniſhed without juſt grounds of provocation. *Perrier*, in another letter, tells the company, upon having farther experience of their diſpoſitions, that the beſt way of dealing with them, when their aſſiſtance is wanted, and when they are importunate for preſents, is to ſlight their help and tell them, that their aſſiſtance is of very little conſequence. "Then, continues he, they will follow you to a man. After that, if they grow importunate for their reward, tell them you did not invite them to join you: but whatever preſents become neceſſary, either to engage them on your ſide, or for bribing them into peace, you ought never then ſo far to depend upon their fidelity as to think yourſelf ſafe from being inſulted." Upon the whole, *Charlevoix*[*] is of opinion, that both *Perrier* and his opponents were miſtaken in their opinion of thoſe ſavages; and that the only method to have rendered them peaceable allies was to have made them good catholics.

General conſpiracy of the Natches *againſt the* French.

But a ſtorm was now hanging over the *French* in *Louiſiana*, that, had it not been for a mere accident, muſt have proved fatal to the whole colony. The *Chicachas*, inſtigated (as the *French* writers, with no great probability, pretend) by the *Engliſh*, had for ſome years been hatching a conſpiracy for exterminating the *French* out of *Louiſiana*. They had conducted their intrigues with ſo much ſecrecy, that none of the *French* ſavages, the *Illinois*, the *Akanſas*, or the *Tonicas*, had the leaſt ſuſpicion of their deſign. Notwithſtanding this, they brought into it all the nations who were not attached to the *French*, and it was agreed amongſt them, that, on a certain hour of the ſame day, all of them ſhould riſe at once, and each murder the *French* and their allies; and each was allotted to his ſhare of ſlaughter. The eaſtern *Chactaws*, the moſt numerous nation on all the continent, and, at all times, the allies of the *French*, were gained over to the conſpiracy, and endeavours were uſed to bring the weſtern *Chactaws* over likewiſe: but though they refuſed to conſent, they never diſcovered to the *French* their danger, till it was too late wholly to prevent it. *Perrier*, underſtanding that ſome of the *Chactaws* had quarrelled with M. *Diron d'Artaguette*, the commander of the fort upon the *Mobile*, invited the chiefs of their nation to meet him at *New Orleans*, to receive ſatisfaction for their complaints. They accordingly came, and after ſome parley, in which they expreſſed great ſatisfaction with *Perrier*, they departed with a reſolution to fail in their promiſes, which they had made to the *Chicachas*, of deſtroying all the *French* habitations upon the *Mobile*, and to manage ſo, that it ſhould be done by the *Natches*. This wicked project aroſe from an avaricious principle; for they thought that the *French* would be obliged to call them in, and pay them for their aſſiſtance, againſt the *Natches*, from whom they might be able to make a large booty beſides. The ſtate of the colony facilitated the execution of the conſpiracy. The governor had no ſuſpicion of the *Chicachas*; and he even depended upon the aſſiſtance of the *Natches*, in caſe of danger. The houſes of the coloniſts were mean and unſecure, and could make but little defence againſt a ſudden attack of the barbarians. Though *Louiſiana* contained ſeveral *French* forts, yet all of them, excepting that upon the *Mobile*, were built of paliſadoes, two thirds of which were rotten; and, though they had been ſtronger, they could have been of very little ſervice for protecting the houſes in the neighbourhood againſt the ſavages. Add to all this, the looſe ſecure manner in which the *French* lived with regard to the barbarians.

---

[*] Charlevoix, Vol. IV. p. 241.

ONE *de Chepar* was the commandant of the *French* fort amongſt the *Natches*. Notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the *French* to diſguiſe the matter, it appears plainly, even from their own relations, that the *French* commandants there were extremely oppreſſive to the inhabitants; and that the latter often complained, but without any redreſs. It was no wonder, therefore, if they diſſembled their reſentment, as their repreſentations ſerved but to heighten their miſeries; and they acted ſo artfully that their tyrants had no ſuſpicion of their intentions. On the 27th of *November*, 1729, a dark report was ſpread, as if the *Natches* intended to ſtrike ſome blow againſt the *French*. *Chepar* was ſo far from believing this ſurmiſe, that he threw into irons ſeven of the neighbouring *French* inhabitants, who had come into the fort to obtain his leave for putting themſelves under arms to prevent their being ſurprized. His ſecurity was ſuch, that he received thirty of the natives into the fort, and as many into his own houſe, and the *French* houſes in the neighbourhood, while others were lodged promiſcuouſly amongſt the other coloniſts, and in the carriages of the workmen, about two or three leagues diſtant from their village. The day pitched upon for the execution of the general maſſacre was not yet arrived: but the *Natches* had two reaſons for anticipating the ſame; the firſt was the arrival of ſome boats richly laden with merchandize for the uſe of the *French* garriſon there, and that amongſt the *Yaſous*, as well as other traders, and which they reſolved to ſeize before they were delivered; their ſecond reaſon was, becauſe ſome ſtrangers of rank were then upon a viſit to *Chepar*, and they could have an opportunity of arming themſelves without ſuſpicion, on pretext of going a hunting for the entertainment of the gueſts. They made this propoſal to the commandant, who accepted of it with great joy, and immediately they bought up from the inhabitants, guns, powder, and ball. On the 28th, they ſpread themſelves all about the *French* houſes in great numbers, giving out that they were going a hunting, and ſinging the calumet to the praiſes of the commandant and his company: but each returned to the poſt aſſigned him. Soon after the ſignal for execution was given by three diſtinct muſket ſhots diſcharged from the commandant's door; and then the general maſſacre began by the murders of the commandant himſelf, and his two gueſts, *Koli*, father and ſon. The only reſiſtance the ſavages met with was from M. *de la Loire des Urſins*, principal commiſſary of the *India* company, who had in his houſe eight *Frenchmen*. Here eight *Natches* were killed, and ſix *Frenchmen*; *la Loire* himſelf was ſurrounded by a party of the ſavages, of whom he killed four, and made a vigorous defence; but, at laſt, he was ſhot dead. Thoſe twelve were all the *Natches* that were killed on this melancholy occaſion. The barbarians, before entering upon their maſſacre, had tampered with the negroes of the colony, who had amongſt them two heads. Theſe perſuaded the others, that they would live free under the ſavages, and that all the *French* women and children ſaved would be their ſlaves; and that they had nothing to apprehend from the *French* in other quarters of the colony, becauſe all of them would be maſſacred at the ſame time. Notwithſtanding this, the barbarians had been ſo fearful of a diſcovery, that they had entruſted the ſecret to but a few. Two hundred *Frenchmen*, however, were murdered in an inſtant, and of all that poſt, which was the moſt populous of any in *Louiſiana*, not above twenty *French*, and five or ſix negroes, eſcaped, and moſt of them wounded. A hundred and fifty children, and eighty women, with about as many negroes, were made priſoners. Amongſt the murdered was *du Poiſſon*, the jeſuit miſſionary amongſt the *Akanſas*, who had ſtopt there in his journey to *New Orleans*, and *du Codere*, the *French* commandant amongſt the *Yaſous*, who happened to be there upon buſineſs.

Account of the Natches *maſſacre;*

DURING the maſſacre, the *Sun*, for ſo the grand chief of the *Natches* was called, was very tranquilly ſeated under a tobacco-penthouſe, belonging to the *Weſt India* company. He was preſented, at firſt, with the commandant's head, and then with thoſe of the chief *French* who had been maſſacred, which he ordered to be arranged round that of the commandant; and the heads of all the other *Frenchmen* that had been brought him were piled up in a heap. As to the bodies, they were devoured by dogs and birds of prey. Of all the *French* in the poſt, the ſavages ſpared only two workmen, a taylor and a carpenter, becauſe they could be of uſe to them. They did no hurt to the negro or *Indian* ſlaves, who ſubmitted to them without reſiſtance; but they murdered all the women who were big with child, or had children at their breaſt, becauſe they diſturbed them by their importunities. As to the others, they treated them as ſlaves, and with the greateſt cruelties. As ſoon as the *Natches* perceived that all the *French* were exterminated from amongſt them, they fell upon their houſes, ſtore-houſes, and the boats in the harbour, all which they plundered. As to the negroes, they treated them well, that they might ſell them to the more advantage to the *Engliſh* at *Carolina*; and, they aſſured the *French* female ſlaves, that there was not a *Frenchman* in all *Louiſiana* left alive, and that the *Engliſh* were on their march to take poſſeſſion of the country.

Of the few *French* who eſcaped, ſome ran into the woods, where they ſuffered vaſt miſery from cold and hunger. One, preferring a quick to a lingering death, entered a hut, which he perceived belonged to the ſavages, whom, to his great joy, he found to be *Yaſous*. They entertained him in the moſt friendly manner, by giving him not only meat and cloathing, but a peruaga to carry him to *New Orleans*. Their chief farther deſired him to acquaint M. *de Perrier*, that he and his nation had nothing to apprehend from the *Yaſous*; for that his nation would always remain faithfully attached to the *French*, and that he himſelf was going with his party to put all the *French* who were coming down the river upon their guard. This ſavage, probably, was not in the ſecret of his countrymen, who were involved in the conſpiracy. The *Frenchman* reached *New Orleans* ſoon after the news of the *Natches* maſſacre arrived, and found the inhabitants in the greateſt conſternation and concern for their countrymen amongſt the *Yaſous*; but they were comforted by the news their gueſt brought them. Their hopes were of ſhort continuance. On the 11th of *December*, father *Souel*, the jeſuit miſſionary amongſt the *Yaſous*, who lived in the ſame village with the *Corrois* and *Offogoulas*, as he was returning in the evening from viſiting the chief of the *Yaſous*, was killed, in paſſing the river, by ſeveral muſket ſhots; as was a chriſtian negro, his ſervant, as he was endeavouring to ſave his maſter's cabin from being pillaged by the murderers. *Charlevoix* ſays, that this miſſionary was greatly beloved by the ſavages, and that

and that of the Yaſous.

that they murdered him becauſe of the freedom he made uſe of in reproving them for a deteſtable crime, to which they were addicted. At firſt, they ſeemed to be ſorry for what they had done; but the *Yaſous* and the *Corrois*, who were in the ſame conſpiracy, ſoon returned to their murderous intention, calling out, "that now they had killed the chief of the prayer, they ought to exterminate all the reſt of the *French.*"

NEXT morning early, the ſavages appeared before the fort, which ſtood but a league from their village. At firſt it was believed that they came to ſing the calumet to the chevalier *des Roches*, who commanded in the abſence of *Codere*. It is remarkable, that, though the *Natches* maſſacre had happened fifteen days before, and though the diſtance between them and the *Yaſous* is but forty leagues by water, and fifteen by land, an inconſiderable ſpace in thoſe countries, yet the *French* amongſt the *Yaſous* had heard nothing of it. The ſavages, therefore, without any ſcruple, were admitted into the fort, where all at once they murdered the whole garriſon, conſiſting only of ſeventeen men. All they ſpared were four women and five children, of whom they made ſlaves. One of the murderers of *Souel* then dreſt himſelf in that miſſionary's caſſock, and went to inform the *Natches* of the deſtruction of all the *French* upon the river. This maſſacre was performed by the *Yaſous* and the *Corrois* jointly. The *Offogoulas* were then hunting, and, upon their return home, they were ſtrongly ſollicited to join in the conſpiracy: they expreſſed, however, ſo great a deteſtation of it, that they immediately removed from the village of the *Yaſous* to that of the *Tonicas*, whom they knew to be the moſt inviolably attached of all the ſavages in *Louiſiana* to the *French* intereſt. The inhabitants of *New Orleans* began to ſuſpect what had happened amongſt the *Yaſous*, when the arrival of father *Doutreleau*, a miſſionary amongſt the *Illinois*, put them out of all doubt of it. This jeſuit, having buſineſs to tranſact at *New Orleans*, took the opportunity of the *Illinois* winter-huntings to ſet out for that capital; and, the 1ſt of *January*, 1730, he ſtopt with his attendants to celebrate maſs at the mouth of the river *Yaſous*. While he was in his habits, a peruaga of *Yaſous* arrived, and informed him and his company, that they were *Yaſous*, and good friends to the *French*, preſenting them at the ſame time with ſome victuals. By accident, a flock of buſtards flew by, and the *Canadians* ſhot at them, without thinking of recharging their guns. The ſavages, perceiving this, mingled with the *French*, though they were not chriſtians, in the ſervice; and, watching their opportunity, they wounded *Doutreleau* in the arm, and ſhot dead one of his com-

1730.

Adventures of a jeſuit.

companions by his ſide. Two other *Frenchmen* who were with him, ſeeing this, ran towards their peruaga, not doubting but the jeſuit was killed, but, putting off from land, they ſaw the father, in his veſtments, making the beſt of his way thither alſo. On their putting back to take him in, he was again wounded by the ſavages, who purſued him; but, at laſt, the peruaga eſcaped, chiefly through the reſolution and good conduct of the miſſionary.

When they came oppoſite to the *Natches* village, where they deſigned to come a-ſhore at the landing-place, perceiving all the houſes within ſight to be burnt, or overturned, they changed their reſolution, and made the beſt of their way onwards. The ſavages did all they could to entice them a-ſhore; but, finding it to no purpoſe, they diſcharged a great number of ſhot againſt their peruaga, but it was ſoon without their reach. Proceeding to the bay of the *Tonicas*, where they likewiſe intended to make no ſtop, a peruaga, notwithſtanding all their haſte, overtook them. The father and his companions thought themſelves now irretrievably ruined; but were joyfully undeceived at hearing *French* ſpoke in the peruaga, and ſeeing it full of their countrymen. Being carried a-ſhore, they there found a body of *French* troops, who were upon their march to chaſtiſe the *Natches*. *Doutreleau* and his companions, having having had their wounds carefully dreſt, were put on board a peruaga, which was going expreſs to *New Orleans*; and he promiſed, that, as ſoon as he was perfectly cured, he would return and ſerve them in quality of almoner, during their expedition. But we we are now to return to the quarters of the governor-general.

Precautions of Perrier.

It was the 2d of *December*, before *Perrier* received the certain news of the *Natches* maſſacre; and he immediately diſpatched a *Swiſs* captain, with a detachment to put the *French* ſettlers on both ſides the river upon their guard, with orders that they ſhould raiſe redoubts at certain diſtances for the ſafety of their ſlaves and cattle, which was done with great readineſs. He next ordered the captain to take a narrow inſpection of the little tribes of ſavages, who live on the banks of the *Miſſiſſippi*, and that none of them ſhould be furniſhed with arms, but as he ſhould appoint. He then diſpatched a courier to the two heads of the *Chactaws*, who were then hunting near *Pontchartrain* to repair to him. Next day, there arrived at *New Orleans* a peruaga from the *Illinois* country, on board of which was a *Chactaw*, who deſired a private audience of him, which was immediately granted. He then told *Perrier*, that he was ſorry for the maſſacre of the *French*, which he would have prevented, had he not looked upon the report ſpread by the *Chicachas*, that they would maſſacre all the *French*, and deſtroy their houſes to be falſe. "My reaſon, added the ſavage, for diſbelieving this report was, their mentioning my nation amongſt the others, who were engaged in the conſpiracy; but, my father, if you will ſuffer me to proceed to my own country, I will ſoon return, and give you a ſatisfactory account of what I have done." *Perrier* having left this ſavage, others came from the petty tribes round, adviſing him to be upon his guard againſt the *Chactaws*. He, in the mean time, underſtood that two *Frenchmen* had been killed upon the *Mobile*, without the authors of the murders being diſcovered; but that the public report was, the *Chactaws* intended to attack the fort, and all the *French* dwellings there. *Perrier* would gladly have concealed thoſe diſcouraging tidings from the ſettlers; but they gained ground every day, till the conſternation became ſo general, that the whole colony was ſtruck with terror at the appearances of thirty *Chaouachas*, who live below *New Orleans*, and whom, for that reaſon, *de Perrier* ordered his negroes to deſtroy.

On the 5th of *December*, *Perrier* diſpatched a veſſel for *France*, to inform that court, and the *West India* company of the colony's ſituation and diſtreſſes; and deſiring them to ſend him ſuccours proportioned to his neceſſities. Two days after this, one of the *Chactaw* chiefs, whom he had ſent for, came to *New Orleans*, and informed him, that he had ſent his letter to their countrymen, and that he had invited all of them who were enemies to the *Natches* to march againſt them. The chief, at the ſame time, adviſed *Perrier* to be upon his guard againſt the ſmaller tribes. *Perrier*'s anſwer was, that he ſuſpected them alſo; but that, if they were in the conſpiracy againſt the *French*, it was becauſe they thought the *Chactaws* were ſo likewiſe; that, in all events he had provided againſt danger, and that he was not at all diſpleaſed, ſhould the *Chactaws* be informed that the conſpiracy was diſcovered. A *French* officer, one *Regis*, was then reſiding amongſt the *Chactaws*, to obſerve their diſpoſitions and motions; and *Perrier*, having had no tidings of him for ſome time, diſpatched *de Luſſer*, another *Swiſs* captain, to ſupply his place, and to make his report, as to the diſpoſition of the *Chactaws*. A day or two after, being the 4th of *January*, *Perrier* underſtood that the *Natches* had viſited the *Chactaws*, and ſung them the calumet, and this added to his diſquietudes; but on the 16th, he received a letter from *Regis*, informing him, that he had no ſooner communicated the contents of his commiſſion to the *Chactaws*, than they ſet up the death-ſong; that ſeven hundred warriors were actually on their march againſt the *Natches*, as an hundred and fifty more were towards the country of the *Yaſous*, in order to deliver the negro and *French* priſoners, whom the *Natches* were conducting to the country of the *Chicachas*. Next day, *Perrier* received a letter from *St. Denys*, who commanded at the *Natchitoche* poſt, which gave him him great pleaſure, as he underſtood that ſeveral *Natchitoches* aſſiſted the *Natches* in their maſſacre; but, by this letter, he found that *St. Denys* poſt was in no danger.

Deſpondency of the French *colony.*

THE *French* coloniſts were at this time under more apprehenſions than in danger; from an unbounded confidence they had put in *Perrier*, they fell, all at once, into deſpondency, from which *Perrier* himſelf was in no condition to relieve them. He had by this time received full proofs, that the petty tribes had been gained over by the *Chicachas* to enter into the conſpiracy againſt the *French*, and that the maſſacre muſt have been general, had not the *Natches* anticipated the day appointed for its execution. He farther learned, that an additional motive for this anticipation was that the *Natches* underſtanding the two *Chactaw* chiefs, who were repairing to *New Orleans*, did it only to amuſe the *French*, that they might the more fully enjoy the lading of ſixſcore horſes with *Engliſh* goods, that had entered the *Chactaw* country; that they would be the more eager to deſtroy the *French* ſettlements upon the river *Mobile* in order, by means of the *Engliſh*, to introduce plenty into their country. It does not clearly appear, from what motive the *Chactaws* changed their plan of politics with regard to the *French*; but, moſt probably, it aroſe from the preparations the *French* were making againſt the *Natches*, and which daunted them. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the moment *Regis* communicated to them *Perrier*'s invitation to join him, they declared, they would not receive into their country the *Engliſh* goods, and that, upon the return of their deputies, they would purſue their firſt plan, from which the *Engliſh* had perſuaded them to deviate, which was that of exterminating the *Natches*; and they frankly acknowledged their having encouraged them in their conſpiracy, that the *French*, finding how numerous their enemies were, might have recourſe to them for aſſiſtance. *Perrier*, having duly weighed all circumſtances, reſolved in all events to truſt the *Chactaws*, and to employ them againſt the *Natches*. At this time, it fortunately happened, that two of the company's veſſels arrived at *New Orleans*, which determined *Perrier* to loſe no time, in marching againſt the *Natches*; in engaging the

Chactaws to bring the leſſer tribes to enter into his party, or, at leaſt, to reſtrain them from joining in the conſpiracy; and to raiſe the inhabitants from their deſpondency. His forces, however, were inadequate to the numerous armies he had to encounter, as may appear from the following extract of one of his letters, written by him to the *French* miniſter, dated *March* 18, 1730.

Perrier's apology for his expedition.

" YOU are not, ſaid he, to judge of my undertaking by the ſmall number of forces I have for attacking our enemies. I ſee conſternation ſpreading every where, and that fear prevails every day. In this ſituation, I have concealed the numbers of our enemies, and given out, that the general conſpiracy is but a chimera, invented by the *Natches* to prevent our acting againſt them. Had it been in my power to purſue the moſt prudent plan, I ſhould have kept upon the defenſive, and have waited for troops from *France*, to prevent my being reproached for having ſacrificed two hundred *Frenchmen*, out of five or ſix hundred, which, perhaps, I have, for the defence of the mouth of the river. The event has ſhewn, that the moſt prudent part is not that which we ought always to follow. We were in a ſituation, that required violent remedies, and, if we cannot do hurt to our enemies, we ought, at leaſt, to ſtrike them with terror. By accident, we have done both, and we have acquitted ourſelves with honour in an expedition, the ſucceſs of which now gives us ſome time for reflexion. We have recovered above two hundred women and children, with all our negroes, and have obliged our enemies to abandon their forts, and their lands. If we could have retained our ſavages two or three days longer, not a *Natche* could have eſcaped; but ſuch are the meaſures I have taken, that their deſtruction is only poſtponed. I do not look upon them as our moſt cruel enemies, but upon the *Chicachas*, who are entirely devoted to the *Engliſh*, and, though in peace with us, have entirely conducted the plan of this general conſpiracy. I have not thought proper to engage the *Chactaws*, to make war upon them, which they earneſtly deſire to do, becauſe I have received neither orders, nor ſupplies from *France*; but they are ſo ſelfiſh a people, that it would coſt us a great deal to make a ſtep, which I am perſuaded they will do of themſelves, for very particular reaſons of reſentment."

His preparations at New Orleans.

THE bringing over the *Chactaws* to the *French* intereſt was now the great object, which *Perrier* had in view, together with the other ſavages in the neighbourhood of *Mobile* fort. He, therefore, as ſoon as he received the news of the *Natches* maſſacre, communicated the ſame to *Diron*, who commanded at that poſt; and afterwards ordered him to ſound the diſpoſitions of the *Chactaws*, that he might know how far he could depend upon them. Bur a great difficulty now preſented itſelf; for none could be found hardy enough to undertake a journey into the country of thoſe barbarians, whoſe friendſhip for the *French* remained ſtill ſo doubtful. One *le Sueur*, a native of *Canada*, who had been carried when he was very young to *Louiſiana*, and had lived moſtly amongſt the *Chactaws*, undertook the arduous taſk, and ſet out for fort *Mobile*. With infinite fatigue, he travelled through all their villages, where he was every where well received; and to him was owing the raiſing the ſeven hundred warriors, already mentioned, who had marched againſt the *Natches*. *Perrier*, in the mean while, ordered two of the company's ſhips to proceed as far up the river as the country of the *Tonicas*; and ſent expreſſes by land as far as the country of the *Illinois*, to inform the natives of what had happened, and of what he intended to do. He ordered a ditch to he dug round *New Orleans*, and guards to mount at the four corners of the city; forming the inhabitants into four companies of militia for its defence.

Loubois *commander of the expedition.*

Having more to apprehend as to the out-ſettlements and houſes, than for the capital, he ordered entrenchments to be every where caſt up, and forts to be built in the places that were the moſt expoſed. After that, he went to put himſelf at the head of his little army, which rendezvouſed at the bay of the *Tonicas*. He ſoon underſtood that his preſence was more neceſſary at *New Orleans*, where, if the *Chactaws* ſhould declare againſt the *French*, the negroes would certainly join them, as ſome of them had done the *Natches*, in hopes of recovering their liberty, and ſharing in the plunder. *Perrier*, reflecting upon all thoſe circumſtances, committed the conduct of his expedition againſt the *Natches* to the chevalier *de Loubois*, who was major of *New Orleans*, an officer of great experience and approved valour. The firſt effect of *Perrier's* diſpoſitions was, that the petty tribes living along the *Miſſiſſippi* entered into the intereſts of the *French*, and *le Sueur* perſuaded the ſavages near the *Mobile* to do the ſame. *Perrier* was aſſured of the fidelity and friendſhip of the *Illinois*, the *Akanſas*, the *Offogoulas*, the *Tonicas*, and, by what ſoon after happened, of the *Natchitoches*, and all thoſe people gave evident proofs of their attachment to the *French*, during the whole courſe of the war.

On the other hand, the *Natches* ſeemed no way diſmayed at the ſtorm that was gathering againſt them. At firſt, they were in hopes of gaining to their ſide the *Tonicas*, and for that purpoſe, ſent to them the *Tieux*, a petty tribe, which had

Courage of the Natches, *and account of the war againſt them.*

had lived for a long time in their country, to offer them part of the *French* ſpoils to induce them to join them. But this project was unſucceſsful, though they killed two ſtraggling *Frenchmen*. The ſieur *Merveilleux*, by this time, had arrived at the bay of the *Tonicas* with his detachment and ſome *French* ſoldiers, and entrenched himſelf to prevent ſurprizes. Eight days after, *Loubois* arrived with a reinforcement of five and twenty men, and found all the army properly ſecured, and in good condition. He had, before this, ſent off an officer, one *Mexplex*, with five men to obtain ſome knowledge of the enemies force and ſituation; and the better to ſucceed, he was ordered to amuſe them with certain propoſitions of peace. But the moment he landed his men, they were ſaluted with a diſcharge of muſquetry, which killed three of them, and he with the remaining two were made priſoners.

NEXT morning, the *Natches* ſent one of their *French* priſoners to *Loubois*, to make him ſome propoſals on their part; and the *French* hiſtorian obſerves that their offers were ſuch as teſtified great contempt for the *French*, and a vaſt haughtineſs on their own part. At firſt, they demanded that the ſieur *Brouttin*, who had been commandant in their country, and the grand chief of the *Tonicas*, ſhould be delivered into their hands as hoſtages. They then mentioned a great number of particular merchandizes, which they demanded in ranſom for the women, children, and ſlaves, who were priſoners in their hands; and all this with an air, as if they had been doing a favour to the *French* in making their demands ſo very moderate. The *French* hiſtorian ſays, but with no great colour of truth, that, had thoſe demands been complied with, their intention was to have cut the throats of all the *French* who were to have delivered the merchandizes, and then to have ſold all their priſoners to the *Engliſh*. Be this as it will, the *French* certainly detained the ſoldier, which the *Natches* looked upon as ſo great a breach of faith, that they burned the ſieur *Mexplex*, aud the other priſoner.

WHILE matters were in this ſituation, *le Sueur*, on the 27th of *January*, arrived in the country of the *Natches*, with the *Chactaws*, and immediately formed an attack upon the enemy. This impetuoſity was probably owing to his being ignorant that the *French* army was then lying in the bay of the *Tonicas*, or to his being unable to reſtrain the ardor of the ſavages, who wanted to have all the plunder and priſoners to themſelves, and likewiſe to have an allowance for the *French* priſoners, whom they ſhould ſet free. Their attack was ſo furious, that they killed fourſcore men, took ſixteen women priſoners, and retook fifty-one *French* women and children, the two workmen whom the *Natches* had ſaved, and one hundred and fifty negroes, male and female. This victory would have been compleat, if the *French* negroes, who had been gained over by the *Natches*, had not taken arms againſt the *Chactaws*, and prevented them from coming at their powder. *De Pratz* omits this action. Both *Perrier* and *Loubois* were greatly blamed for keeping the army ſo long inactive in the bay of the *Tonicas*; perhaps they had motives of intereſt or reſentment, but it certainly was ſhameful for *Loubois* to ſuffer the barbarians to carry away the greateſt honour of the expedition.

The Natchitoches *chaſtiſed by the* French.

THUS far we have followed the relation of father *Charlevoix*, who wrote from information; but M. *le Page du Pratz*, who was upon the ſpot, gives us a different idea of this war, and, in the remaining part of it, we ſhall chiefly follow his authority. According to him, *Loubois*, not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to attack the *Natches* without the *Chactaws*, built a fort among the *Tonicas*, where he enliſted ſome *French* who had eſcaped the maſſacre, and had been hoſpitably entertained by the *Tonicas*. Being unacquainted with the country between the *Tonicas* and the *Chactaws*, he had neglected to keep up a proper correſpondence with *le Sueur*, and impatient to know what was paſſing amongſt the *Natches*, he had employed *Mexplex*, with four other *Frenchmen*, to go as ſpies amongſt the enemy, though the *Tonicas* would have been infinitely more proper for that purpoſe. In the mean while, ſoon after the maſſacre of the *French*, the *Natches* had projected that of the *Natchitoches*, for their inviolable attachment to the *French*; but they were awed by *St. Denys*, the commandant of the *Natchitoches* poſt. They therefore took along with them a *French* female ſlave, and marched, to the number of an hundred and fifty warriors, in hopes that, under pretence of ſelling the ſlave, they ſhould get admittance into the fort, and ſurprize it. Stopping at a little diſtance from the poſt, they ſent *St. Denys* a calumet of peace, informing him at the ſame time, that they were to make him the arbiter of their differences between them and the *French*; and that they had brought with them a ſlave to confirm what they had ſaid. *St. Denys* anſwered the deputies, that he would admit ten of them with the ſlave into the fort, and would then receive their calumet of peace, and pay for the ſlave; that he ſaw their intention by their numbers, but that he would ſuffer them to return home, provided they brought him the *French* ſlave, whom he was willing to purchaſe. *St. Denys*, had at this time, in his fort about forty ſoldiers, and, at moſt, twenty *French* inhabitants; but, at his requeſt, the grand chief of the *Natchitoches* reinforced him with forty of his beſt warriors. Upon the return of the deputies to their countrymen, they were ſo exaſperated at their diſappointment, that they burnt the poor *Frenchwoman* within an intrenchment, which they had haſtily thrown up, that they might not be interrupted in the exerciſe of their diabolical cruelty. *St. Denys*, knowing what had been done, put arms into the hands of the forty *Natchitoches*, and leaving only twenty men in the fort, he attacked the *Natches* before day-break ſo bravely that he killed ſixty of them upon the ſpot, beſides a great number in the purſuit.

Three French *ſpies put to death.*

As to the affair of *Mexplex* and the other ſpies, *du Pratz* differs from *Charlevoix* in many particulars. He ſays, that the ſpies took no precautions to conceal themſelves, but drank brandy, and, marching through the open country, were within half a league of the grand *Natche*'s village, when they found they were ſurrounded. That they then threw themſelves into a ravine, from whence they fired upon the *Natches*, who called out for them to ſurrender, which they did not do, till a drunken *Navarrois* ſoldier, who underſtood the language and had abuſed them with his tongue, was ſhot dead. The other four then threw down their arms, and were carried before the grand *Sun*, who was a young man. They pretended their buſineſs was to offer him peace; "then why, replied the ſavage, did you, without provocation, fire upon my people?" The grand *Sun*, however, told them, that he was willing to treat of peace, and ordered that they ſhould walk about at liberty, but to be ſtrictly watched. His letter to *Loubois* was penned by his order by a *French* lady, who was a priſoner, one madame *des Noyers*, and his demands amounted to more than all the company was worth. The two ſoldiers who had been left were put to death without any torments; but *Mexplex* having been a commander in the firſt *Natches* war, he underwent the moſt horrible torments before his death; ſo magnanimouſly, according to *du Pratz*, that he did not gratify the barbarous curioſity of the ſavages, who wanted to know whether it was poſſible for pain to make a *French* commander roar out, or ſhed tears.

As ſoon as the *Natches* underſtood that the *French* were amongſt the *Tonicas*, they loſt all conduct and reſolution. The grand *Sun* ſeems to have been the only man of ſenſe and ſpirit amongſt them. He aſſembled a council of war, and ordered that the woman priſoner, who could ſpeak the *Natches* language the beſt, ſhould be introduced into it; which was accordingly done. At firſt, ſhe had no power to make any anſwer upon ſeeing herſelf ſurrounded by ſo many armed men; but they talked to her ſo gently, that ſhe recovered her ſpirits, and the grand *Sun* aſked her, whether it was ever known amongſt her warriors, after killing one another, that they could make peace in good earneſt. She ſatisfied him and the aſſembly, that nothing was more common; at which they ſeemed to be well pleaſed, and ſaid that *Mexplex*'s death ſhould ſtand for that of one of their own chiefs, who had been killed by *Bienville*'s order. She ſeemed to approve of this, and, after a few other queſtions, ſhe was diſmiſſed.

In the month of *February*, the *Chactaws* arrived in the *Natches* country, to the number of 15 or 1600, with *le Sueur* at their head. Their reaſon for coming in ſuch numbers, next to that of their being great cowards, was, that they might not be attacked by the *Natches*; all whoſe warriors together did not amount to that number. That they might be the more ſure of this, they fired, upon their approach, ſeveral guns to advertiſe the *Natches* of their arrival, that they might retire to their fort. The *Natches* had a contempt for the courage of the *Chactaws*, and would have readily attacked them; but they were afraid of their having amongſt them *French* troops, and were likewiſe ignorant of their numbers; and therefore they remained on the defenſive. Many of the *Natches* all this while, not imagining that the *French* would be ſo unadviſed as to attack them, lived at their eaſe in their country houſes; nor did the *Chactaws* diſturb them, though, had they been a little active, they might have taken the fair *Sun*, the grand *Sun*'s wife, who with difficulty eſcaped to the fort. They, however, entered her cabin, where they found ſeveral *Frenchwomen*, who, having pretended that they were unable to follow her in her flight, had remained, as thinking themſelves entirely ſafe amongſt the *Chactaws*, the allies of their countrymen. The *Chactaws*, upon entering the cabin, finding nothing, they aſked for the plunder of the fair *Sun*. The *Frenchwomen* replied, that it had been carried off with herſelf by her domeſtics, and explained the reaſons why they had remained behind. They ſoon found their confidence had been miſplaced; for they were all carried off as ſlaves, and one of them was wounded in the leg by a diſcharge of muſquetry, as they paſſed near the *Natches* fort. They likewiſe carried off an old *Natche* woman, whom they ſcalped and burnt at a ſlow fire. All the *Frenchwomen* were by them ſtript of the little the *Natches* had left them, ſo villainous was the nature of thoſe cowardly ſavages.

They are beſieged in their fort by the French *and* Chactaws.

All this while, the *Chactaws* and the *Natches* were firing at one another, but at too great a diſtance for either of them to do any harm; ſo that, during a whole month, while they reſided at *St. Catherine* in expectation of *Loubois*, not a man was killed on either ſide, though great quantities of powder and ball were expended. At laſt, in the month of *March*, *Loubois* arrived at the ancient *French* ſettlement amongſt the *Natches*. *Du Pratz* accounts for the late arrival of both armies by the *Chactaws* having their proviſions to prepare; their being loaded with their beds, their arms, and ammunition; and their being obliged to hunt for ſubſiſtence, during a march of three hundred miles, which many of them performed unwillingly, and therefore ſlowly. *Loubois*, on the other hand, though he had but a march of ten leagues to make, could not carry his heavy artillery by land, and the diſtance by water was almoſt twenty leagues; and he found great difficulty to tranſport his field pieces, even in that manner. The *French* army remained encamped under the ruins of their old ſettlement for five days, and were three days in marching from that to the *Natches* fort, though the diſtance was but one league, becauſe they were obliged by force of arms to drag their artillery along with them; but, at laſt, the trenches were opened. Some days after, the *Natches* made ſo ſudden and ſo briſk a ſally, that they drove the *French* out of their trenches [1]. It is ſomewhat ſurprizing, that, when four pieces of cannon were mounted on their batteries, the *French* could make no impreſſion upon the *Natches* fort. *Charlevoix* attributes this to the unſkilful management of their artillery; but *du Pratz*, to the conſtruction of the fort, which ſeems to have been formed of large maſſy piles or rafters of wood. The *Natches*, on the other hand, had drawn four cannons from the ruined fort of *Roſalia*, but not knowing how to uſe them, they did them little or no ſervice. If we are to believe *Charlevoix*, the *French* offered terms to the barbarians, if they would ſurrender, and they had upon their batteries ſeven pieces of cannon. Be this as it will, they certainly were but poorly provided with cannoneers, not a ſoul in their army knowing any thing of gunnery, excepting a ſerjeant. This fellow, perceiving that the cannon had not beat down a ſingle beam of the fort, filled his own pockets, and thoſe of another ſoldier, with hand-grenades, which they propoſed to throw over the palliſades; but *Loubois*, hearing of their intention, countermanded them, for fear of bad conſequences (F) to the *French* women-priſoners.

---

[1] Du Pratz hiſtoire de la Louiſiane. Tom. III. p. 287. Charlevoix, Tom. IV. p. 265.

ALL this while the *Chactaws* proved extremely troubleſome to the *French*, and behaved rather like tyrants than allies. They had been made to believe that the ſiege could not laſt eight hours, after the heavy artillery was brought up; but ſeeing the ſmall progreſs made in it, they were greatly chagrined, and took every opportunity of gratifying their inſolence and avarice, without contributing in the leaſt to the advantage of the ſiege, though arms and ammunition had been diſtributed amongſt them for that purpoſe. On the 15th of *February* the *French* interpreter, one *du Parc*, had orders to advance with a pair of *French* colours in his hand, and again to ſummon the fort to ſurrender. Coming near enough to be heard, he began his ſpeech, telling them that they might yet purchaſe their peace by giving liberty to their ſlaves and negroes. All the anſwer he received was a diſcharge of muſketry, which made him drop his colours, and truſt to his heels. The taking a pair of *French* colours would have been more than a triumph to the ſavages, and they reſolved, in all events, to attempt it under the favour of a ſally from the oppoſite ſide of the fort. Some *French* ſlaves happening to be near one of the gates of the fort, which was thereby left unguarded, took that opportunity of making their eſcape to the *French* camp, which they reached, notwithſtanding a ſhower of bullets was ſent after them. This incident ſomewhat retarded the ſally; but the colours muſt have fallen into the hands of the barbarians, had it not been for the courage and activity of a *French* ſoldier, nicknamed, for his diminutive ſize, the little *Pariſian*, who brought them off; and, upon preſenting them to *Loubois*, was rewarded with a ſerjeant's halbert. This languid ſtate of the ſiege againſt a barbarous enemy, evinces that ſome of the *French* officers, who were in the ſecret of their commander's murderous inſtructions, and the *French* ſoldiers, in general, were ſhocked in proſecuting their bloody orders. The following extract of a letter, which *de Perrier* ſent to his court, is a full proof of this. "If the opening the trenches, *ſays* he, has been long deferred, the delay has been occaſioned by the untowardly diſpoſition of the ſoldiers, and ſome other *Frenchmen*, who have thereby prevented the utter deſtruction of the *Natches*."

(F) We can by no means ſee the propriety of this reaſon, which is given by *du Pratz*, while the *French* were battering the fort with their great guns.

THE infernal fury with which the *Natches* continued to defend themſelves, is ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory. The *French* ſlave women, who made their eſcape, declared that they would not have attempted it had they not obſerved the enthuſiaſtic reſolution of the enemy, who left them nothing in view but a tragical death, which to them appeared inevitable. As to the *Natches*, they were ſo enraged at the eſcape of the women, that they murdered all their children with the moſt exquiſite torments, and expoſed their limbs upon the palliſades of the fort. This horrid ſpectacle contributed more than any other cauſe to their reduction; becauſe it took from thoſe *French*, who were their friends, all kind of tenderneſs towards them. On the 22d [m] the ſavages, to the number of three hundred, made a ſecond ſally by three different places on a poſt of the trenches, guarded by thirty men and two officers, who all of them took flight, not doubting of their enemy being joined by the *Chactaws*. The ſavages would have carried off the artillery of the poſt, had it not been for the valour of the chevalier *d'Artaguette*, who, attended by no more than five men, drove away the barbarians and re-eſtabliſhed the poſt. By this time, the trenches were advanced ſo near the fort that the enemy began to be daunted. *Charlevoix* tells us, though *du Pratz* is ſilent as to that particular, that when the battery was finiſhed the *French* general threatened to reduce the fort, and all within it to aſhes, if the *Natches* did not ſet at liberty their priſoners; upon which the beſieged immediately ſent out madame *des Noyers* with their terms, to which no anſwer was given, and ſhe remained with the *French*. *Du Pratz* only ſays, that upon advancing the trenches, the *Natches* gave over firing, and hoiſted a flag as a ſign that they wanted to parley. The *French* ſtopt their fire likewiſe, and ſoon after one *Ette Actal*, who had lived with *Bienville*, appeared from the fort. Coming before the general, he informed him, that the *Natches*, after holding many councils, had agreed to give up the *French* women and children, who were in their hands, on condition they were granted a durable peace, and were left in tranquillity in their own country, without being again moleſted or invaded. *Loubois*'s reply was, that he could promiſe them in the name of all his nation a laſting peace as they deſired; but that they muſt not only perform the conditions they had offered, but likewiſe releaſe all the *Frenchmen*, whom they kept in ſlavery in the fort, together with all the negroes and negroeſſes, with their children of both ſexes, who had belong-

They capitulate and outwit the French, ed to the *French*; that they ſhould reduce their fort to aſhes, and that as ſoon as the peace was concluded, and its conditions performed, the *French* and the *Chaƈtaws* would ſeparate and return home; with which anſwer *Ette Aƈtal* returned to the fort. In the mean while, the chief of the *Chactaws* had a conference with the grand *Sun*, in which he earneſtly exhorted him to ſurrender, his nation being ſo reſolved upon continuing the ſiege, that rather than abandon it they would ſow the lands round the fort for their maintenance. The *Natches*, on the other hand, reproached the *Chaƈtaws* with their being as forward as they themſelves were, in entering into the conſpiracy againſt the *French*; nor could the *Chaƈtaws* deny the charge. *Ette Aƈtal*, upon his return, laid before the great *Sun* the *French* propoſals; but (if we are to believe *Charlevoix*) they met with great difficulties; and the *Natches* ſtuck to their firſt propoſition of delivering up the priſoners only, and that into the hands of the *Chaƈtaws*; and that in the mean while the army and artillery ſhould be drawn off to the banks of the river, otherwiſe they threatened to burn all their priſoners. *Loubois* knew them, or pretended to know them, too well to doubt the performance of their threats, and drew off accordingly; upon which, on the 25th, the priſoners were put into the hands of the *Chaƈtaws*.

---

[m] CHARLEVOIX, Tom. IV. p. 266.

who vary in their accounts.

DU PRATZ ſays, that all the *French* conditions were accepted of, provided the *French* general promiſed not to enter the fort with his troops. Both hiſtorians are agreed, that it was not the intention of *Loubois* to ſuffer the *Natches* to eſcape; but when he came before it next morning he found it abandoned by every living creature, nothing left in it, but ſome bullets, old iron, and rags: a report which *du Pratz* ridicules, it being, he ſays, impoſſible for thoſe ſavages to have removed in one night all their women, children, houſhold furniture, bedding, arms, proviſions, and the rich *French* merchandizes they were poſſeſſed of. We cannot, however, help thinking, that this removal might have been executing for ſeveral days by the aſſiſtance of ſome of the *Chaƈtaws*, and even the *French* ſoldiers; but be that as it will, the fact is undoubted. *Loubois*, finding how matters were, ſeemed to be petrified with aſtoniſhment; and all he could do was to raiſe another fort on the banks of the river. Thus ended the military operations in this expedition; the relation of which contains many inconſiſtencies, the *French* not chuſing to avow the real intention, which plainly appears to have been to have butchered the *Natches*, notwithſtanding the capitulation. The reaſons alledged publickly by *Perrier*, why *Loubois* finiſhed ed an expedition of ſo great expectation and expence, by obtaining ſo poor an advantage as the releaſe of a few priſoners, are. Firſt, that he could not truſt to his troops after the ſeveral proofs he had of their cowardice. Secondly, there was reaſon to believe that the *Chactaws* would betray the *French*. Thirdly, that the *Natches* had given out, that the *Engliſh* and *Chicachas* were on their march to deliver them. The *French*, during the ſiege, loſt about fifteen men. About fifteen negroes fought very bravely, as did all the *Creoles* of the country, whoſe valour *Perrier* greatly extolled. Perhaps the cowardice attributed to the ſoldiers in this expedition aroſe from their humanity, and their deteſtation of their general's orders. Upon the whole, the *French Louiſianians* ſeem, on this occaſion, to have been the dupes (in more ſenſes than one) of the *Chactaws*, who were unwilling to diminiſh their own importance with them, by exterminating the *Natches*.

The Chactaws *oblige the* French *to redeem their own priſoners.*

THE *French* priſoners were all this while in the hands of the *Chactaws*, who, when required, refuſed to deliver them up without an exorbitant ranſom. *Loubois* found it in vain to reaſon with a people ſo inſatiably avaricious as they were, and offered them a reaſonable ſum. This was refuſed; and a battle muſt have enſued had it not been for the interpoſition of the chief of the *Tonicas*, who was greatly reſpected by all the ſavages, and perſuaded the *Chactaws* to accept of the ſum offered them, and to deliver up the priſoners, which at laſt they did. When the payment came to be made, the *French* found means to put it off till next day, but during the night ſent off all the women by water. Next morning, the *Chactaws* were given to underſtand, that it was impoſſible to raiſe the money and goods for their payment there, and that they muſt wait for it till the army returned to *New Orleans*. The ſavages returned no anſwer, but would have forced the women from the *French*, had they not been gone, and they detained a young *Frenchman*, and ſome negro ſlaves, who had been put into their hands by way of hoſtages. This affair being finiſhed, *Loubois* began to build his new fort, the command of which, according to *Charlevoix*, was given to the chevalier *d'Artaguette*, but according to *du Pratz*, to the baron *du Crenet*, with a garriſon of one hundred and twenty men, cannon and ammunition. After this, the army returned to *New Orleans*, as did the *Chactaws*, the *Tonicas*, and the other ſavages in alliance with the *French* to their ſeveral countries.

Charlevoix *an enemy to the* Natches *and* Chactaws.

WHEN the *French* women, who had been releaſed arrived at *New Orleans*, they were in a deplorable condition. They had been ſtript of their all, and fatigue and famine were painted in their countenances; but great care was taken to cloath and recover them by M. *de la Chaiſe*, the commiſſary, of *New Orleans*. Mean while the old fort of the *Natches* was demoliſhed, and all its palliſades burnt. *De Pratz* is of opinion, that the dread of the *Chactaws* was the true reaſon which induced the *Natches* to march out of their fort in the clandeſtine manner they did: but it appears ſufficiently from his own teſtimony, that without the aſſiſtance of ſome of the *Chactaws* they could not have carried their deſign into effect; though, according to all accounts, the *Chactaws* were the moſt deteſtable of all the *American* ſavages. The hatred which *Charlevoix* diſcovers towards the *Natches* is eaſily accounted for by the following ſtory he relates. Some time before the *Chactaws* openly declared themſelves for the *French*, they ſent a deputation to the *Natches* to endeavour to bring them into ſome accommodation with the *French*, and the deputies were received in the following manner. They themſelves and their horſes were adorned with the chauſibles, and the other ornaments of the altar of the *French* chapel that had been deſtroyed, many of them carried the pattens, depending from their necks, while others were drinking brandy out of the conſecrated cups and chalices. In ſhort, they put every thing they found in the chapel to the moſt profane and ſacrilegious uſes. This gave great pleaſure to the *Chactaws*, who afterwards became maſters of the ſame utenſils, and employed them to the like impious purpoſes. In ſhort, the *Chactaws*, as well as the *Natches*, were always deteſtable in the eyes of the *French*, notwithſtanding all the ſervices they did them; and the character they bear from a miſſionary in one of his letters, is in the following terms. "Never in *America* have yet been ſeen ſavages more inſolent, fierce, diſguſting, importunate and inſatiable than the *Chactaws*." *for what.*

Negroes *tortured.* NOTWITHSTANDING this character, which perhaps was a very true one, the *French* found themſelves under a neceſſity of keeping fair with thoſe monſters of nature. The *Natches*, far from being deſtroyed, lived to be more irreconcileable enemies to them than ever; and there was no room to doubt, that, deſperate as their condition was, they would leave nothing unattempted by themſelves or their allies to be revenged for the loſs of their country. Add to this, that the *Chicachas* had not yet declared themſelves: but it was well known they were the authors of the conſpiracy, and that they would be ſupported powerfully by the *Engliſh*, whenever they ſhould avow their enmity to the *French*. Such is the opinion of *Charlevoix*: but it ſeems to be founded only on the unfavourable prepoſſeſſions he all along diſcovers againſt the *Engliſh*; for the connexions at this time between the two courts in *Europe* were ſo great, that no governor nor ſubject belonging to the *Engliſh* in *America* durſt have ventured to have abetted the *Chicathas*, or any other ſavage nation, againſt the *French*. Amongſt the negroes, recovered from the *Natches*, were ſome who had fought againſt the *French*, who were immediately executed; but the three who were moſt guilty, were delivered over to the *Chactaws*, who burnt them with ſuch exquiſite torments, as to encreaſe the horrors of the other negroes at the ſavages, and to render them more docile to the *French*. As to the *Yaſous*, the *Corrois*, and the *Tioux*, they were ſtill more unfortunate than the *Natches*; for the *Akanſas* fell upon them; and maſſacred them in ſuch a manner that of the two firſt nations only fifteen remained alive, and they joined with the *Natches*; but every living ſoul of the *Tioux* was murdered.

Practices of the Chicachas.

About this time the ſecret practices of the *Chicachas* began to appear. They had in vain ſolicited the *Akanſas*, the *Tonicas*, and the *Illinois*, to join them in their conſpiracy, and no ſooner did the *Illinois* hear of the *Natches* and *Yaſous* maſſacres, than two companies of the *Mitchigamias* and *Kaſkaſquias*, both of them *Illinois* tribes, headed by two of their chiefs, arrived at *New Orleans* to bewail the miſſionaries, who had been maſſacred, and to offer to the *French* governor all the aſſiſtance that was in their power to give him. *Perrier* gave them audience with great ſtate, and their behaviour at *New Orleans* is ſaid to have been remarkably ſober and regular, an uncommon circumſtance, even amongſt Chriſtian ſavages, as the *Illinois* pretended to be. Upon taking leave of *Perrier* they promiſed him that they would take care of their own country, and all the upper part of the *Miſſiſſippi*. After this, *Perrier* pretended he had advice, that the *Engliſh* had ſollicited the *Chactaws* with conſiderable preſents to declare againſt the *French*, and he informed his court that he could not ſtand his ground without new reinforcements: he added, that it coſt more to keep theſe ſavages in employment than would maintain all his troops. That they were ſo capricious, inconſtant, and whimſical, it was unſafe to have any dependence upon them; that perſuaded as they were of their being neceſſary to the *French*, the moſt petty nation amongſt them believed themſelves to be the ſafeguards and bulwarks of the colony. That the forces neceſſary to be ſent for its ſupport might be gradually diminiſhed, as the *Creoles* grew up, and were trained; and that, in proceſs of time, great numbers of the ſavages ſeeing that the *French* had

The Natches *continue their incurſions.*

no farther occaſion for them, would declare in their favour. *Perrier* had but too juſt grounds for thoſe repreſentations. The *Natches* ſtill continued their incurſions and maſſacres, and ſix of them, pretending to be *Chactaws*, from whom they could not be diſtinguiſhed. were admitted into the new fort. For ſome time they walked about; but perceiving the entry to be guarded by a ſingle centinel, and that no more than four ſoldiers, and thoſe aſleep, were upon guard, they inſtantly killed the centinel, and they attacked the main-guard. The ſoldiers were alarmed, and taking to their arms, they killed five of the *Natches*, and made a priſoner of the ſixth, whom they put to death by burning upon the frame. Of the *French*, five were killed. About the ſame time, a party of the *Tonicas* having taken captive a female *Natche*, whom they brought to *New Orleans*, ſhe was put into their hands by order of *Perrier*, and they burnt her upon the frame (G), in order, as they ſaid, to ſhew the *French* how they put their enemies to death. It is almoſt incredible that this wretch ſuffered her torments, the moſt excruciating that can be conceived, without venting a groan, or ſhedding a tear, nothing eſcaping from her, but predictions of the puniſhment of her tormentors, which afterwards happened, as will appear by the ſequel.

SOON after a *French* woman, who heard ſome diſcharges of muſketry in a wood, alarmed the whole colony, as if it had been on the point of being invaded by the ſavages, and *Perrier* ordered his troops under arms, while a ſtrong detachment was ſent out to reconnoitre the enemy. The women of the colony took refuge, ſome in the church, and others on board a veſſel that lay in the road; and all the *French* had notice to be upon their guard; but the detachment, after the ſtricteſt ſearch, returned without diſcovering any enemy, and diſſipated the fears of the ſettlers. Notwithſtanding this, the *Natches* murdered nine *Frenchmen* and eighteen negroes; ſo that *Perrier* began to conſider, that the *French* muſt either abandon the colony, or the *Natches* be exterminated. Before he proceeded farther he found himſelf under a neceſſity to detach the *Chactaws* from the *Engliſh*, and he appointed their chiefs to give him the meeting at the *Mobile* fort, to which he repaired. On his landing there, he found the *Chactaw* chiefs waiting for him, and was agreeably ſurprized to meet

---

(G) The original has it, *ils la mirent au cadre.* This cadre was four ſticks tied together at right angles; to two of which the ſufferers hands were extended, and to the other his feet, and in this condition they were conſumed by a ſlow fire.

amongſt

amongſt them the grand chief of the *Caouitas*, a nation in great friendſhip with the *Engliſh*, and a *Chicacha* chief. By this time reinforcements had come from *France* to *New Orleans*, and *Perrier*'s firſt care was to inform himſelf minutely as to the effect which that news had upon the ſavages. He was told, that at firſt being conſcious that they had merited the reſentment of the *French*, they had refuſed to meet in a general aſſembly; but that they had been perſuaded to it by the chiefs of the weſtern *Chactaws*. It was the 27th of *October* before *Perrier* came to the *Mobile* fort, and on the 28th his negotiation opened with a vaſt number of ſpeeches on the part of the *Chactaws*, who profeſſed the moſt inviolable attachment to the *French* king, and very artfully inſinuated, that the wiſeſt courſe the *French* could purſue would be to forget all that had paſſed, and to live in good correſpondence together for the time to come. *Perrier* agreed to this; but talked ſeriouſly with them upon the negroes, whom they had taken from the *Natches*, and ſtill detained without ſending them, according to promiſe, to the colony. Their anſwer was, that they always had intended to ſend them, but that their maſters muſt ſend for them, becauſe ſeveral of them had been murdered in attempting to return.

Negotiations of Perrier *with the ſavages.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the differences between the eaſtern and the weſtern *Chactaws* ſeemed now to be made up, yet *Perrier* perceiving ſtill ſome jealouſies lurking amongſt them, he ſuggeſted to the weſtern part, who were friends to the *French*, the neceſſity of their having a chief as well as the eaſtern; adding, that he had caſt his eye for that purpoſe upon the head of the *Caſtachas*, who was a man of family, wiſdom, and courage (H). The ſavages unanimouſly accepted of this nomination, and *Perrier* dignified the work of his own hands with the ſuperb title of emperor of the *Caouitas*; beſides making him handſome preſents. The new made emperor, on his part, devoted his life to the ſervice of the *French*, and acknowledged their friendſhip, profeſſing, that if the *Engliſh* thought as they, all the nations would be more happy. But before we proceed farther, it is abſolutely neceſſary to give our readers ſome idea of the *Louiſianian* ſavages; eſpecially as they are now become ſubjects of *Great Britain*, which we ſhall do from *du Pratz*, who is incomparably the beſt authority on that ſubject.

AT the time *America* was diſcovered by *Columbus*, its continent probably, as well as its iſlands, was as well peopled as

Account of the natives

(H) We have given this fact from *Charlevoix*, though the reader will ſoon find great reaſon to doubt of its truth.

any part of the globe. That diſcovery was the epocha of deſtruction to the *Americans* in general. Beſides the infernal cruelty of the *Spaniards*, millions of the natives, unwilling to ſurvive the liberties of their country, or the deaths of their ſovereigns, devoted themſelves to death. As to the northern ſavages, two or three warlike nations amongſt them ſpread the like deſolation over their neighbours about the ſame fatal period. The *Chicachas* not only deſtroyed their neighbours, but carried their ravages, above five hundred and forty miles from their own country, into *New Mexico*, where they exterminated the natives. The *Iroquois* did the ſame towards the eaſt of *Louiſiana*, and their example was followed by the *Padoucas*, and other people towards the weſt, to the mutual depopulation of the conquering, as well as the vanquiſhed, countries. Beſides the ſword, two diſeaſes ſwept off infinite numbers of the natives, the ſmall-pox, and, what we generally call, coughs or defluxions, for both which the natives have ſcarce any remedy, though they have for almoſt all other diſorders. Their manner of living, a whole family being ſtewed up all together in one cabin, communicates the diſeaſe to the whole; and many of the ſavages chuſe rather to die than to outlive the beauty of their faces, which the ſmall-pox deſtroys. Their colds become fatal, for the ſame reaſon, as the ſmalleſt air affects them, after living for ſome time ſhut up within a cloſe cabin with a fire.

The Apalaches,

Alibamons,

Caouitas,

THE ſavages, who lie to the eaſt of *Louiſiana*, were the firſt that were known to the *Europeans*, and their nations are but few in number, compared to what they once were. The *Apalaches*, the moſt eaſterly of all the *Louiſianian* ſavages, are no other than a portion of the great nation of *Apalaches*, inhabiting the *Apalachean* mountains, which the *French* abſurdly pretended ought to be the boundaries between their poſſeſſions, and that of the *Engliſh* in *North America*. How they came to ſtray to ſuch a diſtance as to come into the neighbourhood of the *Mobile*, is not eaſily accounted for; but they are only few in number, and many of them are catholics. Towards the north of the *Apalaches* are the *Alibamons*, a nation, which, according to *du Pratz*, inclines rather to the *French* than the *Engliſh*, but were neglected by the former on account of their diſtance, when they ſettled upon the borders of the *Miſſiſſippi*. It is therefore probable, that a ſmall degree of management and good uſage may bring them entirely over to the *Engliſh*. Towards the eaſt of the *Alibamons* lie the *Caouitas*. M. *du Pratz* informs us, that *Bienville*, before *Perrier*, created an emperor of the *Caouitas*; but that they nobly rejected his nomination, ſaying that they had no idea of an emperor, who was created by, and depended on, another people; and that they would rather be deſtroyed by a great nation than obey it. How they came to fall from thoſe generous ſentiments by recognizing the emperor, whom *Perrier* gave them, cannot be eaſily accounted for. The *Caouitas* and the *Engliſh*, even when the *French* were moſt powerful in *Louiſiana*, traded together. To the north of the *Alibamons* are the *Abeikas* and the *Conchacs*, who probably are the ſame people. They lie at a diſtance from the large rivers, and therefore few great reeds or canes grow upon their lands; but they have a ſmall cane of a finger's thickneſs, which is ſo hard, that when ſplit it cuts like a knife, and it is therefore called *Conchac*, which is a *Chicacha* word, the language made uſe of by thoſe ſavages. To the eaſt of the *Abeikas* lie the *Cherokees*, who, of late, have become ſo famous in *England*. They were the bulwarks of the *Apalachean* ſavages againſt the inroads of the *Iroquois*, and had credit enough to form a confederacy againſt them amongſt the other ſavages we have named, which, for a long time, preſerved their country in a ſtate of tolerable tranquillity. All thoſe ſavages are the moſt free and independent of any in *America*, and it is to be lamented, that ſo little care has been taken on the part of *Great Britain* to reconcile them, if not to her allegiance, to her intereſts.

Abeikas, Conchacs.

Cherokees.

In deſcribing the other ſavages of *Louiſiana* we are to take for our guide the river *Mobile* on both its ſides, beginning from its mouth, and proceeding upwards. The tribe that lies neareſt the ſea is the *Chatots*, an inconſiderable, but inoffenſive people, moſt of them profeſſing to be catholics. Proceeding northwards lies fort *Lewis*, and to the north of that live the *Thomez*, a pliable, ſervile kind of a people, but likewiſe very inconſiderable, and catholics. To the north of them lie *Taenſas*, compoſed of no more than about one hundred cabins or families. This nation is a branch of the *Natches*, and preſerve with great aſſiduity the eternal fire which they commit to the cuſtody of men, for this very ſingular reaſon, becauſe their women would not ſubmit to ſacrifice their liberty in preſerving it. The *Mobilians* are the people that lie towards the mouth of the river *Mobile* or *Movill*. All the nations we have named are tractable and peaceable; for each ſeparately is too inconſiderable to be otherwiſe. All of them uſe the language of the *Chicachas*, who therefore acknowledge them to be their brothers. Towards the ſea, and to the weſt of the *Mobile*, lie the *Pachca Ogoulas*, or the nation of bread, whom we commonly call *Penſacolas*. This people is ſituated upon a bay of that name. They compoſe a

Chatots.

Thomez.

Pachca-Ogoulas.

ſmall village, and the *French Canadians* live amongſt them as the ſame people, but they are ſo peacable, that they have no idea of war, neither have they a warrior in all their village. Proceeding up the *Mobile*, between that and *Penſacola* river, Chactaws. lie the *Chactaws*, or the flat-heads, the moſt numerous of all the ſavage nations in *Louiſiana*, as they are able to muſter 25,000 warriors; a ſtupendous number for a nation of *American* natives. Two circumſtances contribute to their being ſo populous; the firſt is, that being a homely people in the features and lineaments they are no way uneaſy about ſurviving the effects of the ſmall-pox; a diſeaſe which they ſuffer with great indifference. The next reaſon is their pacific diſpoſition, which preſerves them from the ravages of war; ſo that their aſtoniſhing encreaſe gives riſe to a proverb amongſt the neighbouring ſavages, that they ſpring out of the ground. We are told by *du Pratz*, that on their arrival in *Louiſiana* they ſettled in the country where they live, without any diſpute about the poſſeſſion of it, and their vaſt numbers kept them from being moleſted, by deterring their neighbours from making any experiment of their valour. Our reader may know more of their character from the preceding part of this hiſtory. The *Chactaws* lie about eighty leagues to the northward of the ſea, and their country lies more from eaſt to weſt than from ſouth to north. The direct diſtance between Chicachas. the *Chactaws* and the *Chicachas*, who lie to the north, is but about ſixty leagues: but the road is almoſt impaſſable by the mountains that interpoſe, though the country is beautiful in keeping along the ſide of the *Mobile*. The *Chicachas* are a warlike people, their perſons ſtrong and well made, and their features regular. They appear at preſent to be the remains of a once powerful and numerous nation, which appears from the univerſality of their language amongſt moſt of the *Louiſianian* ſavages; and which the *French* term the Colapiſſas *Mobilian* tongue. The nation of the *Colapiſſas* or the *Aquelou-piſſas*, which ſignifies the people, who hear and ſee, live near *New Orleans*, but are of little or no conſequence, and the *French* have very little communication with them. About Oumas. twenty leagues from *New Orleans* lie the *Oumas*, or the red nation, who were almoſt exterminated at the firſt ſettlement of the *French* at *New Orleans*, by their immoderate uſe of Tonicas. brandy. The next nation that falls in our way are the *Tonicas*, who have been always remarkably devoted to the *French*. They had been once a powerful people, and the *French* king, as an acknowledgment of their ſervices, ſent their chief a brevet to be brigadier of the armies of the red nations, with a ſilver medal hanging at a blue ribbon, and a gold headed cane; all which he wore as marks of the higheſt diſtinction. This nation ſpeaks a different language from the others, and make no uſe of the letter (R), which they never pronounce.

Natches. THE *Natches*, whom we have had occaſion ſo often to mention, lie the next in order. In the year 1720, they were ſituated upon the little river which bears their name. There is, according to our authors, ſomewhat venerable in their original, and indeed their preſerving the eternal fire, with many other oriental uſages, that prevailed amongſt them, gives great room for ſpeculation. In their original ſtate their chief village, which was the reſidence of their grand *Sun*, lay upon the river, as their ſmaller villages did round it, and within a mile of the demoliſhed fort of *Roſalie*. Amongſt the *Natches* lived a foreign nation, called the *Griſgras*, ſo named by the *French*, from their frequent repetition of the letter (R), and likewiſe the remains of the *Thioux*, once a powerful people, but almoſt exterminated by the *Chicacaws*, with whom they were perpetually at war. According to tradition the *Natches* were formerly by far the moſt reſpectable people in all *North America*, and were acknowledged by all the other nations of it, as their ſuperiors and directors. They occupied all the territory from *Manchac*, which lies within fifty leagues of the ſea, to the river *Wabaſh*, an immenſe tract of country, part of that river lying about four hundred and ſixty leagues from the ſea. They had no fewer than five hundred *Suns* or princes, each of whom was deſpotic. The fatal eaſtern notions, though it is impoſſible to account by what means, prevailed amongſt them, and a grand *Sun* never died but he was attended to his tomb by great numbers of his ſubjects, who were murdered, and the ſame funeral rites were paid upon the deceaſe, even of a common *Sun*, or the ſon of the great *Sun*. Such was the infatuation of the people, that they ſought death on thoſe occaſions, as being the means of happineſs; for they thought that when they periſhed with their *Sun*, there was an end of their miſery, and the commencement of their happineſs. This depopulating barbarity, had there been no other cauſe, was ſufficient to have thinned the moſt populous nation; but the calamity was encreaſed by war. Their chiefs being independent each on the other, often quarrelled, and their power was ſo abſolute, that a word or a nod, was ſufficient to doom any number of their ſubjects to death, which was inſtantly inflicted by their allouez or guards. But the moſt extraordinary circumſtance of this remarkable people, was, that fundamentally their government was female, as the reader will find by the annexed

Griſgras.

Thioux.

note (I); the multiplication of their princes or *Suns* ſerved only for their deſtruction. *Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, the *Spaniſh*

(I) The grand chief of the *Natches* bears the name of *Sun*, and, as among the *Hurons*, the ſon of his neareſt female relations always ſucceeds him. This perſon has the quality of woman chief, and great honours are paid her, though ſhe ſeldom meddles in affairs of government. She has, as well as the chief himſelf, the power of life and death, and it is an uſual thing for them to order their guards, whom they call *Allouez*, to diſpatch any one who has the misfortune to be obnoxious to either. *Go rid me of this dog*, ſay they, and they are inſtantly obeyed. Their ſubjects, and even their chiefs of their villages, never come into their preſence without ſaluting them thrice, and raiſing a cry, or rather a ſort of howling. They do the ſame thing when they withdraw, and always retire going backwards. When they meet them they are obliged to ſtop, range themſelves in order on the road, and howl in the manner abovementioned till they are paſt. They are likewiſe obliged to carry them the beſt of their harveſt, and of the product of their hunting and fiſhing. In fine, no one, not even their neareſt relations, and thoſe who compoſe their nobility, when they have the honour to eat with them, have a right to drink out of the ſame cup, or put their hands in the ſame diſh.

Every morning, as ſoon as the ſun appears, the grand chief ſtands at the door of his cabbin, turns his face towards the eaſt, and howls thrice, proſtrating himſelf to the ground at the ſame time. A calumet is afterwards brought him, which is never uſed but upon this occaſion; he ſmoaks, and blows the tobacco firſt towards the ſun, and then towards the other three quarters of the world. He acknowledges no maſter but the ſun, from whom he pretends he derives his origin. He exerciſes an abſolute power over his ſubjects, whoſe lives and goods are entirely at his diſpoſal, and they can demand no payment for any labour he requires of them.

When the grand chief, or the woman chief, dies, all the *Allouez* are obliged to follow them to the other world, nor are they the only perſons who have this honour; for it is certainly reckoned one, and as ſuch, greatly ſought after. The death of a chief has been ſometimes known to coſt the lives of above one hundred perſons, and I have been told there are few *Natches* of any conſiderable note, who die without being attended to the country of ſouls, by ſome of their relations, friends, or ſervants. It appears from the different relations I have ſeen of theſe horrible ceremonies, that there is much variation in them. Here follows an account of the obſequies of a woman chief, which I had from a traveller, who was an eye-witneſs of it, and on whoſe ſincerity I have good reaſon to depend.

The

niſh hiſtorian, mentions them as being in his time, (though then they were greatly reduced) a very powerful nation. In the

---

The huſband of this woman not being noble, that is to ſay, of the family of the *Sun*, his eldeſt ſon, according to cuſtom, ſtrangled him. Afterwards every thing was taken out of the cabin, and a ſort of triumphant car was erected of it, on which were placed the body of the deceaſed and that of her huſband. Immediately after, twelve little children, whom their parents had ſtrangled, by order of the eldeſt ſon of the woman-chief, who ſucceeded to her dignity, were laid around the carcaſſes. This done, they erected in the public ſquare fourteen ſcaffolds, adorned with branches of trees and ſtuffs, on which were painted various figures. Thoſe ſcaffolds were deſigned for an equal number of perſons, who were to attend the woman-chief to the other world. Their relations ſtood around them, looking upon the permiſſion given, to ſacrifice themſelves in this manner, as the greateſt honour that could be done to their families. They are ſometimes ten years in ſoliciting this favour before hand, and thoſe who obtain it are obliged to ſpin the cord themſelves, with which they are to be ſtrangled.

They appeared on the ſcaffold, dreſſed in their richeſt habits, each having a large ſhell in his right hand. Their neareſt relation ſtood on the ſame hand, having a battle-ax in his left, and the cord which is to do the execution under his left arm. From time to time, he ſings the death-cry, at which the fourteen victims come down from the ſcaffolds, and dance all together in the ſquare before the temple, and the cabin of the woman-chief. This and the following days, great reſpect is paid them, each has five domeſtics to attend him, and their faces are painted red. Some add, that during the eight days preceding their death, they wear a red ribband on their leg, and that all that time every one is ſolicitous to regale them. Be this as it will, at the time I am now ſpeaking of, the fathers and mothers of the ſtrangled children took them in their arms, and diſpoſed themſelves on each ſide of the cabin, the fourteen deſtined to die, placed themſelves in the ſame manner, and were followed by the friends and relations of the deceaſed, who had all their hair cut off, which is their way of mourning; all this time, they made the air reſound with ſuch frightful cries, that one would have thought all the devils in hell had broke looſe, in order to come to howl in this place: this was followed with dances and ſongs; thoſe who were to die danced, and the relations of the woman-chief ſung.

At laſt the proceſſion began. The fathers and mothers carrying their dead children appeared firſt, walking two and two, and went immediately before the litter, in which was the corpſe of the woman chief, carried on the ſhoulders of four men. The reſt followed in the ſame order. At every ten paces the children were thrown upon the beginning of the preſent century they could have brough five or ſix thouſand warriors into the field; but before thei deſtruction by the *French*, they, the *Griſgras* and the *Thioux* we are told by *du Pratz*, could not muſter above 1200. Notwithſtanding the barbarous, ſtupid, attachment of thoſe people to their chiefs, it is certain that many of their *Suns* were en-

the ground, thoſe, who carried the litter trampling upon them, ſo that when the proceſſion arrived at the temple, their little bodies were quite torn to pieces.

While they were interring the corpſe of the woman-chief in the temple, the fourteen perſons deſtined to die were undreſſed, and ſeated on the ground before the gate, having each two *Indians* about him, one ſeated on his knees, and the other holding his hands behind him. The cords were paſſed round their necks, their heads were covered with the ſkin of a roe-buck, and after being made to ſwallow three pieces of tobacco, and to drink a glaſs of water, the relations of the woman-chief, who ſung all the time, drew the cords at each end till they were ſtrangled. After which all the carcaſes were thrown together into a ditch, and covered with earth.

When the grand chief dies, his nurſe, if ſtill alive, muſt die likewiſe. But it has often happened, that the *French* not being able to prevent this barbarity, have obtained leave to baptize the children who were to be ſtrangled, and thus have prevented their accompanying thoſe in whoſe honour they were ſtrangled, to their pretended paradiſe.

I know no nation on the continent, where the ſex is more diſorderly than in this. They are even forced by the grand chief and his ſubalterns, to proſtitute themſelves to all comers, and a woman is not the leſs eſteemed for being public. Tho' poligamy is permittted, and the number of wives which a man may have is unlimited, yet every one for the moſt part contents himſelf with one, whom he may divorce at pleaſure; but this, however, is a liberty never uſed by any but the chiefs. The women are tolerably well-looked for ſavages, and neat enough in their dreſs, and every thing belonging to them. The daughters of a noble family are allowed to marry none but private men; but they have a right to turn away their huſbands when they think proper, and marry another, provided there is no alliance between them.

If their huſbands are unfaithful to them, they may cauſe them to be put to death, but are not ſubject to the ſame law themſelves: on the contrary, they may entertain as many gallants as they pleaſe, without the huſband's daring to take it amiſs, this being a privilege attached to the blood of the *Sun*. He ſtands in a reſpectful poſture, in the preſence of his wife, never eats with her, ſalutes her in the ſame manner as the reſt of her domeſtics, and all the privilege which this burthenſome alliance procures him, is an exemption from travel, and ſome authority over his wife's ſervants.

dowed with principles of moderation and humanity, and withdrew from their community, and are now to be found diſperſed through different parts of *America*; but are eaſily known to be the offspring of *Natches*, by their preſerving the eternal fire, and other *Natche* cuſtoms.

Yaſous.
Coroas.
Illinois.
Renards.

FORTY leagues north of the *Natches*, on the eaſt of the *Miſſiſſippi*, lie the river and country or the *Yaſous*, which contain not above one hundred families. Adjacent to them lie the *Coroas*, *Chactchi-Oumas*, *Ouſé-Oumas*, and the *Tapouſſas*; all of them inconſiderable people, and chiefly diſtinguiſhed by their pronouncing and not pronouncing the letter, (R). After the *Natches* maſſacre all thoſe little tribes united themſelves under the *Chicachas*. Towards the north of the river *Wabaſh* lie the *Illinois*, whom we have ſo often mentioned, on the banks of a river, which carries their name. They are diſtinguiſhed into the *Tamaroas*, the *Caſkaquias*, the *Caouquias*, the *Pimiteouis*, and ſeveral other tribes. Near the *Tamaroa* village was a ſettlement of *French Canadians*, and one of the moſt conſiderable amongſt all the ſavage nations. In general the *Illinois* were always attached to the *French*, who protected them againſt the *Sioux*, the *Iroquois*, and their other enemies; and, though far from being deſtitute of courage, they were very peaceably diſpoſed. They are one of the nations who do not pronounce the letter (R). To the north of the *Illinois* lie the *Renards* or the foxes, whom the *French* were at war with for forty years. Between the *Renards* and the fall of *St. Anthony*, there is a ſpace of almoſt three hundred miles, uninhabited by any nation; but next to that lie the *Sioux*, a people, who are hitherto very little known in *Europe*, whatever travellers may pretend. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that they are diſperſed amongſt a vaſt number of villages both towards the eaſt and the weſt of *Miſſiſſippi* river.

Tchaouachas.
Ouachas.
Tchitimachas.

WE now come to objects of infinite concern to *Great Britain*; the inhabitants on the weſt of the *Miſſiſſippi*, who remain free, unſubdued, and unconnected, ſo far as we know, with any other people. The firſt are the *Tchaouachas* and the *Ouachas*, different tribes of the ſame nation. The *Tchitimachas* were of the *Natches* nation, and formerly a conſiderable people, inhabiting the borders of the lakes, towards the north of the *Tchaouachas*. They are extremely pacific, and ſo contented with their own condition, that rather than have their tranquillity broken, they abandoned all the advantages they could have expected from the protection of the *French*. One of them happened to kill a *French* miſſionary, for which the *French* made war upon them; but at laſt, up-

Natchicoches.
Cadodaquioux.
Ouachitas.
Arkanſas.
Kappas.
Mitchigamias.
Oſages.
Miſſouris.

remarkable for ſelling to the *French*, who were ſettled in *Louiſiana*, horſes, bullocks, and cows, at the price of about 18 s. ſterling each. Thoſe cattle were purchaſed from the *Spaniards* of *New Mexico*, who have ſuch quantities of them, that they are glad to get rid of them; and they multiply prodigiouſly in the hands of the *French Louiſianians*. About fifty leagues up the *Red River*, live the *Natchicoches*, who were always averſe to the *Spaniards*, but friendly to the *French*. They conſiſt of about two hundred families, diſperſed up and down the river. About an hundred leagues above the confluence of the *Red River*, live the great nation of the *Cadodaquioux*, which branches out into a vaſt number of tribes. This nation, as well as the *Natchitoches*, has a particular language, or dialect of their own; and yet, in all their villages, people are found, who ſpeak the *Chicacha* language, which they call their common tongue. Upon the *Black River*, lie the *Ouachitas*, who are now but few in number, having been moſtly deſtroyed by the *Chicachas*. The *Arkanſas* inhabit the borders of a river, that carries their own name. They are a very brave people, and excellent hunters. The *Chicachas* had often tried their valour, but always came off with the worſt; eſpecially after the *Kappas*, part of the *Illinois*, and the *Mitchigamias* joined them. They are all now blended into one nation. This happens often to be the caſe among the *American* ſavages. If a weak people ſhould be at war with another double their force, the former needs but to take refuge under another people, with whom the more powerful nation is at peace, and, if they adopt them, they are ſafe. Near the *Miſſouri* river, there is a conſiderable nation called the *Oſages*, which is ſaid to have been formerly numerous. The *Miſſouris* give name to that river, though they live above forty leagues above its mouth. The *French* once had a poſt amongſt the *Miſſouris*, which was commanded by the chevalier *de Bourgmont*. This gentleman, after reſtoring a good underſtanding amongſt all the neighbouring ſavages, who before were perpetually cutting one another's throats, happened to leave the garriſon; and ſoon after it was deſtroyed by the natives, ſo completely, that not a *Frenchman* was left alive to give the leaſt account of the cataſtrophe. It is ſurmiſed that the *Spaniards* had projected this maſſacre, in order to ſettle themſelves among the *Miſſouris*, whoſe country lies not above forty leagues diſtant from that of the *Illinois*. Their real deſign was to have exterminated the *Miſſouris* likewiſe; but, finding that impracticable, they gained over, by the force of preſents, the *Oſages*, whom they endeavoured to employ in the deſtruction of the *Miſſouris*. With this view, *Adventures of a Jacobine.*

they formed at *Santa Fe* a kind of caravan, or rather an ark, conſiſting of men, women, and ſoldiers. Their purſer was a Jacobine, and their commander in chief an engineer; but his colony was furniſhed with cattle, and beaſts of carriage of all kinds. Unfortunately for them, they knew ſo little of the place of their deſtination, that, inſtead of the country of the *Oſages*, they landed in that of the *Miſſouris*, and their interpreter, not doubting their being amongſt the *Oſages*, told them they came to make an alliance with them in order to exterminate the *Miſſouris*. The grand chief of the *Miſſouris*, to whom this diſcourſe was addreſſed, far from undeceiving the *Spaniards*, ſeemed to welcome them, and to promiſe himſelf and his nation vaſt benefits from their hopeful intention. He diſſembled ſo well, that he perſuaded his gueſts to remain with him for ſome days, till he could aſſemble his warriors, and conſult with his elders. The *Spaniards* fixed a day for their departure to take poſſeſſion of their new conqueſt; but, the night before, the *Miſſouris* cut the throats of them all, excepting the Jacobine, whom they perceived to be a man of prayer, and no warrior. Him they kept for ſome months priſoner, and diverted themſelves by making him in fair weather ride on horſeback; but in this, they outwitted themſelves, for the Jacobine one day mounted his horſe and got clear off. After his flight, the *Miſſouris* carried the ornaments of the Jacobine's chapel, which he had brought along with him, to ſell in the *French Illinois*, and each as they entered that country, was fantaſtically adorned by ſome piece of plate or veſtment belonging to the altar; but all of them arrived in ſolemn proceſſion, ſinging the calumet, and capering the dance of peace. *Boiſbriand* was then commandant of the *Illinois* poſt, and, hearing of the proceſſion, he was at firſt much ſcandalized, as fearing, that the ſavages had butchered and robbed ſome *French* ſettlement; but, underſtanding how matters went, he was greatly pleaſed, and gave the ſavages merchandizes for the furniture of the chapel, which he ſent to *Bienville*, the then *French* governor of *Louiſiana*.

Canchez. Outhouez. White *and* Black Panis. Panimahas. Aiaouis. Padoucas.

THE moſt conſiderable nations inhabiting the banks of the *Miſſouris* river, beſides the *Miſſouris* themſelves, are the *Canchez*, the *Outhouez*, and the *Oſages*, the *White* and the *Black Panis*, the *Panimahas*, the *Aiaouis*, and the *Padoucas*, who are the moſt numerous of them all, the others being but inconſiderable. To the north of all thoſe people, lie the *Sioux*, who are wandering ſavages, inhabiting both ſides of the *Miſſiſſippi*, and whoſe country extends farther than any *European* has knowledge of. But we are now to proſecute the thread of our hiſtory, and to attend the *Natches* to their extermination.

THE *Chicachas* remained ſtill contumacious, and *Perrier* treated one of their chiefs with great haughtineſs. He told him, that it depended entirely upon his countrymen themſelves to live happy and tranquil, and that he would reſume the tenderneſs of a father, as ſoon as they ſhould return to the obedience of children. We mention this, to ſhew the manner in which the *French* affected to treat thoſe ſavages. The *Chicacha* chief, without making any reply, eight days after, made an apology for himſelf and his nation, that ever ſince the *French* had withdrawn from trading with them, they had been perſecuted by the other ſavages. *Perrier* ſaid, that he could not anſwer for the *Canadian* ſavages; but that, as ſoon as they came to behave like good friends to the *French*, their perſecutions would ceaſe. As to the *Chactaws*, he had a more difficult province to manage. The company ſtill kept their merchandizes high, and they informed him, that they could purchaſe what they wanted from the *Engliſh*, at almoſt half price. *Perrier* was obliged to gratify them, to keep them from trading with the *Engliſh*; but, to convince them that he did not do this out of fear, he refuſed to employ them in the expedition he was then preparing againſt the *Natches*. This was no ſmall mortification to the *Chactaws*, eſpecially as a reinforcement at this time arrived at *New Orleans*, under *Perrier de Salvert*, brother to the governor. This reinforcement was very ſeaſonable, as the company had been very remiſs in that reſpect, and the governor's troops were ſo few, that he was in no condition to undertake any thing of conſequence: nor, indeed, was the reinforcement that arrived any ways adequate to his neceſſities.

A reinforcement arrives from France.

THE *Natches*, by this time, aſſiſted by ſome ſmaller tribes, had intrenched themſelves in three forts, from whence they diſturbed the navigation of the *Miſſiſſippi*, and rendered all the commerce of the *French* extremely precarious, which *Perrier* abſurdly attributed to the private aſſiſtance given them by the *Engliſh*. The reinforcement thus falling ſo ſhort of the governor's expectation, he was obliged to obſerve more gentleneſs towards the *Chactaws*, than he propoſed; and he even paid them a viſit, that he might prevent their joining with the *Engliſh*, during his expedition againſt the *Natches*. Upon his return to *New Orleans*, he found his little army ready to begin its march. His firſt care was to ſend one *Coulonges*, a *Canadian* officer, to ſummon the *Akanſas* to meet him at the new *French* fort, that had been built amongſt the

Expedition againſt the Natches.

Natches; and he ſent off another officer, one *Beaulieu*, to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy. It was the ninth of *December*, before *de Salvert* embarked with two hundred men, conſiſting of marines, volunteers, and ſailors; and his brother, the governor, next day ſet out with one company of grenadiers, and two made up of volunteers and fuſilleers: the whole amounting to two hundred men. The militia, under M. *de Benac*, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty men, ſo that the whole of the *French* force employed in this murderous expedition were five hundred. On the 20th of *December*, they were joined at *Bayagoulas* by a *Colapiſſa* chief, with about forty warriors of his nation. Next day *le Sueur* was detached in a kind of half-galley to ſail up the *Red River*, that he might thereby enter the *Black River*, or the *Ouatchitas*, where the *Natches* were ſuppoſed to have their chief reſidence, about ten leagues above the place where it runs into the *Miſſiſſippi*. On the 22d, the army marched in three diviſions from *Bayagoulas*; that on the right, conſiſting of marines, was commanded by *de Salvert*; the diviſion on the left, which was compoſed of militia by *de Benac*, and the general, who had under him the beſt officers in the army, commanded the center. The negroes were diſpoſed of in different boats, and the ſavages formed a ſeparate body. Their march was retarded by dreadful ſtorms and tempeſts, and by the overflowing of the river, which rendered the current ſo ſtrong againſt them, that they found it almoſt impracticable to go up it.

On the 27th, the detachment that had been ſent off under *Coulonges* and *Beaulieu* was attacked by the *Natches*. It conſiſted of twenty-four men, of whom ſixteen were killed or wounded, *Beaulieu* being amongſt the former, and *Coulonges* amongſt the latter. This loſs was rendered ſtill heavier, by the *Akanſas* returning home, upon their being diſguſted at the ſlowneſs of the *French* motions; *Perrier* having made too long a ſtay amongſt the *Tonicas*, beſides committing ſome other unneceſſary delays. His conduct was greatly blamed by the *Canadians*; but he defended it, by pretending that he could not truſt the ſavages he had to deal with, by ſending them to block up the *Natches*, which was the moſt important part of the expedition. Upon the 4th of *January*, 1731, one hundred and fifty ſavages of different nations joined the army. By this time, *Perrier* had detached *de Benac* to the *French Natches* fort, to make ſome diſcoveries, but he returned on the 9th, without gaining any intelligence. That ſame day, the ſavages, and fifty volunteers under *de Laye*, who commanded a company of militia, were detached in the van 1731.

Who ſhut themſelves up in a fort.

of the army to block up the *Natches*, as ſoon as they could be diſcovered; but the ſavages were ſo backward to the ſervice, that this detachment returned without effect. The governor, in proceeding up the *Red*, and entering the *Black*, *River*, had taken all imaginable precautions to keep the knowledge of his march from the enemy; but all was to no purpoſe, for the ſavages, who were under no diſcipline, fired at all the game they could ſee on either ſide of the river.

It is diſcovered and blockaded.

ON the 20th of *January*, *de Perrier* diſcovered the *Natches* fort to the weſt of the *Miſſiſſippi*, about ſixty leagues above the mouth of the *Red River* [u]. It was ſituated upon what was called *Silver Bay*, which ran into a ſmall lake, at a little diſtance from the fort. Notwithſtanding the diſorders of the ſavages during the march, the approach of the *French* was not perceived, and they ſurpriſed and ſeized a *Natche* boy, who was fiſhing, and who, being carried before *Perrier*, upon promiſe of life and other encouragement, conducted them the neareſt way to the *Natches* fort, which was immediately inveſted, and that too within ſuch a diſtance, that the beſieged and the beſiegers could talk with one another. The firſt day paſſed in ſkirmiſhes; but the artillery being landed and brought up, the *Natches* made a deſperate ſally and were repulſed. The fire continuing very hot upon the fort, the beſieged hoiſted a white flag, which was anſwered by another hoiſted by *Perrier* at the head of his trenches, and ſoon after one of the *Natches* appeared with two calumets of peace in his hand. Being introduced to the general, he demanded peace, and offered to give up all the negroes belonging to the *French* in the fort. *Perrier* inſiſted upon the chief of the *Natches* appearing before him. The deputy told him they were afraid to ſuffer him, but that he might have a conference with the grand chief at the head of his trenches. *Perrier* ordered him to bring the negroes, and then he would return him an anſwer. The deputy, after a little time, came back, bringing with him eighteen negroes and a negreſs; but he informed *Perrier*, that the *Sun* refuſed to come abroad, though he was willing to make peace, provided the *French* army would retire. In that caſe, he was to engage, that his nation never would commit any hoſtility againſt the *French*, but live peaceably upon the ſpot of their ancient habitation. *Perrier* anſwered, that he would hear of no terms, unleſs the chief ſhould appear, and that, if he ſhould be obliged to fire one cannon more, he would give no quarter, either to man, woman, or child. The deputy returned, and came back with a *Natche*, one *St. Come*, who being ſon of the female *Sun*, was to ſucceed to the ſunſhip. This *St. Come* had always lived in good correſpondence with the *French*, and told *Perrier* that his countrymen having agreed to all his demands, they expected he would draw off his troops; and, at the ſame time, he made apologies for what had happened. *Perrier* refuſed to agree to any terms, unleſs the grand *Sun* ſhould appear; that he would give him (*St. Come*) leave to return to the fort, but that he would fire upon any *Natche*, who durſt appear again before him, on pretence of treating, except in company with the grand *Sun*. *St. Come* took his leave, but, in about half an hour after, he returned with the grand *Sun*, and another chief, who was termed the chief of the *Corn*, and who, in fact, was the great adviſer of the *French* maſſacre; though *St. Come* wanted to conceal that circumſtance, and to throw the blame upon another. Being conducted to the *French* head quarters, the grand *Sun* began a long apology for himſelf, in which he pretended, that he was too young to have any hand in the maſſacre of the *French*, and *St. Come* confirmed what he ſaid. But the chief of the *Corn* behaved in a more ſurly manner; and *Perrier*, on pretence of inviting them to take ſhelter from a heavy rain that fell, put them all under a ſtrict arreſt, contrary to his faith, and the word of honour he had paſſed. He then ordered the *Tonica* chief, and the *Pointed Serpent*, who, it ſeems, was uncle to the grand *Sun*, but a friend of the *French*, to ſift the priſoners, which they did without gaining any information from them. *Le Sueur* was one of the three officers who had the charge of the priſoners, and in the night-time, they attempted to eſcape; but the grand *Sun* and *St. Come* were ſtopped by *le Sueur*, while the chief of the *Corn* got off (K).

---

[u] DU PRATZ, Vol. III. p. 318.

The grand Sun *and their chiefs ſurrender themſelves.*

ACCORDING to *du Pratz*, who mentions nothing of the arreſt of the grand *Sun* and his friends, a bomb fell into the middle of the fort, which did great execution upon the *Natche*'s women and children, and brought the men to offer to capitulate; but, during the night time, they endeavoured to break through the *French* camp, and to eſcape to the country of the *Chicachas*, as many of them actually did; but the reſt were ſtopt by the diſpoſitions made by *Perrier*. This ſcheme, according to *Charlevoix*, was laid by the chief of the *Corn*, who had eſcaped ſafe to the fort, and, at the head of

---

(K) *Charlevoix* and *du Pratz* differ ſo greatly in their relations of this black affair, that it is eaſy to perceive that the whole was a proceeding not to be avowed by any man, who pretends to common humanity.

and are ſent into ſlavery.

a few friends, bravely fought his way through the *French* to the country of the *Chicachas*. This being reported to the grand *Sun*, he diſowned all that had been done by the chief of the *Corn*, and pretended that he had uſurped his authority. Towards night, *Perrier* required the grand *Sun* to ſend his order to all his ſubjects to march out of the fort without arms, with their wives and children. The chief complied, and accordingly ſent the order; but they unanimouſly refuſed to obey it. Next day, his wife, with her brother and ſome domeſtics, arrived in the *French* camp, and ſhe was politely received by *Perrier*, on account of the good offices ſhe had done to the *French* female priſoners. As he had a great deſire to get into his hands the perſon of the ſhe-chief, who has more power among the *Natches*, than the grand *Sun* himſelf, the female *Sun* went ſeveral times to and from the fort to perſuade her to ſurrender herſelf. All ſhe could do was to perſuade about thirty-five men, and two hundred women to ſurrender. *Charlevoix* pretends that all the reſt eſcaped, excepting a woman in child-bed, and one man; but there is the greateſt reaſon to believe, from the difference of the *French* accounts, that moſt of them were murdered in cold blood. Upon the 26th, *Perrier* and the *French* officers endeavoured to perſuade the ſavages to purſue the *Natches*, who had eſcaped, which they refuſed to do, ſaying that, as they had now no enemy to deal with, they would return home. The ſame day all the priſoners were fettered, and carried ſlaves to *New Orleans*; the grand *Sun* and his relations were put on board the *St. Lewis*, and the reſt of the nation, conſiſting of four hundred *Natches*, were carried in other ſhips. When they arrived at *New Orleans*, they were confined in ſeparate priſons, from whence they were carried in ſlavery to *St. Domingo*; and thus, ſays *du Pratz*, periſhed a people, formerly the moſt illuſtrious in all *Louiſiana*, and the moſt uſeful to the *French*.

The Natches *exaſperated.*

THE remains of the *Natches*, who had eſcaped under the chief of the *Corn*, and by other means, were incorporated amongſt other tribes, who had once deſcended from them, which *le Sucur* underſtanding, he undertook to exterminate them at the head of a body of volunteers; but *Perrier*, who had a very indifferent opinion of thoſe volunteers, refuſed to agree to this propoſal. The barbarous meaſure of ſending the grand *Sun*, his family and relations, as ſlaves to *St. Domingo*, exaſperated the remains of the nation beyond expreſſion, and they ſhewed a ſpirit becoming a brave though conquered people. In the month of *April*, the grand chief of the *Tonicas* came to *New Orleans*, and informed *Perrier*, that, being a hunting, four of the *Natches* had accoſted him to beg his interpoſition for a reconciliation with the *French*, adding that even they, who had retired to the country of the *Chicachas*, were deſirous of it, and that they were willing to live on any ſpot that ſhould be aſſigned them; but more eſpecially, if it ſhould be near the *Tonicas*: but the chief ſaid, he wou'd give them no anſwer till he ſhould conſult *Perrier*. The latter's anſwer was, that he conſented to their ſettling within two leagues of the *Tonica* village, but no nearer, to avoid quarrels between the two nations; and with the expreſs condition of their repairing to the place of ſettlement without arms. The *Tonica* chief promiſed to conform himſelf to thoſe inſtructions; but when he returned home, he neglected them ſo far, as to admit into his village thirty *Natches*, after having diſarmed them. In the mean while, fifteen other *Natches*, and twenty women, came to the *Natches* fort, commanded by the baron *de Creſnay*. A few days after, the chief of the *Corn* arrived amongſt the *Tonicas*, with one hundred men, their wives and children, having firſt concealed fifty *Chicachas* and *Corrois* in the reeds growing round the village.

They maſſacre the chief of the Tonicas *and his followers.*

THE grand chief of the *Tonicas* declared, that he could not admit them unleſs they were diſarmed. To this condition they ſeemed to have no objection, only they begged that they might not reſign their arms all of a ſudden, leſt their women ſhould imagine them all to be priſoners, and condemned to death. The *Tonica* chief agreed to this, and after diſtributing proviſions to his gueſts, they danced all together till after midnight, when the *Tonicas* retired to their cabins, imagining the *Natches* would go to ſleep likewiſe. But an hour before day-break, it being then the 14th of *June*, the *Natches* and their confederates ruſhed into the *Tonica* cabins, and murdered all whom they found aſleep. The *Tonica* grand chief, hearing a noiſe, ran out of his cabin, and killed five *Natches* with his own hand; but, at laſt, he was overpowered, and cut in pieces with twelve of his followers. His general, or commanding officer under him, rallied about a dozen of his warriors, with whom he made good his grand chief's cabin, and defended it ſo bravely, that the fugitive *Tonicas* repaired to his aſſiſtance, and killed thirty-three of the *Natches*, beſides making three priſoners, whom they burnt. Of the *Natches*, twenty men were killed, and as many wounded. Such is the relation *Charlevoix* gives of this maſſacre; but from what *du Pratz* ſays, it appears, as if the *Natches* had been exaſperated to it by the cruelties which the *French* and the *Tonicas* uſed towards their nation; and, indeed, thoſe two authorities agree in no ſingle circumſtance of their narratives; for *du Pratz* pretends that almoſt the whole *Tonica* nation was maſſacred on this occaſion.

A new war ſet on foot againſt them.

PERRIER, hearing of this attempt, ſent the chevalier *d'Artaguette* with orders to raiſe the other ſavages, and to purſue the *Nutches*, and, at the ſame time, to put *de Creſnay* upon his guard againſt the *Natches*, who were in his fort. *Charlevoix*, againſt every appearance of probability, pretends that thoſe *Natches* attacked the *French*, who killed every man, woman, and child of them, in their own defence; and that another party of fifteen, with their chief, being put in irons in the iſle of *Toulouſe*, roſe upon the *French*, who were obliged to put every one of them likewiſe to death. In the mean while, the chief of the *Corn*, after the maſſacre of the *Tonicas*, joined the remains of his nation, who were ſettled upon the *Black River*, and led them to the country of the *Natchitoches*, and beſieged *St. Denys* in the fort, where he commanded with a very weak garriſon. *Perrier* immediately diſpatched, on the 21ſt of *October*, *Loubois*, at the head of ſixy men, from *New Orleans* to his aſſiſtance. When he advanced ſix leagues up the *Red River*, he received intelligence, that the ſtrength of the *Natchitoches* being greatly inferior to that of the *Natches*, they had been obliged to abandon their village, which the *Natches* had taken poſſeſſion of, and had intrenched themſelves in it; that *St. Denys* having received a reinforcement of *Aſſinais* and *Attacapas*, with ſome *Spaniards*, had forced the *Natches* intrenchments, and had killed eighty-two of them, with all their chiefs; and that the *Natchitoches* were in purſuit of their enemy (L).

FEW of the *Natches* now remained alive; but their ſufferings affected the *Chicachas* ſo much, that they gave them refuge, and even interrupted the *French* commerce. *Charlevoix* ſays, that at this time, the *Chicachas* were the moſt warlike of all the ſavages in *Louiſiana*, and that they could bring to the field 1000 warriors, beſides the remains of the *Natches*, the *Yaſous*, and the *Corrois*, who were ready to join them. In ſhort, the coloniſts of *Louiſiana* ſaw a new war almoſt inevitable, which threatened to put an end to their eſtabliſhment. The *Chicachas*, if we are to believe *Charlevoix*, were inſtigated by the *Engliſh* in all their practices againſt the *French*. There is, however, no proof of this but his own

---

(L) All thoſe relations concerning the *Natches* generally terminate in maſſacring them. The reader, perhaps, will be of opinion with us, that the introductory narratives are only deſigned to ſcreen thoſe deteſtable ſcenes of murder.

ſurmiſe; but it is probable, that a conſpiracy was at this time actually formed amongſt the *Louiſianian* negroes who had been imported into the colony, an event which we have often ſeen happen in other countries, without any inſtigation but the love either of liberty, power, or revenge. The progreſs of this conſpiracy is related as follows by *du Pratz.*

Conſpiracy of the negroes ſuppreſſed.

A NEGRESS and a ſoldier happening to quarrel about a trifling incident, the fellow beat her ſeverely, and ſhe was heard to mutter that *Frenchmen* would not long have it in their power to beat negroes. Upon this the poor wretch was taken up and confined in priſon, where ſhe was examined, and, very probably, put to the torture by the lieutenant-criminal, but without his being able to draw any thing from her. *Du Pratz*, hearing of this affair, offered his ſervices to *Perrier*, and the government, for diſcovering the truth, and preventing the effects of the conſpiracy, which they ſeemed to make light of; but, at laſt, his reaſons brought them over to think there might be ſome reality in it. *Du Pratz* went in the night-time to the negro camp, attended by another negro, whom he could truſt, and after opening the outer gate, they went from cabin to cabin, *du Pratz* being convinced that ſome of them certainly would be caballing together concerning their intended project. At laſt, they diſcovered a light in one of the cabins, and creeping ſoftly near they found three negroes in conſultation, and one of them adviſing the other two to be very cautious whom they truſted, becauſe *du Pratz* was ſo well-beloved by their countrymen, that they might be diſcovered. As *du Pratz* himſelf was a conſiderable planter, and, chief director of the company's negroes, he was ſurprized to find that one of thoſe ſlaves was his head negro, and his chief confident, and upon liſtening farther, he perceived that the conſpiracy was far advanced, and cautiouſly managed, and that they only waited to be joined by the negroes in the country of the *Illinois*; and that the three in conſultation were the head negroes of all the colony. *Du Pratz* and his companion, who ſerved as his interpreter, withdrew ſoftly, and upon comparing together what they had heard, found that eight negroes were capitally concerned in the conſpiracy, ſix of whom they knew perſonally. Next morning, *du Pratz* communicated to *Perrier* all he had learned, and the governor promiſed that whatever aſſiſtance he could deſire ſhould be readily granted him, in ſecuring the ſix conſpirators whom they knew, and diſcovering the other two. Next night, *du Pratz* came to the knowledge of the other two, and made ſuch a diſpoſition of the whole body, in aſſigning them their different taſks, that the chief conſpirators were ſeparated from each other. The meaſures which *du Pratz* took in conſequence of this diſcovery were childiſh and trifling, and ſeem to have been concerted only with a view of giving his countrymen and readers high ideas of his refined policy. The whole terminated in his arreſting and putting in irons all the eight conſpirators without any reſiſtance, and confining them in ſeparate priſons, to the great ſatisfaction of *Perrier*. The morning after they were ſeized, they were tortured with burning matches; but they would confeſs nothing, though the torture was ſeveral times repeated. If we are to believe *du Pratz*, the head of the conſpiracy was one *Samba*, who, after betraying the *French* in *Africa*, was put on board a ſhip, where he conſpired with his countrymen to murder all the crew; but being diſcovered they were put in irons, and brought to *Louiſiana* (M), where he formed the conſpiracy in queſtion. Their tortures being every day repeated, it was no wonder if the wretches ſought refuge in death, by owning all the particulars of this ſham conſpiracy, as drawn up by *du Pratz*. The eight men were broken upon the wheel, and the woman was hanged. The reader needs to require no other proof of the whole of this tranſaction being an infamous conſpiracy againſt the poor negroes by the *French*, than that *Charlevoix* relates it with circumſtances totally different and contradictory to thoſe mentioned by *du Pratz*.

Beginning of the Chicacha *war.*

In the mean while, ſome of the *Chactaws* had been gained over by the *Chicachas*, and the nation in general refuſed to ſend three hundred of their warriors to the aſſiſtance of the *French*; but the latter, by murdering, as uſual, thirty or forty of thoſe harmleſs ſavages, brought them over to their party. The *Chicachas* then applied to the *Miamis*, the *Illinois*, and the *Akanſas*, but found them all too much *frenchified* to undertake any thing for the recovery of their common liberty. The *Illinois* even delivered up to *Perrier* three of the *Chicacha* deputies, and he put them into the hands of the *Chactaws* at *New Orleans*, who burnt them alive. Thoſe are inhumanities that the *French* writers repeat without any ſymptoms of diſapprobation, becauſe they take it for granted, that thoſe ſavages were born to be their ſlaves. The cruelties practiſed upon the natives of *Louiſiana* were as impolitic as they were barbarous, and ſo far from ſerving the *Miſſiſſippi* company, that they ruined it; for, on the 23d of *January*, 1731, the company ſurrendered back, into the *French* king's hands, their

---

(M) After ſo many attempts, which could be no ſecret to the colony, to betray and butcher the *French*, how came this *Samba*, the author of them, to be ſo highly in favour with *du Pratz*, and the *French*?

gran

grant of *Louiſiana* and the country of the *Illinois*, together with their excluſive privilege of trading, only reſerving to themſelves a power of granting permits to native *Frenchmen* to trade in that colony. Their king accepted of this ſurrender, and, on the 10th of *April*, *de Salmont*, who acted as commiſſary at *New Orleans*, took poſſeſſion of that province, in the name of his majeſty; but *Perrier* was continued in his government. The reaſon of this ſurrender was the inability of the company to continue longer their wars with the ſavages, and to undergo the vaſt expences of their ſettlement. *Perrier* himſelf grew tired of his goverment, and ſolicited his recal, which was at laſt granted him; and *Bienville*, in 1734, again ſucceeded to the government of *Louiſiana*. Cardinal *Fleury* was then firſt miniſter of *France*, and great ſchemes of oeconomy took place in the colony; but it now remains that we purſue the detail of the war with the *Chicachas*, in which *Bienville* found himſelf involved upon his return to the government of *Louiſiana*.

Its progreſs.

IT appears from the acknowledgments of all the *French* writers, that their government had no manner of pretext to quarrel with the *Chicachas*, but becauſe the latter were ſo hoſpitable, as to receive into their protection the unfortunate, but brave, remains of the *Natches*. No maxim is more ſacred amongſt thoſe ſavages, than that when one nation takes refuge with another, if they are received, they are adopted, and both people become one, and have a common intereſt. *Bienville* was no ſtranger to this; but, in conſequence of the deteſtable policy of the *French* court, he no ſooner arrived at his government, than he made preparations for carrying on the war againſt the *Chicachas*, that laſted for two years; ſo weak was the *French* intereſt then in *Louiſiana*. At laſt, he ſent a formal demand, that the *Chicachas* ſhould deliver up to him all the *Natches*. He was anſwered with great ſpirit and juſtice, that no ſuch nation then exiſted as the *Natches*, they being become *Chicachas* by adoption. Beſides, continued the latter, ſhould *Bienville* ſhelter our enemies, ſhould we inſiſt upon his giving them up? and why ſhould we give up his at his requeſt? This anſwer ſerved only to haſten the preparations of war, and *Bienville* ſent an officer, one *le Blanc*, with five armed ſhallops, two of them laden with powder, and other merchandizes, to the *Illinois* poſt, where *d'Artaguette* commanded, to order him to repair, by the 10th of *May* next year, to the *Chicacha* country, at the head of all his troops, and as many of the *Illinois* as he could bring along with him; and he was there to be joined by *Bienville* and the main army. The *Chicachas*, being informed of this convoy, watched the borders of the river, and attacked it, but without ſucceſs; and *le Blanc* arrived ſafe in the country of the *Akanſas*, where, having refreſhed himſelf and his detachment, he moſt unaccountably left all his powder, and proceeded on his voyage. Upon *le Blanc*'s arrival, and delivering *Bienville*'s orders to *d'Artaguette*, the latter, perceiving that a boat laden with powder had been ſent him for the uſe of his poſt, and for carring on the *Chicacha* war, inſtantly diſpatched another to the country of the *Akanſas* to bring it up. This boat was diſcovered by the *Chicachas*, who formed an ambuſh, which was ſo well diſpoſed that they took the boat, and at one diſcharge, killed all the crew but two, who were carried into ſlavery. Thus the *Chicachas* became maſters of the powder that was deſtined for their own deſtruction.

They take a French boat with powder.

BIENVILLE was, at this time, at fort *Mobile*, in conference with the grand chief of the *Chactaws*, who attended him in conſequence of a ſummons he had received, and whom he engaged to aſſiſt him, in conſideration of a certain quantity of merchandizes, part of which was delivered to him upon the ſpot, and he was to receive the remainder in a certain time. *Bienville* then returned to *New Orleans*, where he made all the neceſſary preparations for ſetting out on his march. His army was compoſed of regulars, coloniſts, free negroes, and ſome ſlaves, and, on the 10th of *March*, 1736, it aſſembled in the country of the *Chactaws*, where it remained till the ſecond of *April* following. The ſavages, who had promiſed to join *Bienville*, could not comprehend the policy of this delay, and would have left his army, had they not been detained by the hopes of receiving the remainder of the merchandizes, which had not yet been delivered to them. The army then reſumed their march towards the eaſt, on the banks of the *Mobile*, the ſavages by land, and the *French* by water, in thirty large boats, and as many peruagas. Their progreſs was ſo ſlow, that it was the 20th of *April*, before they arrived at *Tomberbec*, where the *Chactaws* were to receive the remainder of their merchandizes, and where *Bienville*, ſome months before, had ordered a fort to be built. He encamped near this fort, erected ovens, and baked his bread; and the *Chactaws*, preſenting him with a calumet of peace, received their remaining merchandizes.

A CONSPIRACY had been formed by four ſoldiers, one of whom was a ſerjeant, for putting the commandant of the fort to death, and for delivering it up into the hands of the *Chicachas*, the two *Frenchmen* who had eſcaped when the powder was taken, to procure them a favourable reception from thoſe ſavages, whom they intended to aſſiſt in the war, and then to go over to the *Engliſh*, joining in it. Theſe traitors were tried, and being found guilty were all put to death at the head of the army; but the trials laſted ſo long, that it was the 4th of *May* before the troops could reſume their march. Twenty days more brought them to their landing place, and, when they diſembarked, they immediately encloſed a large ſpace of ground with palliſades, and erected a warehouſe for their merchandizes and ammunition. Next day, having diſtributed powder and ball to the ſoldiers, the general proceeded on his march, leaving his ſick, under proper care, in the palliſaded entrenchment, and committed himſelf to the direction of a *French* trader, who was acquainted with the country, and ſerved him for a guide. He had ſtill ſeven leagues to march between this incloſure and the fort of the *Chicachas*, through woods. The *Chactaws*, to the number of 1200, headed by their chief, marched on the flanks of his army, which proceeded in two columns. When they drew near the fort, *Bienville* diſpatched two of the *Chactaws* to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy; but they returned without any information, being themſelves, as they ſaid, diſcovered by four of the *Chicachas*. Proceeding forwards, the army entered a very fine plain, and diſcovered the fort, which was erected on a gentle eminence with cabins round it, all which appeared to be fortified; and near the fort ran a rivulet. The *Chactaws* no ſooner ſaw the fort, than they ſet up a moſt dreadful war-whoop, or cry of death, and they ran towards it with prodigious fury till they came within gun-ſhot of it, and then they ſtopt. As to the troops, they marched in good order, till they came to a ſmall wood, within cannon-ſhot of the fort, where they ſaw the *Engliſh* colours flying, and four *Engliſhmen* enter it from the cabins below. The *French* ſummoned the *Engliſh* to leave the fort, and the *Chicachas* to ſurrender it; but no regard was paid to the ſummons. *Bienville* then formed his troops into three large detachments of about four hundred men each, and ordered them to march up with all quickneſs poſſible, and to ſtorm the fort ſword in hand, as they had not an utenſil in the army with which they could throw up intrenchments. When they came to the eminence on which the fort ſtood, all they did was to burn a few ſtraggling cabins that lay near it, and to drive, but with ſome loſs to the *French* themſelves, the ſavages who inhabited them into the fort. The regulars then changed their manner of approach; but ſome diſpute aroſe between them and the militia, about the poſt of honour. This was eaſily adjuſted in favour of the regulars, by the vigorous defence made by the fort, and the militia very quietly took their poſt in the rear, the officers

Expedition againſt the Chicachas.

and

and the regulars being reſolved to reſerve to themſelves all the honour of the expedition; but the fire from the fort continued to be ſo furious, that many of their braveſt officers and beſt men were now killed or wounded.

who are beſieged in their fort.

DU PRATZ deſcribes the fort as being formed of prodigious thick palliſades, croſſed by others of an equal thickneſs; ſo that the balls of the *French* could make no impreſſion either upon the fort or the ſavages, who, being numerous and ſafe from danger, might have killed half the *French* army without any loſs to themſelves, had they known how to direct their fire Within the fort they had erected, quite round it, a pent-houſe, or platform, of wood covered with earth, which ſecured them from the grenades. *Bienville*, who was in the rear of the army, ſaw the folly and madneſs of this attack, and that it was impoſſible the *French* fire could do any execution upon the ſavages, while his own men were waſting their ammunition, and dropping on every ſide. At laſt, the *French* having maintained this murderous attack three hours and a half, he ordered them to retreat, or rather they were fairly beaten back to their camp, without attempting even to carry off their dead and wounded, which amounted to about one hundred and twenty; and amongſt them were ſome of their moſt conſiderable officers. While they were deliberating what to do, a body of *Chicackas* were ſeen at a diſtance coming from another village, and holding up a calumet of peace with a letter, which it ſeems was from *d'Artaguette*, who was a priſoner amongſt them. They had been diſcovered by the *Chactaws*, one of whom brought the account to *Bienville*, who immediately ordered them to be fired upon; and four of them being killed, the reſt ran away. After this, the *French* raiſed a kind of retrenchment of logs of wood to ſecure them from the fury of the ſavages, while they took ſome refreſhment and repoſe; and the *Chicackas* are ſaid to have exerciſed ſuch barbarities on the dead bodies, no *Frenchman* having been taken alive, that it was with difficulty *Bienville* could keep back his troops from ruſhing upon certain death, to be revenged. Next morning, it was perceived, that the *Chicachas* had, during the night time, beaten down ſome cabins, where the *French* had ſheltered themſelves the day before, during the attack.

but force the French *ſhamefully to retire.*

NEXT day, being the 27th of *May*, was ſpent in ſkirmiſhes between the fort and the *Chactaws*; but both of them were at too great a diſtance from each other for either to receive much harm. An adventure, however, happened, which, though inconſiderable in itſelf, deſerves to be related, becauſe it gives us a lively picture of the cunning and preſence of mind of thoſe barbarians. Two of the *Chactaws* drawing nearer the fort than the others, a *Chicacha* iſſued out of it, and was obſerved by the two *Chactaws* to creep ſoftly along, that he might come near enough unobſerved to fire upon them; which he accordingly did, and one of the *Chactaws* dropt while the other made off. The *Chicacha* ran then full ſpeed to ſcalp the fallen *Chactaw*; but as ſoon as he came within ten paces of him, the *Chactaw* ſtarted up, raiſed the war-whoop, ſhot his antagoniſt dead, and carried off his ſcalp in triumph. In the camp, *Bienville* employed the negroes in making hurdles for carrying off the wounded, and orders were given to march to the diſtance of a league from the fort, upon which a party of the *Chactaws* foreſeeing what would happen, ambuſhed themſelves behind a little wood hard by. While the *French* were on their march, nine of the *Chactaws*, who had ſeen them decamp, came from the fort to ſcalp the dead, whom they had left behind them, but no ſooner were they come to the ſpot, than the *Chactaws* ambuſcade fired, and killing every man of them, carried their ſcalps with great triumph to the *French* army. Next day, the army, after this inglorious, hair-brained, expedition, came to the place of their reimbarkation. Here a quarrel happened between the *French* and the *Chactaws*, which was fomented by one of the *Chactaw* chiefs, called the *Red Slipper*, and to whom the *French* writers give a very bad character, very poſſibly, becauſe he behaved with a ſpirit of independency; but juſt as the quarrel was proceeding to blows it was made up by the grand chief of the *Chactaws* threatening to ſhoot the *Red Slipper* through the head. Powder and ball was then diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers, and the army went cautiouſly by water to fort *Mobile*, and from thence to *New Orlean*, where it broke up.

Deplorable death of a French *officer and party.*

THE fate of *d'Artaguette* was truly deplorable, and gives us a freſh inſtance of the manners of the ſavages. The reader may remember, that this officer was by *Bienville* ordered to repair with all the men he could to the country of the *Chicachas* by the 10th of *May*, where he was to be joined by the general, and the main body of the army. *D'Artaguette* was punctual to his time, and, upon his arrival at the place of rendezvous, he ſent out three ſcouts to reconnoitre whether the army was approaching; and he did the ſame till the 20th, when the ſavages he had with him hearing no tidings of the *French*, threatened they would return home, unleſs he immediately fought the *Chicachas*. *D'Artaguette* was obliged to comply, and on the 21ſt, he drove the barbarians from one of their forts and a village, as he did next day from another village; but, in purſuing the fugitives, *d'Artaguette* received two wounds. This accident determined his ſavage allies to abandon him, which they did. He was left with no more than forty-ſix ſoldiers, two ſerjeants, and a jeſuit, and they defended their wounded commander for a long time againſt his enemies; but at laſt, being overpowered by numbers, and ſpent with fatigue, he was obliged to ſurrender himſelf, and all his company, priſoners to the ſavages. They were conducted to their village, where they were treated with great humanity, and their wounds carefully dreſt and cured. All this tenderneſs was ſhewn them, that they might have an opportunity of preſenting them to *Bienville*. But his brutality completed the misfortunes of the unhappy priſoners, as his trifling delays had drawn them on. *D'Artaguette* was prevailed upon to write *Bienville* a letter, which, as we have ſeen, he not only refuſed to receive, but inhumanly fired upon, and killed, the bearers, who could be conſidered in no other light than meſſengers of peace. The barbarians were exaſperated at this cruelty; and underſtanding about the ſame time, that the *French* had been ſhamefully driven out of their country, they took their revenge upon the unfortunate *d'Artaguette*, and their other *French* priſoners, whom they roaſted to death at a ſlow fire. One ſerjeant, by the kindneſs of his maſter, had the good fortune to eſcape, and he brought to *New Orleans* the account of this diſmal cataſtrophe.

A new expedition againſt the Chicachas

BIENVILLE, to repair the diſgrace he had received, repreſented it in ſuch favourable terms to his court, that a reſolution was taken to enable him to revenge it, and orders were ſent for the *French* of *Canada* to be aſſiſting to him. In the mean while, he ſent a large detachment up the river *St. Francis*, where they built a fort of the ſame name with the river. When the ſquadron arrived, which brought him his reinforcements, his army proceeded up the *Miſſiſſippi* to take poſſeſſion of another fort that had been built there (N). It conſiſted of marine troops, thoſe of the colony, a number of militia, negroes, and ſome *French* ſavages. Being arrived at their place of rendezvous, they went up as far as a little river called *Margot*, where they all landed within fifteen miles of the *Chicacha* country. They choſe a fine plain to encamp on, and after fortifying their camp, they built a houſe for the commandant in the fort, with cazernes and ſtorehouſes for

---

(N) Thoſe forts and rivers are very inaccurately laid down in the maps publiſhed, both by *du Pratz* and *Charlevoix*, notwithſtanding the boaſted accuracy of the latter.

their ammunition and merchandizes, and named it fort *Aſſumption*; that being the day when they landed. While the army lay there, *Bienville* endeavoured to profit by his paſt miſtakes. Waggons and carts were made, and the roads were cleared for tranſporting the artillery, and all the neceſſaries of war provided for carrying on the ſiege. While *Bienville* continued in this place, his *Canadian* ſuccours joined him, conſiſting of *French*, *Iroquois*, *Hurons*, *Algonquins*, and other ſavages. Soon after arrived the new commandant of the *Illinois* with his garriſon, his volunteers, and all the neighbouring ſavages, together with a good number of horſe. According to *du Pratz* never was there before, and perhaps never will there be again, a body aſſembled in *North America*, compoſed of ſo many different nations, and yet they remained inactive in their camp from the month of *Auguſt* 1739, to the month of *March* next year.

THIS long inactivity produced, at firſt, famine, and, at laſt, mortality amongſt the men. From great plenty of proviſions they fell into ſuch ſcarcity, that they fed upon the horſes that were to have drawn their artillery, and vaſt numbers died of an epidemic diſeaſe. This brought *Bienville* to reflect upon his ſituation, and determined him, if poſſible, to conclude a peace with the *Chicachas*, or at leaſt to know upon what terms he was to ſtand with them. On the 15th of *March*, he detached a company of foot, with its proper officers, which was followed by the *Canadian* ſavages, and the *French* had orders to treat of peace, if the *Chicachas* ſhould demand it. The latter were, by this time, fully apprized of the vaſt ſtrength of the *French* army, and ſeeing its van-guard approaching, attended by the *Canadian* ſavages, they made no doubt that the main body was at hand, and concluded, that it would be in vain for them to hold out any longer. They accordingly made ſignals of peace, and their deputies came out of their fort with a moſt dejected air, putting themſelves entirely in the power of the *French*. They ſwore that they were then, and ever would remain, the real friends of the *French*; that they had been inſtigated to all their oppoſition by the *Engliſh*, with whom they had then broke for that very reaſon, and they offered to produce two *Engliſhmen*, whom they had made ſlaves. *St. Laurent*, a *French* officer, demanded to be admitted into the fort; and accordingly he entered it, attended by a little ſlave; but the ſavage women no ſooner ſaw him, than they called out to have him put to death, that the war might continue. Their men were more moderate; for, after conferring together, they reſolved to preſerve him, and to purchaſe their peace of the

With whom the French *make peace.*

French, by delivering up the two *Engliſhmen*. *Du Pratz* here obſerves, that amongſt thoſe ſavages the men in time of war meet with no quarter, being either killed in battle, or, if taken priſoners, put to lingering deaths; whereas the women and girls are only reduced to be ſlaves; and a ſtate of ſlavery amongſt the *French* is, by them, looked upon to be more deſireable than to live as wives in their own country (O). *St. Laurent*, upon this matter being explained to him, promiſed them peace in the name of M. *Bienville*, and all his nation. They then went out of the fort, and preſented the calumet to *de Colcron*, the commanding officer, who accepted of it, and confirmed *St. Laurent*'s engagement.

SOME days after the detachment returned to the *French* camp, attended by a numerous body of the *Chicachas*, who were deputed to carry the calumet of peace to the *French* general, and to preſent him with the two *Engliſh* ſlaves. When they came into *Bienville*'s preſence, they proſtrated themſelves at his feet, and renewed all the oaths and proteſtations they had made to *Colcron*, ſtill throwing all the blame of what had happened upon the *Engliſh*, with whom they offered to make war, if it was *Bienville*'s pleaſure, for they could look upon them as no better than traitors. This treaty was concluded in the beginning of *April*, 1740. *Bienville*, having ratified it, made handſome preſents to all his auxiliary troops, and diſmiſſed them. In his return to *New Orleans* he ordered fort *Aſſumption* to be demoliſhed, and fort *St. Francis* likewiſe, and arrived at *New Orleans*, after being abſent from it ten months. Upon the whole, notwithſtanding all the ſoftenings with which the *French* writers have touched up *Bienville*'s conduct in his expedition againſt the *Chicachas*, it appears to have been that of a madman, rather than a military officer; and whatever they pretend with regard to the ſubmiſſion of the *Chicachas*, it is evident, that during the whole of the war, they acted as a brave and a ſpirited people, and that they preſerved their independency to the very laſt, againſt the greateſt power *France* had ever brought into the field in *America*, aſſiſted with powerful reinforcements from *Old France*.

Vaudreuil *governor of* Louiſiana.

M. *de VAUDREUIL* ſucceeded *Bienville* in the government of *Louiſiana*; and upon his arrival there he found the old quarrel ſtill ſubſiſting between that colony and the *Red*

(O) Whatever truth may be in the obſervation when applied to the *Chicachas*, it is contrary to the whole ſtream of hiſtory with regard to the other *American* ſavages, amongſt whom we read of women fighting as bravely, and ſuffering as courageouſly as the men.

Slipper, who had committed many hoſtilities againſt the *French*. *Vaudreuil* informing himſelf as to the grounds of the original quarrel, immediately publiſhed an order, prohibiting all the *French* of his government from furniſhing to the *Chactaws* arms or ammunition upon any pretext whatever. He then ſent a meſſage to their grand chief to demand whether he was, like the *Red Slipper*, an enemy to the *French*. The grand chief, by his interpreter, returned for anſwer, that he was their friend; but that the *Red Slipper* was a young chief, and devoid of ſenſe. Upon this, *Vaudreuil* ſent a preſent to the grand chief, who was extremely ſurprized that it did not contain, as uſual, any arms, powder, or ball, in that time of amity between the two people; and being informed of the prohibition that had been publiſhed, he ſent a new deputation to expoſtulate with the governor. His anſwer was, that they muſt expect neither arms nor ammunition, eſpecially as he informed him that the *Red Slipper* had no ſenſe; becauſe all the *Chactaws* being brothers, the *Red Slipper* certainly would have his ſhare of them. This anſwer produced a meſſage from the grand chief to the *Red Slipper*, informing him and his ſubjects, that if they did not inſtantly make peace with the *French*, all the reſt of the *Chactaws* would make war upon them. This menace had its deſired effect; and a good underſtanding was ſoon reſtored by the *Red Slipper* begging peace from the *French*; and the colony, which was in no condition to have undertaken a war againſt ſo powerful a nation, returned to its former tranquillity. Nothing, after this, that is material occurs in the hiſtory of *Louiſiana*, till the definitive treaty of peace concluded at *Paris* on the 10th of *February*, 1763.

Makes peace with the Chactaws.

LONG experience had taught the *Britiſh* miniſtry, that *Louiſiana* remaining in poſſeſſion of the *French*, they and their ſavages would be perpetual thorns in the ſides of the *Britiſh* colonies; and, upon our conquering *Martinico*, a fair opportunity preſented for demanding *Louiſiana* as an equivalent for that valuable iſland. The *Britiſh* miniſtry were the more intent upon this demand, when they conſidered that the colony of *Louiſiana* was then in a manner only in its infancy; and that a time might come when *France*, profiting by experience, and encreaſing in power, might avail herſelf, which ſhe had not hitherto done, to the full of the advantages ariſing from that country, naturally one of the moſt fruitful, and the beſt fitted, by inland navigation, for the purpoſes of commerce, of any in the world. Not only the *French* themſelves, but all *Europe*, were aſtoniſhed when they heard that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty agreed to the following article, which is the ſeventh of that treaty.

General treaty of peace, 1763.

“ In order to re-eſtabliſh peace on ſolid and durable foundations, and to remove for ever all ſubjects of diſpute, with regard to the limits of the *Britiſh* and *French* territories on the continent of *America*, that, for the future, the confines between the dominions of his *Britannic* majeſty, and thoſe of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, in that part of the world, ſhall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the river *Miſſiſſippi*, from its ſource to the river *Iberville*, and from thence, by a line drawn along the middle of this river, and the lake *Maurepas* and *Pontchartrain*, to the ſea; and for this purpoſe the moſt Chriſtian king cedes, in full right, and guaranties to his *Britannic* majeſty the river and part of the *Mobile*, and every thing which he poſſeſſes, or ought to poſſeſs, on the left ſide the river *Miſſiſſippi*, except the town of the *New Orleans*, and the iſland in which it is ſituated, which ſhall remain to *France*, provided that the river *Miſſiſſippi* ſhall be equally free, as well to the ſubjects of *Great Britain*, as to thoſe of *France*, in its whole breadth or length, from its ſource to the ſea, and expreſly that part which is between the ſaid iſland of *New Orleans*, and the right bank of that river, as well as the paſſage both in and out of its mouth. It is further ſtipulated, that the veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of either nation, ſhall not be ſtopped, viſited, or ſubjected to the payment of any duty whatſoever. The ſtipulations, inſerted in the fourth article, in favour of the inhabitants of *Canada*, ſhall alſo take place, with regard to the inhabitants of the countries ceded by this article.” In the 24th article of the ſaid treaty is the following ſtipulation, “ *Great Britain* ſhall, at the end of three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the preſent treaty, or ſooner if it can be done, enter into poſſeſſion of the river, and port of the *Mobile*, and of all that is to form the limits of the territory of *Great Britain*, on the ſide of the river *Miſſiſſippi*, as they are ſpecified in the ſeventh article.”

Nothing now remains for *Great Britain*, but to improve, as much as poſſible, this immenſe acquiſition; and, above all, to cultivate the love and regard of the natives. This makes it neceſſary, before we cloſe the hiſtory of *Louiſiana*, to give our reader a ſlight ſketch of the nature of the country, and of the tempers, cuſtoms, and principal qualities of thoſe ſavages.

Account of the French *poſts in* Louiſiana. *The* Mobile.

The firſt eſtabliſhment of the *French* there was upon the *Mobile*, and on a ſpot which is now by treaty ceded to *Great Britain*. The ready entrance from thence into the gulph of *Mexico* appears to have been the firſt temptation for the

French to make that ſettlement, and the opportunity they had of carrying on a clandeſtine trade with the *Spaniards*, counterballanced all the inconveniencies ariſing from an ungrateful ſoil, and a very inconvenient harbour. The *Engliſh* may find great benefit in maintaining, and even improving that ſettlement to overawe the *Chactaws*, who, as we have ſeen, are the moſt numerous, as well as the moſt deſigning people in all *Louiſiana*; and for that reaſon, as well as for keeping the *Chactaws* from any communication with the *Engliſh*, the *French*, even after the building of *New Orleans*, never entirely abandoned the *Mobile* fort. With regard to the *Chactaws*, they certainly are a pacific people, and it is more than probable, that the ſelfiſh impoſing character given them by the *French* writers aroſe from the poverty of their *Louiſianians*, who, not being able to gratify the *Chactaws* for the ſervices they performed them, took occaſion to depreciate them. They may, however, be uſeful both as the ſubjects and allies of the *Engliſh*. Add to this, that the peltry trade between the *French* and the *Chactaws*, by means of the *Mobile* fort, was extremely beneficial to the former. Fort *Tombecbec* was another poſt raiſed by the *French* upon the *Mobile* after the *Chicacha* war, to cut off all communication between the *Carolinians*, *Virginians*, and *New England* men, who often paſſed the *Apalachean* mountains, to that warlike people.

Tombecbec.

Pachca-Ogoulas.

WITHIN the country ceded by the late treaty lies the ſmall eſtabliſhment of the *Pachca-Ogoulas*, where quiet and induſtry, on account of the inoffenſive diſpoſition of the people, may find profitable and happy ſettlements. This was experienced by a number of *Canadians*, who lived there retired and contented, during all the diſtractions of the colony, there not being a ſingle warrior in all the nation. There is at preſent no poſt between the *Pachca-Ogoulas* and *New Orleans*, excepting *Biloxi*, which is almoſt entirely abandoned. The fort *de la Baliſe*, according to the line of partition laid down by the late treaty, belongs to the *French*, is built upon a ſmall iſland, and is of an irregular form. *Du Pratz*, however, ſeems to think that the canal might be eaſily deepened. In going up the river, the *Detour a l'Anglois* (ſo called from an *Engliſh* ſhip proceeding no higher up the river, and returning at that place) is the next poſt to be met with, and conſiſts of two forts, one built on each ſide of the river, ſo as to command it; but it ſeems to lie within the *French* diviſion, it being ſix leagues below *New Orleans*, following the courſe of the river. We have already mentioned the building of *New Orleans*, which was regularly laid out, but ſo diſadvantageouſly

The Red-Staff.

Cut-Point

The Natchitoches.

tageouſly ſituated, and the navigation between the mouth of the *Miſſiſſippi* and it, is ſo difficult, that it never can anſwer the expectations, which, by the magnificence and regularity of its plan, the *French* ſeem to have formed of it; not to mention that it is ſubject to moſt ruinous inundations. On the border of lake *St. Lewis* is a poſt, which guards the entrance into the lake, and which now ſeems to belong to the *Engliſh*, as does that of the *Oumas*. The *Red Staff* is a poſt likewiſe their property; and may in time become of the utmoſt conſequence to a people more induſtrious than either the *French Louiſianians* or the *Canadians*. This poſt acquires its name from its producing one of the moſt beautiful, as well as moſt uſeful trees in the world, the cypreſs, the wood of which is red. They grow to ſuch a height and largeneſs, that a boat builder, out of one of their trunks [*], undertook to hollow two peruagas, one of ſixteen, the other of fourteen tons. Though this cypreſs was perhaps of an uncommon largeneſs, yet there are few of thoſe trees out of which a common peruaga may not be hollowed. The wood of it is, next to that of the cedar, the moſt valuable that *America* produces; and is by many believed to be incorruptible. Proceeding up the river, is another ſmall poſt, but of little or no importance, excepting for erecting a water mill; a circumſtance of conſequence. The poſt of *Pointe-coupée*, or *Cut Point* is, where the river made a winding of about ten leagues circumference, but the *Canadians*, by digging the channel of a ſmall brook, forced the waters of the river into a direct line, and the channel of the former winding is now dry, but at times of inundation; "an evident proof, ſays *Charlevoix*, that the river inclines its channel towards the eaſt, a circumſtance which cannot be too much attended to by thoſe who ſettle on either ſide. This new channel has been, ſince that time, ſounded with a line of thirty fathoms, without finding any bottom." This operation was ſo ſtrongly aſſiſted by nature, that the whole is ſaid to have been performed by two *Canadians* only, whoſe peruaga the ſtream forced after they had made an opening through the direct channel. This poſt is at preſent one of the moſt conſiderable of any in *Louiſiana*, it conſiſting of a fort and a regular garriſon, commanded by an officer. On the eaſt ſide of the river near it the inhabitants make excellent tobacco, and great care was taken by the *French* government to ſettle inſpectors amongſt them, who were to overlook the packages, and to take care that the traders ſhould not be impoſed upon. Twenty leagues above

---

[*] Du Pratz, Vol. II. p. 267.

Cut-Point, and forty above *New Orleans*, lies the mouth of the *Red River*; and in an iſland, which it forms, lies another *French* ſettlement conſiſting likewiſe of a fort, a garriſon, a commandant, and officers. This iſland was at firſt occupied by *French* ſoldiers, whoſe time of ſervice was expired; and they raiſed upon it good tobacco; but its leaves were ſometimes covered with a fine ſand, which hurt the quality of the tobacco, and therefore they removed to the main land, where they carried on the ſame culture to great perfection. This is the famous poſt of the *Natchitoches*; and *St. Denys*, whom we have had ſo often occaſion to mention, commanded in it, a proof of its vaſt importance. It is ſo happily ſituated for a communication with the *Spaniards*, that vaſt numbers of the *French* reſorted to it, but were diſappointed; for the *Spaniards* in the neighbourhood at port *les Adaies* were ſo miſerably poor, that they could purchaſe none of their commodities but upon credit.

and the Natches.

FROM the mouth of the *Red River*, ſtill proceeding northwards upon the *Miſſiſſippi*, lies the new *French* poſt of the *Natches*, now belonging to the *Engliſh*. Its fort is raiſed two hundred feet above low water, and affords a proſpect of a moſt prodigious extent towards the weſt acroſs the river; ſo that the eye is bounded only by the horizon. The foundation of the fort, according to *du Pratz*, being higher than the trees that cover the oppoſite banks; while towards the eaſt the grounds lie in a gentle gradual deſcent, and the view is terminated by little eminences. There are, it ſeems, ſome of the *Natthes* ſtill living in the neighbourhood of this fort, and are ſo gentle, ſo obliging, and ſerviceable, that all the travellers, who paſs that way, viſit them, and are charmed with the ſweetneſs of their manners, particularly their women, who are ſaid to be amiable. The nature of our undertaking does not admit our being more particular than we have already been in our relations of this curious people; but the reader may be fully ſatisfied on that head, by having recourſe to the travels of *Charlevoix* and *du Pratz*. The *French Louiſianians* multiply'd extremely at this poſt; but the garriſon conſiſted only of about forty men, a captain, two lieutenants, and two ſerjeants. *Du Pratz* frankly acknowledges the miſbehaviour of the *French* towards this injured people. About forty miles above the *Natches* is the poſt of the *Yaſous*. It was one of the moſt commodious and pleaſant of any upon the *Miſſiſſippi*, before it was deſtroyed by the *Chicachas*. Its garriſon was compoſed of a company of regulars and their officers, and the profits ariſing from the poſt were ſo great, that all the expence of the garriſon was defrayed out of the private pocket of M.

The Akanſas.

le Blanc, the *French* miniſter at war. If, as the *French* alledge, the *Engliſh* inſtigated the *Chicachas* to deſtroy this fine poſt and ſettlement, we may reaſonably preſume that both of them will be ſoon re-eſtabliſhed. Twenty leagues above the *Yaſous* ſettlement, and two hundred above *New Orleans*, lie the *Akanſas*, but to the weſt of the river; ſo that it belongs to the *French*, to whom thoſe people are entirely devoted. As they are warlike, and live in a very fine country, it will require all the vigilance of the *Engliſh* on the oppoſite bank to prevent their paying them a viſit.

The Illinois.

THIRTY leagues north of the *Akanſas*, lies the river *St. Francis*, where a ſmall *French* fort has lately been built. To the weſt of the *Miſſiſſippi*, but ſtill keeping northwards about thirty leagues, lay fort *Aſſumption*, which we have already mentioned to have been demoliſhed by the *French* governor of *Louiſiana*. It may be extremely convenient for the *Engliſh* to re-eſtabliſh it, whether they are in friendſhip or not, with the *Chicachas*, in whoſe country it lies. In the one caſe it will ſerve to bridle them, and, in the other, it will make a moſt excellent ſtore-houſe: but the chief conveniency and advantage of ſuch a re-eſtabliſhment, is its being in the neighbourhood of the torrents of *Prud'homme*, falling from the neighbouring mountains, which contain inexhauſtible mines of iron ore, beſides vaſt quantities of wood for making charcoal to manufacture it. The *Illinois* poſt, the firſt that was formed by the *French*, in what is properly called *Louiſiana*, is the moſt northerly of the colony, and was ſo inviting a ſituation, that it was almoſt entirely inhabited by the *Canadians*. In this poſt, which was very populous, was a ſtrong garriſon, and the ſettlement itſelf, as well as the neighbouring ſavages, was entirely governed by, and devoted to the jeſuits, which may make it more proper for the *Engliſh* to keep a watchful eye over them. Beſides thoſe forts, the *French* of late had eſtabliſhed a great number of ſtockaded poſts at convenient diſtances for the reception of the travellers and traders between *Canada* and *Louiſiana*, even as far as *New Orleans*. Thus it appears, that nothing but the entire ceſſion of *Louiſiana*, as well as of *Canada*, could have preſerved the *Britiſh* intereſt from the moſt dreadful inſults after any peace that could have been made. The *Canadians* would have exchanged their fogs, froſts, and ſnows, for the warm fertile plains of *Louiſiana*; they would ſoon have brought all the ſavages of *America* to have joined them, and, towards the *Apalachean* mountains, (between which, and the ſea, they wanted to confine the *Engliſh* colonies) they would have been more powerful than ever.

THERE

Manners of the ſavages.

THERE is great reaſon to believe that all the nations of *Louiſiana* were originally the ſame people, and that they extended to *Florida* likewiſe. Other nations beſides the *Natches*, particularly the *Pachca Ogoulas*, preſerved the ſacred fire, and their languages are, for the moſt part, radically the ſame, though prodigiouſly diſguiſed by different articulations. Notwithſtanding this, their intercourſe in ſome places with the *Europeans*, their mixtures with the ſavages of *Canada*, *Sioux*, *New Spain*, and the *Apalaches*, have introduced into *Louiſiana* a vaſt confluence of different people and tribes; ſome of whom are very inconſiderable, diminiſhing even to ſingle families, ſo that every ſeparate nation has ſome rite, cuſtom, or character, peculiar to itſelf. To diſtinguiſh amidſt ſuch a variety of blendings would be a taſk equally impracticable as unprofitable. All, therefore, that belongs to us, is to lay down the great out-lines that may direct us in treating with a people with whom we are now ſo intimately connected, and to expreſs them by ſuch characters as are moſt general, and moſt frequently found amongſt them.

THE *American* ſavages are, for the moſt part, very well made; their height is ſeldom under five feet ſix inches; but they often are much taller. The men, for the moſt part, are much handſomer than the women, who are of a ſmaller ſize, but none of either ſex degenerating into dwarfs. One of them who was but four feet and a half high, was ſo aſhamed of his ſize, that he concealed himſelf from the eyes of the *French* for ſeveral years; nor would he have appeared then, had he not been diſcovered by accident. *Du Pratz*, from whom we take our information, ſays, that the *French Creoles* of *Louiſiana*, by which is meant children born in a diſtant country, but of parents of the ſame nation, are remarkably large, well made, and vigorous, and that thoſe qualities amongſt the native *Louiſianians* in general are chiefly owing to the manner in which the females treat their children in their infancy. As ſoon as a female ſavage is brought to bed, ſhe goes to the water-ſide, where ſhe waſhes herſelf and her child. After that ſhe returns home, goes to bed, and lays the infant all along in a cradle of a very curious conſtruction, made of canes, and ſo light that it does not weigh above two pounds. She places this cradle upon her bed, but without rocking it from ſide to ſide, and the child is ſwaddled up ſo as to leave the motion of its lungs and belly always free; but its head is bound to a little pillow, ſtuffed with *Spaniſh* hair, but not raiſed above the reſt of its bed, with leathern thongs; which renders thoſe natives all flatheaded. When the child is rocked, the conſtruction of the

Education of children amongſt the ſavages.

cradle is ſuch, that it is performed end ways. When it is a month old they tie under its knee a garter made of wool, and wrap fillets of the ſame round its ancles, three or four inches high, according to the child's age, and they wear thoſe fillets by way of buſkins, till their fourth or fifth year. When born, they are white, and they are ſuffered to crawl on all fours till they can ſtand and walk. Their ſkin, when very young, is rubbed over with oil, and other materials, which gives them their copper colour, their hide being in a manner enamelled with them by the heat of the ſun. The reaſons they give for this unction are, that it renders their joints more ſupple and flexible, and prevents the flies from tormenting them. Each child ſucks its mother as long as it pleaſes, unleſs the mother is with child. When the boys grow to about twelve years of age, they are taught to ſhoot in a bow, at a mark, and rewarded according to their proficiency. The paternal authority is greatly venerated amongſt them. The oldeſt of every family is, by all his deſcendents, who are ſometimes very numerous, termed their father, and his word is their law. Unleſs they are cut off in war, or by colds, or the ſmall-pox, thoſe ſavages live to a vaſt age, inſomuch that they often are unable to ſtir, merely through natural weakneſs, the concomitant of length of days: and, in thoſe caſes, they grow tired of life.

Their great docility.

NEITHER men nor boys, belonging to the ſame tribe, ever quarrel with one another, or grow riotous about domeſtic affairs: and it is admirable to ſee with what order they live, merely by the light of nature; they having amongſt them no principle of policy, or form of government. If any one amongſt them ſhews the leaſt turbulence of diſpoſition, if his ſeniors tell him, he ſhall be cabined a great way from their nation, he is immediately quieted. The fathers educate the boys, as the mothers do the girls; but the latter toil the moſt. The men are chiefly occupied in hunting or fiſhing, in cutting wood, or preparing land; and thoſe exerciſes being over, they divert themſelves with others leſs laborious: but the women, beſides having their young infants to take care of, have all the maize to prepare for the family, fire-wood to provide, and a vaſt number of utenſils to make, which laſt but a very ſhort while, with the earthen ware, mats, and a thouſand other particulars. Children of both ſexes, when about ten or twelve years of age, are accuſtomed to carry burthens, which are gradually encreaſed as they grow up, ſo that they are ſometimes capable of bearing a great weight. The ſavages of *Louiſiana*, however, are very cautious of overſtraining the ſtrength of their children, and they ſeldom ſuffer them to marry before they are twenty-five years of age; becauſe they think that copulation enervates them. The care and wiſdom with which, in other reſpects, parents train up their youth, is very ſurprizing, and with what judgment they moderate their exerciſes, ſuch as running, leaping, ſwimming, ſhooting, or the like, leaſt they ſhould hurt their tender conſtitutions, and be rendered leſs active and vigorous in their manhood. On the other hand, they are equally careful to keep them in exerciſe, as the want of it may be prejudicial to their health. From their tendereſt years they bathe every morning, winter as well as ſummer, and they begin early to learn to ſwim, both boys and girls. They think this to be ſo eſſential a part of education, that, in every village, one of their elders is appointed to call out all the boys and girls, even ſo young as three years of age, and their mothers are obliged to attend them, and teach them to ſwim. Notwithſtanding the continual toils and fatigues, which thoſe mothers are forced to undergo, they are never heard to repine or to complain, but when their children are ill. Amongſt the girls there is great emulation, as they are taught to believe from their infancy, that if they are lazy or idle, they will have a lumpiſh fellow for their huſband. Experience proves, that this gradual method of education is moſt proper for thoſe ſavages; for no people in the world, when they are come to the perfection of their ſtrength, undergo greater fatigues and hardſhips, than they do, or with more alacrity.

Their traditions.

As they have no means of communicating the knowledge of paſt events, by writing, they have recourſe to tradition. Of this, their old men are the depoſitories; and they take ſo great care to preſerve it pure and unmixed, that it is not communicated indifferently to all their young men, leſt they ſhould make a wrong uſe of it, and either diminiſh or add to it. The elders have a particular art in knowing the diſpoſitions of their youth, who are always under their eye, and intruſt only the moſt ſtayed and ſedate amongſt them with their antient word, for ſo they call their traditions. Moſt part of the *Natches*, though they had a peculiar dialect of their own, ſpeak the vulgar tongue; but being now incorporated with the *Chicachas*, it is probable the purity of their original language will ſoon be loſt. According to *du Pratz*, like the *Chineſe*, their nobility had one language, and their common people another. The manner in which the men ſpeak, is full, ſonorous, and grave; and they laugh at nothing more than to hear a man ſpeak like a woman; which the *French* commonly do.

As to the religion of the *Louiſianian* ſavages, moſt, or all of them, have an idea of a ſupreme being, whom they call the grand ſpirit, by way of excellence, and whoſe perfections are as much ſuperior to all other beings, as the fire of the ſun is to elementary fire. *Du Pratz*, who lived in intimate friendſhip with the chief guardian of the temple of the perpetual fire, tells us, that they believed in an omnipotent God, the maker of all things, either viſible or inviſible, and that he was ſo good that he could do no evil to any one, even if he inclined. That though he created all things by his will, yet he had under him ſpirits of an inferior order, who, by his power, formed the beauties of the univerſe; but, that man was the work of the creator's own hands. Thoſe ſpirits are, by the *Natches*, termed free ſervants or agents; but at the ſame time they are as ſubmiſſive as ſlaves. They are conſtantly in the preſence of God, and prompt to execute his will. The air, according to them, is full of other ſpirits of more miſchievous diſpoſitions, and theſe have a chief, who was ſo eminently miſchievous, that God Almighty was obliged to confine him, and ever ſince, thoſe aerial ſpirits do not commit ſo much miſchief as they did before, eſpecially if they are intreated to be favourable. For this reaſon the ſavages always invoke them when they want either rain or fair weather. Their faſts are very long, and the grand *Sun* himſelf has been known, for nine days ſucceſſively, to abſtain from women, and from all kind of food, excepting a little maize and water. Their account of the creation of the firſt man is almoſt correſpondent to the *Moſaic* account; that God firſt formed a little man of clay, and breathed upon his work, and that he then walked about, grew up, and became a perfect man; but the antient word is ſilent as to the formation of the woman. It would be improper to enter into any farther deduction of the religion of thoſe ſavages, which they pretended to have from a bright man and his wife, who deſcended from the *Sun*; and indeed there is ſomething ſo ſtriking in the account, which *du Pratz* gives us of the whole ſyſtem, that there is ſome room to ſuſpect that he has been impoſed upon.

Religion.

Policy.

The grand *Sun*'s power was deſpotiſm itſelf. Though he was the uncontrouled maſter of the lives and properties of his ſubjects, yet he was free from the evils attending arbitrary government in other countries, being under no apprehenſions of treaſon againſt his perſon or inſurrections againſt his ſtate. On his pronouncing ſentence of death, the criminal, though he could make his eſcape, never attempts it, but quietly ſubmits to his fate without ever begging for life. All executions are done on the ſpot the moment the criminal is found. The other *Suns* partook of the grand *Sun*'s authority, according to their ſeveral degrees of relation to him, and the *Pointed Serpent* at the time when his nation had war with *France*, killed, with his own-hand, three *Natches*, who had taken and bound a *Frenchman*, his friend. They have political as well as religious feaſts. The laſt is in honour of the great ſpirit to thank him for his benefits, and the firſt is for the conveniency of the ſovereign, who, on thoſe occaſions, gathers in his revenues; for the reader is to obſerve, that he is ſo very abſolute as to have no ſtated income; therefore every one contributes to it, as their inclination or abilities permit, and no farther queſtions are aſked. Their year conſiſts of thirteen moons, and at the end of every moon a feaſt is made, which takes the name from the chief fruits of the ground, which the preceding moon afforded, or the game that was then in ſeaſon. The firſt feaſt of the year, which is that of the kids, is very grand. On this occaſion they perform a kind of a drama, founded on one of the chief events of their hiſtory. Antiently one of their grand *Suns*, hearing a ſudden commotion in his village, ran haſtily out of his palace to appeaſe it, but fell into the hands of enemies, from whom he was reſcued by his warriors. To commemorate this important incident, they act it over, but without words, and yet not quite in dumb ſhew. They divide themſelves into two parties, the one diſtinguiſhed by white, and the other by red, feathers; they engage; the chief runs out rubbing his eyes, as if awakening from his ſleep, makes a great ſlaughter of his enemies, who at laſt ſurround and prepare to carry him off, when he is reſcued by his warriors. Every incident may be known, without ſeeing the action, by the different cries of hope, joy, death, and fear, which the two parties put up; and though no hurt is received, no players in *Europe* can equal their action, and during all the time of the repreſentation, the elders, women, and other ſpectators, join in the chorus of cries. *Du Pratz*, who has ſeen this exhibition, ſays that the grand chief, at the age of ninety, uſed to perform his part with an addreſs and vigour, which no man of thirty could come up to, eſpecially as it muſt have continued longer than the action of any *European* drama. The moſt ſolemn, however, of all their feaſts is the ſeventh, which is termed that of the *Maiz* or corn; but its ceremonies are too various, and too tedious to have place here.

Their feaſts.

THE politeneſs of thoſe ſavages in ſome points, is the reverſe of that of the *Europeans*, all priority and preference being given to the men, and the women being conſidered as only houſhold drudges. The ladies, however, in the more early parts of their lives, are not without their pleaſures. As ſoon as the two ſexes are judged by their parents to be of proper years for procreation, the men and women mix together without the ceremony of marriage; but after they are married all amours are dropt on both ſides, and neither huſband nor wife is then conſidered as having a heart to diſpoſe of. Though the former have a power of divorce, yet examples of that kind are very ſeldom known amongſt the *Natches*, and never but when the woman is next to a fiend. The women are ſo well practiſed in the art of abortion (P), that they never have children before marriage; and the bridegroom never fails to value his wife the more the greater fortune ſhe brings to his, from her amours with others; for it ſeems the fair ones there are far from being void of mercenary views, and take care always to make a previous bargain with their lovers.

Marriages. When a treaty of marriage is propoſed, the two parties never apply to their own fathers, but to the head of the family, who ſometimes happens to be their great great grandfather; and when the two elders meet, their firſt care is to examine whether the bridegroom and bride are not within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, a circumſtance of which they are very jealous; but, when this interview happens, it is always ſuppoſed that the intermediate parents on both ſides are agreed upon the match, for, if any amongſt them diſapprove of it, it never takes place. Thus it happens that amongſt thoſe diſciples of uninſtructed nature, family-jarrings are ſeldom or never heard; as no woman can enter into a family who is not perfectly agreeable to every member of it. After the two elders are agreed, the day is fixed; the men go a-hunting to provide good chear, the woman prepares the maize, and laviſhes all her art in decking out the cabin of her bridegroom. When the day comes, the elder of the bride's family iſſues out of his cabin, and conducts her to that of her future ſpouſe. All the family, men and women, follow him in ſilence, and no immoderate marks of joy appear. Before the bridegroom's cabin are ranged all his relations and parents, who receive the others with rude acclamations of joy. The bride's elder is introduced by the other into the

---

(P) This deteſtable cuſtom is ſaid to be common amongſt all the *American* ſavages, and without ſearching for other cauſes, ſufficiently accounts for the thinneſs of their population, as it undoubtedly is a great enemy to parturiency.

Nuptial ceremonies amongſt the ſavages.

cabin; after this, the ceremony is very ſimple. You are here, ſays the landlord; yes, anſwers the gueſt; ſit thee down, replies the other; and after a quarter of an hour's ſilence, they proceed to buſineſs. The two elders riſe, order the bride and bridegroom to advance towards them; and then they give them a lecture, worthy even Chriſtians, upon the reciprocal duties of a married ſtate. The bridgroom's father then brings the preſent he intends to give his ſon; and the bride's father does the ſame by his daughter. The bridegroom then ſays to his bride, will thou take me for thy huſband? Her anſwer is, "with all my heart; love me, as well as I love thee, for I love thee, and never will love any other man." Upon this, the bridegroom holds the father's preſent above the bride's head, ſaying, "I love thee, and therefore I take thee for my wife, and behold what I give to thy parents to purchaſe thee." The bridegroom then carries the feather of an aigrette, a particular fowl, upon the link that depends from his left ear, as a mark of his ſuperiority, with an oaken ſprig to it, thereby ſignifying, that he is not afraid of the woods, or the labours of hunting; and he takes into his hand a bow and arrows, to mark that he is not afraid of his enemies, and that he ſhall always be ready to defend his wife and children. The bride holds in her left hand a ſmall branch of laurel, and in her right an ear of maize, which her mother gives her at the time the father receives the preſent. The laurel ſignifies, that ſhe ſhall always keep herſelf ſweet and clean; and the maize, that ſhe ſhall take care to prepare and dreſs her huſband's victuals. After this, the bride drops the ear of maize, and the huſband joins his right hand to hers, ſaying, I am thy huſband; and ſhe anſwers, I am thy wife. The huſband then joins hands with all his wife's family, and ſhe does the ſame with his. He next ſhews her his bed, and ſays, behold our bed, keep it in good order, meaning, that ſhe ſhould not defile it. Thoſe ceremonies being over, the reſt of the day is ſpent in feaſting, ſports, and dancing. The bounds of this undertaking do not admit our enlarging farther in this place upon the cuſtoms of thoſe ſavages; and, therefore, we muſt proceed to the hiſtory of *Britiſh Florida*, which naturally follows that of the *Britiſh Louiſiana*.

Farther account of the Britiſh Florida.

LOUISIANA was formerly reckoned by the *Spaniards* part of *Florida*, which country, ſince our general account of it, has become the property of *Great Britain*; and, therefore, having had ſome freſh materials communicated to us, we cannot, in juſtice to the public, omit giving a more particular hiſtory of that valuable acquiſition; eſpecially as it will prove of what prodigious conſequence the *Spaniards* thought it to their intereſt in *America*, not, indeed, ſo much on account of its utility to them, as to keep it out of the hands of the *Engliſh* and *French*.

Expeditions of Ponce de Leon,

WITHOUT entering into the common topic, that has been ſo much agitated, concerning the firſt diſcoverers of *Florida*, of which little is known, (and indeed the whole diſpute is now immaterial) we ſhall take up this hiſtory from the year 1512, when, on the 3d of *March*, *John Ponce de Leon*, a *Spaniard*, ſailed from the iſland of *Porto Rico* with three ſhips, and ſteering northweſt, he made land on the 3d of *April* following, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes north. As the inſolent *Spaniards* of thoſe days thought themſelves ſufficiently warranted by the pope's grants for taking poſſeſſion where-ever they landed in *America*, he went through that ceremony, and named the country where he landed *Florida*, becauſe he diſcovered it upon *Eaſter-day*, or what the *Spaniards* call the flouriſhing day of *paſch* (Q). He then, on the 8th of the ſame month, ſailed towards the ſouth, coaſting along the ſhore, but was long before he could diſcover any of its natives; but, at laſt, ſeeing ſome, he ventured to land, and, if we are to credit the *Spaniſh* accounts, the ſavages attempted to rob him of his boat, which brought on a ſkirmiſh, in which two *Spaniards* were wounded. He afterwards, in going to water, made priſoner one of the natives, who ſerved him as a guide and interpreter, and erected a croſs and an inſcription upon the banks of a river, which is from thence called *Rio de la Cruz*. All this while, *Ponce* imagined *Florida* to be an iſland, and, in that perſuaſion, he returned through the *Lucaya* iſlands to *Porto Rico*.

and Vaſquez.

NO farther attempts ſeem to have been made for eight years by the *Spaniards* to purſue this diſcovery, or rather they had given over all thoughts of it; and, if we are to credit the

---

(Q) That *Florida* was diſcovered long before this, appears from *Sebaſtian Cabot*'s own words in 1496. "But after certain days, I found that the land run towards the north, which was to me a great diſpleaſure. Nevertheleſs, ſailing along by the coaſt, to ſee if I could find any gulph that turned, I found the land ſtill continent to the fifty-ſixth degree under our pole: and, ſeeing that there the coaſt turned toward the eaſt, deſpairing to find the paſſage, I turned back again, and ſailed down by the coaſt of that land toward the equinoctial, (ever with an intent to find the ſaid paſſage to *India*) and came came to that part of this firm land, which is now called *Florida*, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence, and returned into *England*."

French writers, their *Canadians*, at that time, actually traded with the ſavages of *Florida*. In the year 1520, *Luke Vaſquez* of *Aylon*, with ſome aſſociates, formed the inhuman project of ſtealing ſome natives from the neighbouring iſlands, to ſupply the ſcarcity of hands in working the *Spaniſh* mines. Fitting out two ſhips, he ſailed, from the harbour of *Plata* in *Hiſpaniola*, on the north weſtern coaſt, and came to the *Lucaya* iſlands, and, from thence, proceeded to that part of *Florida*, now called *St. Helena*, lying in the 32d degree of north latitude. The natives, ſeeing his ſhips, as they drew near land with expanded ſails, took them for two monſtrous fiſhes driving towards the ſhore, and ran in crowds to view them; but, ſeeing them land, they were ſo ſtruck with the cloathing and appearance of the *Spaniards*, that they fled from them with the greateſt marks of conſternation. Two of them, however, were taken priſoners, and the *Spaniards*, carrying them on board, gave them victuals and drink, and ſent them back on ſhore cloathed in *Spaniſh* dreſſes. This inſidious kindneſs had its deſired effect with the unſuſpecting ſavages. The king of the country admired the dreſſes, and the *Spaniſh* hoſpitality, ſo much, that he ſent fifty of his ſubjects to the ſhips with fruits and proviſions; ordered his people to attend the *Spaniards*, whenever they had a mind to viſit the country; and made them rich preſents of gold, plates of ſilver, and pearls. The *Spaniards*, having learned all they could concerning the country, watered, and revictualled their ſhips, and invited a large number of their generous landlords on board, where they plied them with liquor, and moſt treacherouſly weighing anchor, they ſailed off with them. This villainy, however, had not all the ſucceſs its perpetrators expected. Moſt of the unhappy ſavages either pined themſelves to death, or were wrecked in one of the ſhips that foundered at ſea; and only a very few ſuffered a fate worſe than death, that of being carried into *Spaniſh* ſlavery. This villainous action obtained to *Vaſquez* from his catholic majeſty the reward of a diſcoverer of new lands; and, in 1524, he ſent over more ſhips to *Florida*, and haſtened thither himſelf the next year with three more. No commodity in *America* is ſo precious as men: *Vaſquez* loſt two hundred of his, who were landed, and cut off by the natives, and one of his ſhips was wrecked near *Cape St. Helen*. Thoſe loſſes, and his perceiving that the advantages ariſing from his diſcoveries, which reached no farther than a part of the *Engliſh Carolina*, (which both the *French* and *Spaniards* formerly reckoned to belong to *Florida*, as they did *Georgia*,) near the river *Congaree* *garet* or *Santee*, made him return to *Hiſpaniola*, where he broke his heart.

Unſucceſsful expedition of Narvez,

THE next adventurer in the diſcovery of *Florida* was *Pamphilo Narvez*, who obtained from *Charles* V. a grant of all the lands lying from the river *Palms* to the boundaries of *Florida*, a ſpace of territory ſo indefinite, that it reached as far as the adventurers pleaſed to extend it on a map. In 1628, he ſailed from *Cuba* with four hundred foot, and twenty horſe, and arrived at *Florida*, on the 12th of *April*. His anchoring place was ſo near the land, that he could diſcover the huts of the ſavages from his ſhips, and when he came on ſhore, finding an utenſil made of gold, which the ſavages, who fled, had left behind them, he concluded that all their other utenſils were of the ſame metal; and, landing his troops, he again took poſſeſſion of the country for the king of *Spain*. The ſavages ſeemed diſpleaſed at this ceremony; but ſuch was the innate benevolence of the people, that many of them offered him and his ſoldiers maize. His buſineſs was to get intelligence, and, proceeding up the country, he diſcovered four wooden boxes containing bodies wrapped up in painted ſkins, and upon them lay ſome pieces of ſtuffs, both linen and woollen, and likewiſe ſome gold, which encreaſed his ſanguine expectations as to the richneſs of the country. He ordered his troops to march by land, and his ſhips to attend him by ſea, and the ſcene of his adventures ſeems to have lain towards the north coaſt of the gulph of *Mexico*. On the 1ſt of *May*, he began his long, painful, and romantic march, againſt the remonſtrances of his treaſurer. The fatigues his men underwent were very great; but the few inhabitants they met with were humane and hoſpitable. An *Indian* prince, cloathed in a ſtag's hide elegantly painted, and with attendants who blew horns, treated him in his towns with maize and veniſon.

ACCORDING to all accounts, the *Floridans* were in *North America* what the *Athenians* were in *Greece*; and it is to be regretted, that the original manners of them, and many other people in *South America*, are now loſt by the infection they have received from the *Spaniards* and the *Europeans*. Rude as thoſe nations were, they knew that gold was the great motive of the *Spaniſh* invaſions, and their conſtant cuſtom was to ſhift, upon more diſtant nations, the crime of poſſeſſing that miſchievous metal. The natives, where *Narvez* landed, pretended they had it from the *Apalaches*, and their report engaged him in that laborious march. At laſt, on the 25th of *June*, he came to the village of *Apalache*, which conſiſted f no more than forty cottages; but thoſe conſtructed with ll the conveniencies, and furniſhed with all the comforts, of avage elegance, all which he plundered, many of the unuſpecting natives flying ro their marſhes, but their cacique or rince fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*. *Narvez* remained t *Apalache* for twenty-five days; but could make no diſcoeries, excepting thoſe of unfrequented wilds. After a farther ourney of nine days ſouthwards, being all the way harraſſed, nd many of them cut off by the ſavages, they came to *Aute*, village lying in a country abounding with corn and neceſaries of life. The ſavages had the ſpirit to oppoſe their ntering into their town, which brought on a ſharp engagement, wherein ſeveral *Spaniards* were killed; but *Narvez*, t laſt, made good his quarters, and became maſter of large uantities of maize, peas, gourds, and other vegetables. Notwithſtanding this ſeaſonable relief, his army was in ſo miſerble a condition, and the country round was ſo unpromiſing, hat he was forced to direct his march towards the ſea, his hips being now the only refuge his ſoldiers could have to ave them from periſhing. It was with great difficulty they ould provide a kind of boats, to croſs the rivers they encounered, their ropes were made of horſe hair, and their ſails of he ſoldiers ſhirts, and the ſavages took advantage of their liſtreſs to cut off ten of their people. Their computation was, that, from the bay of *Santa Cruz*, where they landed, o their place of embarkation, they marched above eight hunlred miles. After they were embarked on the 22d of *September*, they were as miſerable as ever, being bewildered mongſt bays, diſtreſſed for want of water, and never landing vithout being attacked, and many of them cut off, by the *ndians*; who, at laſt, wounded the governor, and had almoſt leſtroyed the whole army. His treaſurer, *Cabeca de Vaca*, was amongſt the number of thoſe unfortunate adventurers, nd, being almoſt the only one amongſt them who eſcaped, t is to him we owe the hiſtory of this expedition. In their vanderings, they met with a nation of an unuſual ſize, whoſe kings wore marten's ſkins; and, when the *Spaniards* were reluced to as much miſery as human nature could ſuffer, as many of them as could land, who were but a very few, were hoſpitably relieved by the natives. The reſt were obliged o devour one another, and of fourſcore, fifteen only remained alive; and four of them, of whom *Cabeca de Vaca* was one, fter enduring inexpreſſible miſeries, arrived at *Mexico*; but *Narvez* himſelf never was heard of afterwards.

who periſhes with almoſt all his men.

NOTWITHSTANDING the unfortunate events attending the above three expeditions to *Florida*, *Ferdinand de Soto*, who

was

Expedition of Soto.

was governor of *Cuba*, received from *Charles* V. the title of marquis of *Florida*, or more properly of the lands he ſhould conquer there. He was, like the other *Spaniſh* adventurers, brave, enterpriſing, intrepid, and perſevering, from no principle but that of avarice, and, on the 12th of *May*, 1539, he embarked, on board nine ſhips, three hundred and fifty horſe, and nine hundred foot. This was the moſt formidable armament of *Europeans* that, till then, had appeared in *North America*; for his number of ſailors was proportionable, and he carried with him all kinds of neceſſaries. On the 25th of the ſame month, he came to an anchor in the bay of *Spiritu Sancto*, and there diſembarked, while the natives, on the firſt ſight they had of his ſhips, gave alarms by fires all over the country. *Moſcoſo*, who ſeems to have been the firſt in command under *Soto*, drew up the army, and without reſiſtance took poſſeſſion of a ſmall village, where was a temple, and an idol, and which ſerved as a lodgement; and here the army was cantoned; but we do not find that any of the natives remained in their village, for the *Spaniards* met with an irreparable loſs by two *Floridan* interpreters running away from them; and the country round was ſo marſhy, that they could, at firſt, lay hold of none of the natives. *Soto's* ſoldiers, at laſt, took four of them; but they were reſcued by their countrymen, (who proved to be an ingenious, brave, vigorous people,) falling off at firſt from the attack, that they might renew it with double force; ſo that they drove the *Spaniſh* detachment back to their head-quarters. Another detachment attacked ten or twelve *Indians*, amongſt whom was *John Ortiz*, a noble *Spaniard*, who could not be diſtinguiſhed from a native, and who, having ſerved under *Narvez*, had been taken priſoner, but had his life ſpared by the *Floridans*. He ſurrendered himſelf to his countrymen, and perſuaded the *Indians* to go along with the detachment to the *Spaniſh* camp, where they were received with vaſt exultation. *Ortiz*, it ſeems, owed his life to the interpoſition of a lady, daughter of the chief, by whom he was taken. Humanity alone was the lady's motive, without any amorous inclination; for ſhe adviſed *Ortiz* to fly to a neighbouring chief, who ſhe knew would receive him favourably, and ſhe ſhewed him, in perſon, part of his way. *Mocoſo*, (for that was the name of the chief,) received him kindly, and promiſed to protect him, and, with great nobleneſs of ſoul, no ſooner heard of the landing of the *Spaniards*, than he counſelled *Ortiz*, who had lived his ſubject for twelve years, to join his countrymen, and gave him, for that purpoſe, the eſcorte which the *Spaniards* carried to their camp. *Ortiz*, being equipped

Wonderful adventure of a Spaniard.

as a *Spaniſh* officer of horſe, informed *Soto* that at the diſtance of thirty leagues, lay a plentiful country, governed by one *Paracoxi*, the moſt powerful prince in the neighbourhood. Soon after *Mocoſo* paid a friendly viſit to the *Spaniſh* general, who made him a few preſents, and diſmiſſed him; after which *Soto* diſpatched *Balthazar de Gallegos* to reconnoitre the country of *Paracoxi* with about thirty men: that chief hearing of the *Spaniards* approach, left his capital, but ſent a deputation to know what they demanded, and whether he could be of ſervice to them, but he, at the ſame time, on pretence of an indiſpoſition, declined paying the *Spaniards* a viſit. *Gallegos* demanded of the meſſenger, whether any country thereabouts produced gold and ſilver, and they directed them to a province called *Cale*; upon which *Gallegos* put them in irons, that they might be uſeful in the march of the army to *Cale*, where it indeed arrived, but found the town deſerted. The army, at this time, was on the point of being famiſhed, but were refreſhed by the maize they found at *Cale*, the only commodity it produced. The natives they found there, like their countrymen, willing to get rid of their rapacious gueſts, directed the general to another plentiful province, called *Palache*, to which he marched againſt the advice of all his officers, carrying along with him, priſoner, the cacique of *Caliquien*, a province through which he paſſed. The *Indians* ſeveral times applied with great humility for the deliverance of their chief; but that being denied them, *Ortiz*, who underſtood their language perfectly well, learned from a native that the cacique's ſubjects and friends had aſſembled, to the number of four hundred men, in a neighbouring wood, to deliver him by force. Notwithſtanding this, they very politely ſent two meſſengers to interceed with the general for their cacique's deliverance; but knowing where the main body was poſted, he ordered his ſoldiers to fall upon them, which they accordingly did, and put forty of them to the ſword, while the reſt leaping into the water, were ſurrounded by the *Spaniſh* horſe in ſuch a manner, that all of them but twelve, who reſolved to die rather than become ſlaves, ſurrendered themſelves. Their ſlavery was ſo dreadful, that they roſe upon the *Spaniards*, and, though only armed with clubs, killed many of them; but, at laſt, they were ſubdued, and numbers of them were bound to ſtakes, and ſhot by the *Paracoxi Indians*, many of whom had attended the *Spaniſh* camp. *Soto*, after this, purſued his march to *Palache*, through various places and provinces, the names of which are now loſt; all the way chaining together the miſerable natives who fell into his hands, and forcing them to carry the baggage of

Soto *marches to* Palache,

his

Altaraca, Ocuté, *and* Coſaqui.

his ſoldiers. Upon his arrival at *Palache*, he quartered his army round the reſidence of that cacique, and it was plentifully ſupplied with maize, beans, cucumbers, and a kind of plumbs, more delicious than any to be found in *Europe*, but which grow there without cultivation. *Palache* lies within ten leagues of the ſea, and from thence *Soto* ſent out one of his officers, *Maldonado*, to reconnoitre, and to try whether he could diſcover any country producing gold, or a good harbour. *Maldonado* diſcovered an excellent harbour, and was ſent by the general to the *Havannah* to procure a ſupply of arms and tools. A young *Indian* priſoner was ſoon after brought before *Soto*, who gave him an account, that far off towards the eaſt, lay a province, called *Yupaha*, which produced abundance of gold; and he deſcribed the manner of melting and refining it with ſo much accuracy, that the *Spaniards* thought it impoſſible they could be impoſed upon, and leaving *Palache*, they began a moſt arduous, difficult, and dangerous march, in which moſt of their *Indian* priſoners periſhed through fatigue, to *Yupaha*. The firſt place they arrived at was *Capachiqui*, from whence they proceeded to *Toalli*, where they found the natives living in a convenient, comfortable, manner, far beyond all the *Floridans* they had ſeen. The next town they came to was *Acheſe*, where *Soto* impudently pretended to the cacique, who hoſpitably came to viſit him, that he was the ſon of the ſun, and ſet at liberty all the cacique's ſubjects, whom he had taken priſoners. On the 24th of *April*, the army arrived at *Altaraca*, and from thence at *Ocuté*, where the cacique ſent 2000 men with preſents to the general, and gave him four hundred of his ſubjects for ſervice. The *Spaniards* next came to *Coſaqui*, and then to *Patoſa*; the country all the way for fifty miles preſenting a moſt beautiful appearance. The *Patoſans* ſaid they knew of no ſuch country as *Yupaha*; but *Soto* ſtill purſued his march to the eaſtward, though the *Patoſans* directed him to a fertile province, lying to the north-weſt. The march proved ſo tedious, that the general threatened to throw the young *Indian* who had deceived him to the dogs; but he was ſaved by the interpoſition of *Ortiz*. *Soto*, in vain, ſent out parties to make diſcoveries, and his army muſt have periſhed for want of proviſions, had it not been for ſome ſwine, which he had brought to *Florida*, and carried along with him, and had multiplied extremely. At laſt, *Danhuſco*, one of his officers, who had been ſent out on a reconnoitring party, returned with an account of his having diſcovered a town, at the diſtance of about thirty-ſix miles, which revived the ſpirits of the army; but they were obliged to diſmiſs the *Patoſans*, who had ſerved the *Spaniards* with great fidelity and affection. On the 26th of *April* the general took poſſeſſion of this town, and underſtood that, near it, lay another nation, called *Catifachiqui*, which was governed by a woman. The general ſent his compliments to that princeſs, who returned hers by her ſiſter; and ſoon after ſhe appeared herſelf in a canoe, attended by many others, with all the ſtate of her country. She was received by *Soto*, and made him a preſent of a pearl necklace, the pearls of an uncommon ſize, and while he remained in her dominions, ſhe furniſhed him with proviſions of fowls. Her country was pleaſant, and her people more civilized than any *Soto* had met with in *Florida*, wearing cloaths and drawers. Here the *Spaniards* found a very advantageous port for the ſhips from *New, Spain*, *Peru*, *St. Martha*, and the main; and moſt of them wanted to ſettle there; but gold being the ſole view of the general, he rejected all their applications, and pretending that *Maldonado* was to wait for them at *Ochuſé*, he prepared to ſet out for *Catifachiqui*.

A female cacique.

In the mean while, the *Spaniards* had behaved with ſuch rudeneſs and barbarity to the attendants of the female cacique, that ſhe had formed a deſign of eſcaping from them, but was moſt infamouſly put under arreſt by *Soto*, notwithſtanding the generous manner in which ſhe received him, and obliged to attend his army on foot as a priſoner for ſeven days of a wretched march through a deſert country, until they came to *Chalagne*. The princeſs thus baſely betrayed into ſlavery, diſcovered no ſign of reluctance or diſcontent; but ordered her ſubjects to carry the *Spaniſh* baggage, and diſſembled ſo well, that on their march to *Xualla*, ſhe found means to eſcape, carrying off with her a caſket of very valuable pearls. This elopement was a vaſt mortification and diſappointment to *Soto*, who intended to have kept her as a pledge for the fidelity of the extended dominions ſhe poſſeſſed, many of the neighbouring caciques being her tributaries. Five days after, the *Spaniards* arrived at *Quaxalla*, from whence *Soto* ſent a meſſenger to the cacique of *Chiaha*, deſiring him to provide maize for his army, as he intended to reſide for ſome days in his dominions. The country from *Catifachiqui* was ſo beautiful and ſo fertile, that it naturally produced fruit, as fine as any to be found in the beſt *European* gardens. After five days march, the army approached near *Chiaha*, where the governor met with a moſt hoſpitable reception from the cacique; and the *Spaniards* here found lard made of bear's fat, and likewiſe honey, the firſt they had ſeen in *Florida*. This country preſented them with the face of tranquillity; the people were generous and peaceable; and the ſoil ſo fertile, that the *Spaniſh*

Soto's *farther progreſs* *to* Chiaha

horſes ſoon grew fat in grazing on the neighbouring meadows. In ſhort, the ſituation of the *Spaniards* here, after the vaſt fatigue they had undergone, was ſo enchanting, that *Soto* made it the place of his army's reſidence for thirty days. *Soto* then demanded of the cacique thirty of his ſubjects to carry his baggage, which, with a great deal of difficulty on the part of the cacique, as well as the general, was complied with; thoſe princes being obliged on ſuch occaſions to conſult their people.

in ſearch of gold.

SOTO's ravenous appetite for gold and ſilver ſtill prevailed, and the cacique of *Acoſte*, who came to pay him his compliments, informed him, that the province of *Chiſca*, towards the north, produced copper, with other metals of a more lively appearance. This information was ſufficient to add wings to the general's expedition, and, on the 12th of *July*, he arrived at *Acoſte*, which he entered attended only by eight of his guards. He was received with great hoſpitality by the cacique; but others of his rapacious ſoldiers beginning to ranſack and plunder the town, the *Indians* fell upon them, and the general's perſon being in the hands of the ſavages, he muſt have loſt his life, had he not, with great preſence of mind, joined them in beating his plundering ſoldiers. This reconciled the cacique and his people ſo much to him, that he found means to draw the cacique and ſome of his principal attendants to his camp, where he put them all under arreſt; and declared that they ſhould not regain their liberty, till they furniſhed guides for his ſoldiers, and till two meſſengers he had diſpatched to *Chiſca* were returned in ſafety, which they did next day. They reported, that the ways were ſo impracticable, and the country ſo barren, that they could not reach *Chiſca*, and the cacique furniſhing the guides that were required from him, he was ſet at liberty, while the *Spaniards* marched to *Tali*. Here, as uſual, they met with a generous reception from the cacique, who furniſhed him with ſome of his ſubjects to carry their baggage, and, on the 16th of *July*, they arrived at *Coſa*. The cacique there met them in great ſtate, before they entered the town. He was cloathed in a robe of marten's ſkins; he wore on his head a feather diadem; and the litter on which he ſate was carried on the ſhoulders of his nobles; his other ſubjects playing round it with inſtruments of muſic. The reception the *Spaniards* met with in this delightful country, which was well peopled, well cultivated, and abounded with all the beauties of nature, was the moſt hoſpitable that can be conceived; for the inhabitants reſigned even their own houſes for the accommodation of the *Spaniards*. But when *Soto*, as he had always done to the others, put their cacique under

His reception by the cacique of Coſa.

under arreſt, the inhabitants fled to the woods, from whence they could not be drawn, but by the entreaties of the cacique himſelf, to carry the baggage of the *Spaniards*.

On the 20th of *Auguſt*, *Soto* continued his march to *Tallimachuſe*, and from thence to *Itava*. He then reached *Ulliballi*, and marching leiſurely through the cultivated ſpots, but haſtily through the deſarts, he reached *Toaſi*, and five days after *Talliſe*, a large town lying in the midſt of a well cultivated country; and here he diſmiſſed the cacique of *Coſa*, whom, till then, he had moſt ungratefully and ungenerouſly detained in captivity. From thence he marched to *Taſcaluca*, the reſidence of a powerful warlike prince, who reigned over well cultivated and populous countries. This cacique received *Soto* ſitting in a balcony, and with great ſtate, and the *Spaniard* ſeating himſelf by him, whiſpered to him, that he was his priſoner, and muſt go along with him. Two days after, *Soto* continued his march to *Piaché*, and a *Spaniard* being miſſing, he gave the cacique of *Taſcaluca* to underſtand, that if he expected his liberty, the *Spaniard* muſt be produced. The ſavage, with great quickneſs, under pretence of giving the neceſſary orders for that, and for proviſions for the army, on the 18th of *October*, diſpatched meſſengers to *Maville*, a large town of which the cacique was his tributary, to inform him of his condition, and to gather as great a force as he could for his deliverance. *Soto* had ſome intimation of what was intended, but obſtinately entered the town, and the cacique of *Taſcaluca* fairly apprized him of his danger, and endeavoured to perſuade him to march no farther, and to leave him at his liberty. *Soto* continued deaf to all his remonſtrances; upon which the cacique made his eſcape to his friend and ſubjects, and put the haughty *Spaniards* to defiance, nor would he deign afterwards to have the leaſt intercourſe with them.

He is in danger of being cut off.

SOTO would gladly have compounded with the prince, whom he had but an hour before held greatly in contempt, and offered to let him remain at liberty, if he would give him a guide, and a few of his ſubjects to carry his baggage. This offer was rejected by the generous cacique with ſilent indignation; and one of his chief ſubjects, who refuſed to carry a ſecond meſſage on the ſame head, being wounded by an inſolent *Spaniard*, the natives ran to arms, drove *Soto* wounded out of their town, killed five of his attendants, and made prize of all his valuable baggage, wirh a number of arms. *Soto*, regaining his camp, charged the ſavages at the head of his cavalry, and drove them behind the palliſade, and then, bringing all his army up, he attempted to ſtorm the town,

town. The ſavages, foreſeeing their fate, had ſent off their cacique, with the moſt valuable baggage they had taken from the *Spaniards*, to a place of ſafety, and had they been equally armed with the *Spaniards* would have defeated them; but, being in a manner naked, the *Spaniards* forced their way into their town with the ſlaughter of 2500 *Indians*, who bravely fell with their arms in their hands.

Soto *arrives at* Chicoca.

His army attacked by the Indians.

THIS unmanly advantage was far from recompencing the avaricious *Spaniards* for their loſs. The *Indians* had carried off all that they had gained by their long, toilſome, and expenſive expedition; and *Soto*, who was upon his march to *Ochuſe*, where *Maldonado* was waiting for him at the diſtance of ſeven days journey, ordered that the late action ſhould not be mentioned in the army, the ſoldiers being ignorant of the vaſt loſs he had ſuſtained; and he ſtill truſting to the expected land of gold and ſilver, which was to make up for all miſcarriages and loſſes. On the 18th of *November*, he reſumed his march, and after various adventures, he arrived at *Chicocha* the 18th of *December*, where he reſolved to winter. The country being fine and fertile, the cacique of it was invited by *Soto* to viſit him, which he did, together with two other chiefs, who made him preſents of what the country afforded. At laſt, *Soto* and the cacique of *Chicccha* grew ſo intimate, that the former lent the latter a part of his troops to reduce ſome of his rebel ſubjects; but, in this expedition the *Spaniards* had no opportunity to ſhew their valour, as the rebels fled upon the approach of their cacique. While the *Spaniards* wintered here, they behaved ſo little to the ſatisfaction of the natives, that in *March*, when *Soto* was about to move his army, he could not obtain from the cacique, who pretended that he muſt conſult his great men, any *Indians* for his ſervice. At laſt, the natives roſe upon the *Spaniards*, and attacked them in the night-time, all at once ſetting fire to the town, where they were cantoned, and killing the *Spaniards* as ſoon as they ſet foot out of their tents or cottages. It is poſſible, that the whole body of the *Spaniards* might have been deſtroyed, had not the ſavages ſet fire to the town, and the *Spaniſh* horſes breaking looſe, they imagined that the riders were forming to attack them; upon which they retired after burning the town, and all the effects, which the *Spaniards* had in it. Twelve *Spaniards* were killed, many were wounded or ſcorched by the flames; but fifty horſes were burnt, together with four hundred pigs, an animal which the *Spaniards* had imported into *Florida*, where it thrived prodigiouſly, and the *Indians* were ſo fond of its fleſh, that many quarrels happened on that account between them and the *Spaniards*. The latter had now no ſhelter againſt the vaſt inclemency of the weather, till a ſoldier invented a robe, woven of dry graſs, which, though ridiculous at firſt, was ſoon imitated by all the army, to whom it proved a comfortable cloathing. Had the *Indians* attacked them in this diſtreſs, they might have been ruined; but they delayed giving them any moleſtation till the 15th of *March*, when the *Spaniards* were ſo well provided to receive them, that they were repulſed with the loſs of forty men.

SOTO then purſued his march; but was oppoſed by the *Indians*, who had entrenched themſelves behind a palliſade, and for ſome time fought them very bravely, till being obliged by the *Spaniſh* fire-arms to retire, they threw themſelves into a river, which they croſſed; the *Spaniards* not daring to purſue them. *Quizquiz* was ſeven days march from *Alimama*, where the late encounter happened, through moſt dreadful roads, the fatigue of which the *Spaniards*, however, ſurmounted, and, ſurprizing the place, they made the cacique's mother a priſoner. *Soto* intended to keep her as a pledge for her ſon's friendſhip, but offered to ſet her at liberty, provided the cacique would come to his camp. The ſavage refuſed to truſt him, till his mother and all the other priſoners were delivered up, which *Soto*, whoſe army was upon the point of periſhing, was obliged to comply with. All that this compliance gained him, was liberty to proceed unmoleſted to *Rio Grande*. Here he found a ſtation that afforded maize, and wood for building boats, and he was viſited in vaſt ſtate by the cacique of the place, who was very powerful, and attended by two hundred canoes. After ſome conferences together, the cacique made a ſeaſonable preſent of fiſh, and a ſort of cakes, made of plumb paſte; but he could not be perſuaded to land: and it was thought he would have attacked the *Spaniards*, had he found them off their guard. The *Spaniards* then croſſed the river, which was the largeſt in *Florida*, but were all the while expoſed to exceſſive ſhowers of arrows from the ſavages. After painfully traverſing the province of *Quixo*, they marched to that of *Pacha*, and from thence to that of *Caſqui*. The cacique of this country being at war with him of *Pacaba*, through whoſe territories *Soto*'s march lay, entertained him and his attendants very plentifully, and they were received through all the province with great joy. Before *Soto*, who had always called himſelf the ſon of the *Sun*, reſumed his march, the cacique brought him two blind men to be cured, as a proof of his divine extraction, which put *Soto* to ſome confuſion, and he was obliged to refer his patients to *Jeſus Chriſt*. *Soto* and his army paſſed the river here upon a bridge moſt ingeniouſly

He penetrates into Caſqui *and* Pacaha.

niouſly conſtructed by the ſavages, and falling into the province of *Pacaha*, he was followed by the cacique of *Caſqui*, and his army. The cacique of *Pacaha*, at firſt, ſtood upon the defenſive in a little iſland, from whence being driven, a conſiderable booty fell into the hands of the *Caſquians*, who, finding that the *Spaniards* were ſtrongly inclined to claim it, ſeparated from their army; and this obliged *Soto* to take the *Pacahan* cacique into his friendſhip, and, at laſt, to reconcile the two chiefs together. He remained forty days in this ſtation; but, not being able to diſcover any road from that to *Chiſca*, the fancied land of gold and ſilver, he returned back to *Caſqui*, and, on the 4th of *Auguſt*, arrived at *Quigate*, the largeſt town the *Spaniards* had ſeen in *Florida*. Great part of it was burnt by way of precaution by *Soto*, and, its cacique being made priſoner, he was by him directed to the province of *Coligoa*, to which they marched through a road ſo very marſhy, that they were ſometimes obliged to ſleep in the water. After travelling about forty leagues in this uncomfortable manner, they proceeded to *Paliſeme*, and from thence to *Tafalicoya*, where the cacique furniſhed them with a guide to *Cayas*, where the army remained a whole month. Here the natives manufactured ſalt, a commodity which the *Spaniards* had not before ſeen in *Florida*, and the ſoil fattened their horſes to an amazing degree. *Soto*, as uſual, made the cacique his priſoner, and he offered him a guide to *Tulla*, which lay a day and a half's journey to the ſouthward; but, he having been long at war with that people, no interpreter could be procured.

NOTWITHSTANDING this, *Soto* ſet out with a party of horſe and foot; but was ſoon obliged to return, the natives having fallen upon the army he had left. The people of *Tulla* at firſt made reſiſtance, but *Soto* cut off the right hands and noſes of ſix of them, and ſent them in that condition to their cacique, threatening that, unleſs he ſubmitted, he would treat himſelf and all his ſubjects in the ſame manner. This menace had the deſired effect; and amongſt other preſents made to the *Spaniards* by the natives were a great many cow-ſkins covered with wool, as ſoft as that of ſheep, which in that cold country was of infinite ſervice to them. *Soto* had likewiſe here the good fortune to meet with an interpreter; and it is ſaid that ſome of the marſhes through which he paſſed were ſo full of fiſh, that his ſoldiers could take them up with their hands. Upon enquiry, he found that he was within eighty leagues of *Autiamqué*; which, by the deſcription he had of its being a plentiful populous country, and ſituated near a great lake, which he thought might be an arm of the ſea, he reſolved to make his winter quarters, eſpecially as it might open him a communication with *Cuba.* This was the more neceſſary as he had now loſt above two hundred and fifty of his army, whom he expected to be recruited from *Cuba.* In his route to *Autiamqué* he marched through the towns of *Annouxi* and *Catamaya.* When he arrived at *Autiamqué* he pitched his camp at a diſtance from the houſes, and fortified it with a wooden palliſade. The cacique ſent him preſents, but would not go near him in perſon; and perceiving from *Soto's* evaſive manner, that he intended to remain for ſome time in his country, he would gladly have forced him away, but *Soto* kept his people ſo alert, that his camp was not to be ſurprized, and the *Indians* could not attack him in any other manner. While he lay here, his army had great plenty of proviſions, and particularly of fine large rabbits.

1542.

His army reduced to three hundred men, and forty horſes.

ON the 6th of *March* 1542, *Soto* marched from *Autiamqué* with his army, which was now reduced to three hundred men, and forty horſes, ſeveral of them lame; amongſt others, *John Ortiz* died at *Autiamqué* to the inexpreſſible loſs of *Soto*; whoſe deſign was to march to *Nilco*, from whence he hoped to have a paſſage to the ſea. After a march, in which his army was obliged ſometimes to ſwim, ſo marſhy was the country, he arrived at *Tutelpina*, and three days after at *Tianto*, in the province of *Nilco*, which, excepting *Palache* and *Coſa*, appeared to be the moſt fertile and beſt peopled of any they had ſeen in *Florida.* After various difficulties and adventures he came to *Guachoya*, whoſe cacique being at war with him of *Nilco*, offered to ſerve him with his forces; but finding *Soto* determined to viſit *Guachoya*, he fled with all his people to the oppoſite banks of the great river. The *Spaniards* reached *Guachoya*, where *Soto* was accoſted with apologies from the cacique, and upon farther enquiry was directed to the dominions of one *Quigaltan*, which lay three days journey down the river on the oppoſite ſhore. The difficulties which occurred to the ſcouting parties, who were ſent out to know whether *Quigaltan's* country lay near the ſea, were ſo great that the vexation they occaſioned threw *Soto* into a fever. Notwithſtanding this, ſuch was his pride and arrogance, that he ſent to the cacique of *Quigaltan* to pay him the uſual homage and ſubmiſſions, which he had received from the caciques, and demanding he ſhould do it in perſon. The cacique returned to this ſummons an anſwer full of ſcorn and indignation, putting the *Spaniard* at defiance; nay, making even preparations to attack him. This exaſperated *Soto* ſo much that he ſent a detachment, which, in conjunction

Defied by the Indians.

with the natives of *Guachoya*, committed a moſt horrible and unprovoked maſſacre upon the inhabitants of *Nilco*, who were now returned to their habitations. *Soto* was now confined to his death-bed, and piouſly poured out his ſoul in acknowledgments to God for having enabled him to ſhed ſuch torrents of innocent blood, and carry on ſo many wars againſt ſavages, and in exhorting his followers to tread in his moſt Chriſtian footſteps; for which purpoſe he adviſed them to name his ſucceſſor. This they modeſtly declined, and the nomination being left to himſelf, he pitched upon his lieutenant-general, *Lewis Moſcoſo d'Alvarado*, to whom the *Spaniards* immediately ſwore obedience.

His death.

Succeeded by Moſcoſo,

MOSCOSO took great care to conceal *Soto*'s death from the ſavages, whom he endeavoured to perſuade, that he was immortal, and only gone to heaven for a ſhort time; a journey which he had often performed; but they ſuſpected the truth, and the cacique of *Guachoya* ſent *Moſcoſo* two very handſome young *Indians* to accompany *Soto* to the other world. *Moſcoſo* gave orders that they ſhould be ſent back; but one of them never would part with him, becauſe he thereby ſaved his life. *Moſcoſo* then deliberated about the courſe they were to purſue, whether to make the beſt of their way by land to the *Spaniſh* ſettlements, or endeavour to reach *Cuba* by ſea: the former was reſolved on, and on the 5th of *June* the *Spaniards* quitted *Guachoya*, and after ſix days march through a deſert, reached *Chaguate*, in which province they remained for two days. On the 4th of *July* they arrived at *Aguacay*, from whence they proceeded to the province of *Mayé*, and thence to *Naguata*. Here they were bravely attacked by the ſavages; but hunger and deſpair rendering them invincible, they forced their paſſage croſs a river, where the cacique's habitation lay, and entered a moſt plentiful country. Here the cacique made his ſubmiſſion, throwing the blame of all that had happened upon his brother, who had been killed by the *Spaniards* in the attack made upon them, and he was taken into particular favour by *Moſcoſo*. The ſwelling of rivers, though no rain had fallen, detained *Moſcoſo* for eight days in this province; but in three days more he reached *Miſſchone*, and *Lacané*, both of them lying in the midſt of wild deſerts. He then came to *Mondaca*, from thence he marched to *Soacatino*, and then through the province of *Aays*, where the *Spaniards* were dreadfully harraſſed by the natives, and after ſuſtaining incredible fatigues they reached *Nagiſcoſa*.

Who is forced to return to Nilco.

In this ſituation of the *Spaniards* we are to conſider them in the light of out-caſts and wanderers upon the face of the earth. Surrounded as they were by wilds and deſerts they had no object on which they could exerciſe their courage, nor could they exert any virtue but patience. After conſultation they reſolved to return to *Nilco*, that they might get from thence a paſſage to *Cuba*. While they were on their march back, they were moſt agreeably ſurprized to ſee that the induſtry and activity of the ſavages had repaired all the horrible ravages which they themſelves had committed in their marches. The town of *Naguata*, which they had deſtroyed, was rebuilt, and the natives were employed in a manufacture of earthen diſhes, reſembling thoſe of *Spain* and *Holland*. Upon their arrival at *Nilco*, where they were to provide ſhips, they met with a very different appearance of things; the inhabitants having not recovered the conſternation into which the *Spaniards* had thrown them, and their country was void of all the means of ſubſiſtence. Their enmity with a neighbouring people, thoſe of *Minoya*, ſaved the *Spaniards* when they were on the point of periſhing, by directing them againſt the *Minoyans*, in whoſe country they found prodigious quantities of maize and wood very fit for ſhip-building. Through incredible induſtry and application, ſeven brigantines were built, and upon the ſudden ſwelling of the waters at the encreaſe of the moon, they were ſet on float. On the 2d of *July*, 1543, the *Spaniards* embarked, and ſailing down the river amidſt clouds of *Indian* arrows, which poured on every ſide, and which killed a great many of their men after a moſt uncomfortable paſſage of fifty-two days, the thin remains of them arrived at *Panieo* on the continent of *Mexico* on the 10th of *September* 1543 (R). Thus ended the expedition of *Ferdinand de Soto* and *Moſcoſo* in ruin and poverty to all who were concerned in it; nor did they leave a *Spaniard* in all *Florida*.

Adventures of Ribaut.

THIS laſt circumſtance ſuggeſted to the famous admiral *de Coligny* the idea of tranſplanting to *Florida* a colony of *French* pro-

---

(R) The above relation of *Soto*'s expeditions, or rather mad adventures in *Florida*, is taken from the famous *Ynca Garcilaſſo de la Vega*, printed at *Liſbon*, in 1605. Though his authority has been always deemed unqueſtionable, yet *Charlevoix* has accuſed him of exaggerating the power and riches of the *Floridans*, but we cannot ſee with what propriety. It is certain from the relations of the *French* themſelves, that the inhabitants of *Florida* are ſtrong, ingenious, active and brave; if they are otherwiſe at preſent, it is owing to the harraſſments of the *Spaniards* and the *French*; but the nature of the ſoil is ſtill the ſame, and the mildneſs and benevolence of a *Britiſh* adminiſtration, may ſoon reſtore the preſent *Floridans* to all the virtues of their anceſtors, and render them excellent ſubjects.

Proteſtants, and he had the permiſſion of *Charles* IX. for that purpoſe; that prince being anxious to get rid of his huguenots at any rate. As *Coligny* had the entire direction of this new project, he committed the execution of it to one *Ribaut*, a native of *Dieppe*, an experienced ſailor and a zealous huguenot. On the 18th of *February*, 1562, he ſailed from *Dieppe* with two ſhips well equipped, and well manned; the crews conſiſting of prime ſailors, with a body of land forces, amongſt whom were ſeveral gentlemen volunteers. To the firſt land which he diſcovered, which was woody, though low, he gave the name of *Cape François*. He then turned to the right, and diſcovered the river of *Dauphin*, without entering it; after which he ſailed to the river of *May*, ſo called from his entering it the firſt of that month. Here he was welcomed by great numbers of the ſavages, and he erected a kind of ſtone column, on which the arms of *France* were engraved. This idle ceremony of poſſeſſion being over, *Ribaut* viſited the cacique of the ſavages he was amongſt, and made him ſome preſents. After this, he arrived at the river *Jourdain*, which we have already mentioned to have been diſcovered by *Vaſquez*, and coaſted, ſtill keeping ſight of the land, all along the ſhore of what is now the *Engliſh Carolina*, and which the *French* affect to comprehend in their *Florida*, tho' the province of *Georgia* interpoſes between *Carolina* and *Spaniſh Florida*. *Ribaut*, as he proceeded, gave *French* names to all the rivers he met with; but ſometimes miſtook bays for the mouths of rivers. Arriving at that of *St. Croix*, which he miſtook for *Jourdain*, he built a fort which he called *Charles* fort. Its ſituation was in the midſt of a moſt delightful country; the neighbouring rivers abounding with fiſh, and the ſavages extremely compliable: but he could not prevail with one of them to follow him to *France*, where he intended to preſent them to his court, and his patron, the admiral.

Who leave a French *Huguenot colony in* Florida.

RIBAUT, having made a ſettlement round his new-built fort, left one of his officers, *Albert*, to command it, and he himſelf returned to *Dieppe*, where he arrived on the 20th of *July*. During his abſence, *Albert*, according to orders, made excurſions, that he might extend his diſcoveries further up the country, during which he viſited ſeveral paraouſties or chiefs, for ſo they are there termed. Here one of them, *Anduſta*, admitted him to be ſpectator, but ſecretly, of one of their feſtivals in favour of a divinity they called *Toya*, which began in the funeral, but ended in the bacchanalian, manner. *Albert* fell into the common fault of all adventurers. Inſtead of ſowing grounds, and rearing ſtock for the ſubſiſtence of the colony, he roved about the country in queſt of gold and ſilver mines. In a ſhort time his proviſions failed him; after that his powder and ball, and, at laſt, the ſeaſon for fiſhing paſſed over; nor could his infant colony be any longer ſupplied by the ſavages; as an accidental fire conſumed the ſmall remains of maize that was left him. The truth is, this captain *Albert* was a downright tyrant over his people, whoſe patience was at laſt worn out, and they cut his throat. They choſe for his ſucceſſor one *Barre*, who was a prudent, moderate man; but *Ribaut* not returning according to his promiſe, the colony precariouſly depended upon the ſavages for ſubſiſtence, till they came to have nothing before their eyes but death by famine. In this extremity of diſtreſs, though there was ſcarce an artizan or a ſailor amongſt them, they made ſhift to build and rig out a veſſel by an effort of induſtry, the half of which, if exerted in cultivating their lands, would have enabled them to have lived comfortably. Putting to ſea, they were ſoon deſtitute of all the means of ſubſiſtence, their proviſions and freſh water entirely failing them. At laſt, their ill conſtructed veſſel being every moment in danger of foundering, they prepared to draw lots who ſhould be killed for the benefit of the ſurvivors. A ſoldier, one *Lachau*, who had been baſely treated by *Albert*, offered to be the victim; upon which, he was immediately butchered and devoured. Soon after this tragedy was acted, juſt as they were upon the point of repeating it, they were taken up by an *Engliſh* ſhip, on board of which was a *Frenchman*, who told them that the civil wars of *France* had prevented their being relieved.

Who murder their governor.

WHEN *Charles* IX. and *Coligny* were, to appearance, reconciled, that admiral ſtrongly ſolicited reinforcements for his colony; and he obtained three ſhips well manned and victualled for ſuccouring *Charles* fort, under the command of one *René de Laudonniere*, a good officer, who had before ſerved in that country under *Ribaut*. He carried along with him a number of ſoldiers, amongſt whom were incorporated ſeveral gentlemen volunteers, who ſerved at their own expence with a body of excellent artizans, and every man amongſt them proteſtants. The king furniſhed *Laudonniere* with 50,000 crowns ready money; but *de Morgues*, who ſerved in the ſame expedition, makes them amount to 100,000 (S). *Laudonniere* ſailed with his three ſhips from *Havre de Grace*, the 22d of *April*, 1564, and on the 22d of *June* he arrived at *Florida*, where he landed, and where he was almoſt

1564.

(S) The hiſtory of the two voyages made to *Florida* was written by *Laudonniere* himſelf, and is of better note than that wrote by *de Morgues*, which is printed in the firſt volume of *India Occidentalis*.

An aged Paracouſti.

worſhipped by one of the *Floridan* princes, by the *French* writers named *Paraouſti Saturiova* (T). This chief was exceſſively fond of the *French*, and brought to *Laudonniere* his two ſons; the eldeſt of whom was a moſt amiable prince[p]. At the ſame time he inſtructed him in the ſtate of the country, of his friends, his enemies, and of every thing he had either to hope or fear. Without regarding *Charles* fort, he made his reſidence on the banks of the river *May*, and engaged the *Paraouſti* to make a ſort of an excurſion with him up that river, that he might become entirely acquainted with the adjacent lands. When he had proceeded a little way up the ſtream, he ordered his tent to be pitched, and ſent two of his officers *Ottigny* and *d'Erlac* to make diſcoveries higher up. In their journey they met with ſavages, who were entirely independent of *Saturiova*, and who, recovering from the fright into which the ſight of the *French* had at firſt thrown them, brought them to a *Paracouſti*, ſaid to be two hundred and fifty years of age, and had that appearance, though his ſon did not appear to be above ſixty. The two officers having had an interview with this aged prince, returned to the place where they had left *Laudonniere*. As the finding mines of gold and ſilver was the great motive that brought the coloniſts to *America*, they applied themſelves entirely to that diſcovery, without minding the culture of the lands, which were there very fertile and inviting. *Laudonniere* aſſiſted them in their madneſs, and became the dupe of the ſavage *Saturiova*. He demanded of that chief, how he came by a piece of ſilver he had preſented to him. The ſagacious *American* anſwered him, that his own country afforded no ſuch metal; but that it was the product of a diſtant land, whoſe *Paraouſti*'s name was *Timagca*, and who was his mortal enemy. *Laudonniere* offered to aſſiſt him in ſubduing this enemy; and the *Paraouſti* aſſuring him that *Timagoa*'s country afforded abundance of mines, the bargain was ſtruck.

A ſettlement made, and fort Caroline *built.*

LAUDONNIERE, either repented his having promiſed to engage in a war that might prove ruinous to an infant colony, or willing to find out the mines without the aſſiſtance of the ſavages, decamped, and without taking *Saturiova* along with him, ſailed up another river, where he met with the *Para-*

---

[p] Vide Thevet, page 663.

(T) This *Saturiova*'s life is the laſt in the *Vies des hommes illuſtres* of *Thevet*, who calls him *Saturiona*. *Thevet* was himſelf in that country about the time we are treating of, and therefore deſerves ſome credit.

ouſti of the province, his wife, and four well made women, his daughters, and was hoſpitably entertained by him. Amongſt other preſents the *Paraouſti* made him, was one of a ſmall ſilver bullet. This confirmed *Laudonniere* in his opinion, that the neighbourhood was full of mines; and aſſembling his people, it was unanimouſly agreed to ſettle near the mouth of the *May*, as being the ſhorteſt paſſage to the country of the mines, and next day their little ſquadron was ordered to repair to the mouth of that river, and, about two miles within land, fort *Carolina* was built. It was of a triangular form, its ſtrength and ſituation advantageous enough againſt any party of the ſavages, but the place where it was built was ſometimes ſubject to hurricanes. According to *Laudonniere*'s relation, *Saturiova* was ſo well pleaſed with the company of the *French*, that he ordered his people to aſſiſt in building the fort. Other relations ſay with greater probability, that all the friendſhip he ſhewed the *French* proceeded entirely from his fears, and that he could not bear the thoughts of their making a ſettlement upon his territory. His diſſimulation went ſo far that he not only furniſhed the *French*, with abundance of proviſions of every kind, but his ſubjects made them preſents of gold, ſilver, and pearls, which *Laudonniere* ordered, under pain of death, ſhould be depoſited into one common ſtock.

New diſcoveries,

As ſoon as fort *Caroline* was finiſhed, *Laudonniere* diſpatched one of his veſſels to *France* for recruits to his colony, and ſent *Ottigny* to improve his diſcoveries about the country of *Timagoa*, and particularly to learn where the mines lay. *Ottigny* was indefatigable in his reſearches, and one of his ſoldiers whom he had ſent out upon diſtant diſcoveries, actually brought him ſome pounds of ſilver; but, in fact, the *French* were outwitted by the ſavages. Nothing preciſe could be learned from them; nor did the natives ſo much as agree amongſt themſelves concerning the places where the mines lay, though all of them pretended they were very diſtant, that they might remove the *French* farther off. Sometimes they ſaid that towards the *Apalachean* mountains there was found yellow iron, which the ſettlers immediately concluded to be gold, but, in reality, it was only copper, though bits of gold were ſometimes found waſhed down the banks of the rivers by torrents. In ſhort, thoſe ſavages behaved ſo artfully, that they ſoon ſtripped the *French* of moſt of their merchandizes, and paid them only in promiſes. Amongſt the nations thro' which *Ottigny* paſſed, many ridiculous ceremonies prevailed and he obſerved that every chief bore the name of his province. By this time *Saturiova* put *Laudonnierre* in remembrance

Laudonniere *urged by* Saturiova.

brance of his promiſe to be the friend of his friends, and the enemy of his enemies, and aſked him whether he was ready to accompany him in an expedition he was about to undertake againſt *Timagoa*. *Laudonniere* anſwered him, that he had not forgot his promiſe, but that his preſence was ſtill neceſſary amongſt the *French*; and that he had not made proviſion for ſo long an expedition; nor could he be ready to ſet out in leſs than two moons. This evaſion was very diſagreeable to *Saturiova*, whoſe army was aſſembled to the number of five hundred men; but at that time he ſhewed no reſentment. Before he ſet out, he performed a kind of baptiſmal ceremony amongſt his followers, whom he ſprinkled with water, and he himſelf continued for ſome time under ſtrong agitations in prayer for victory over his enemies.

Laudonniere *robs* Saturiova *of his priſoners.*

THOSE indiſpenſable ceremonies being over, the army began its march, and in two days time reached the borders of *Timagoa*'s dominions. Here a council was held, and it was reſolved that the army ſhould ſeparate, one half to proceed by land, and the other by water, towards the town which they were to attack, and matters were ordered ſo well, that both diviſions arrived at the ſame inſtant. All who ventured to oppoſe them were put to the ſword, and *Saturiova* returned with about twenty-four priſoners, women and children; thirteen of whom fell to his own ſhare. The day after his return home, *Laudonniere* ſent his compliments to him upon his victory, and to beg him to ſend him two of his priſoners. *Laudonniere*'s intention on this demand was to have made a friend of *Timagoa*, by ſending him back his priſoners without ranſom; but *Saturiova* flatly refuſed to comply with his demand. The inſolent *Frenchman* upon this, taking along with him forty of his ſoldiers completely armed, thruſt himſelf into *Saturiova*'s cabin, and without paying him any civility, demanded to ſee his priſoners. At firſt *Saturiova*, who had added ſome reproaches to his denial of *Laudonniere*'s requeſt, pretended that the priſoners had, upon ſeeing the *French*, fled into woods; but perceiving himſelf to be in danger, ordered them to appear, which they did, and *Laudonniere* committed them to the care of *d'Erlac* and *le Vaſſeur* to carry them to their own country, informing *Saturiova* at the ſame time, that he took this ſtep that he might eſtabliſh peace between him and *Timagoa*. The two deputies, before they ſet out, were ſtrongly enjoined to gain over *Timagoa*, and to repair to the country of one *Outina*, who, it ſeems, was a very powerful prince, and lord paramount of *Timagoa*, and, after doing every thing that could gain his good graces, to contract an alliance with him.

SATURIOVA, though touched to the quick at the injury that had been done him by *Laudonniere*, diſſembled ſo completely, that he gave the *French* more marks than ever of his confidence, and promiſed to ſtand by every thing concluded between *Laudonniere* and *Timagoa*. There is little room to doubt that he would have taken a proper time to have wreaked his reſentment upon the *French*, had it not been for the following unforeſeen accident. On the 21ſt of *Auguſt* 1564, the moſt dreadful hurricane happened that ever had been ſeen in thoſe parts; and if we are to believe the relations of eye-witneſſes, the lightning that fell (perhaps aſſiſted by ſome ſubterraneous eruptions which are common in thoſe caſes) even made the waters of the river boil over, while the woods, for the ſame reaſon, were all on fire, and great numbers, both of fiſhes and birds, were deſtroyed. The ſavages, who never had before known ſuch dreadful combuſtions of nature, aſcribed them immediately to the artillery of the *French*, while the *French* imagined that the burning of the foreſts proceeded from the ſavages, who wanted thereby to force them out of their country. *Laudonniere*, however, perceiving the conſternation of the ſavages from a meſſage they ſent him, begging him to give orders for the ſtorm to ceaſe, reſolved to avail himſelf of it. This meſſage came by the ſubjects of one of *Saturiova*'s vaſſals, who had refuſed to ſend *Laudonniere* his priſoners, and the latter pretended that the ſtorm was owing to his obſtinacy, and that he would burn him in his cabin if he did not inſtantly deliver up the priſoners. The ſavage punctually complied with this demand; but was ſo frightened that he fled to the diſtance of twenty-five miles, and it was two months before he appeared again in his own dominions. To complete the conſternation of the ſavages, the river was infected by the dead fiſhes, and many who drank of it fell ill.

Saturiova's *diſſimulation.*

An uncommon hurricane,

imputed to the French

ON the 10th of *September d'Erlac* and *Vaſſeur* ſet out with the captives, under an eſcort of ten men and a ſerjeant. Having delivered up their charge to *Timagoa* they ſet out for *Outina*'s reſidence, which lay at the diſtance of one hundred and twenty-ſeven miles from fort *Caroline*. They were received by *Outina* with tranſports of joy, who was preparing to ſet out on an expedition againſt a neighbouring prince, called *Potanou*, and he invited *d'Erlac* to accompany him, which he agreed to do with half his eſcort, ſending the other half back to fort *Caroline* for freſh inſtructions how to behave towards *Outina*. That *Paraouſti* being in hopes to ſurprize his enemy, had made no great preparations to take the field, and began his march with a ſmall army; but was terribly diſcon-

Outina *gains a victory by the help of the* French

diſconcerted, when he ſaw his antagoniſt marching againſt him at the head of all his forces. He was re-aſſured by *d'Erlac*, who, on the firſt onſet, ſhot *Potanou* dead; upon which all his army loſt heart and took to their heels. They were purſued by *Outina* and *d'Erlac*, who made a great number of priſoners, and the *Paraſuſti* nobly rewarded the *Frenchman* for his ſervice. Upon their return, they found a boat from *Laudonniere*, which he had diſpatched to recal *d'Erlac* to fort *Caroline*, on account of a growing diſcontent there upon the following occaſion.

Mutiny at fort Caroline.

AMONGST the volunteers were a great many gentlemen, whom *Laudonniere* kept as ſtrictly to hard labour as he did the meaneſt artizans. They complained of this, and likewiſe that they had with them no clergyman; ſo that they were without divine ſervice: but indeed their moſt real grievance was, that they were threatened with a famine. Thoſe cauſes of diſcontent were aggravated by an impoſtor, who pretended that he had the art of diſcovering gold and ſilver mines, and that *Laudonniere* refuſed to ſuffer him to put it in practice. Their diſcontents aroſe to ſuch a height, that at laſt it was no ſecret that a conſpiracy had been formed againſt the governor's life. *Laudonniere* behaved on this occaſion with wonderful prudence and intrepidity. He hanged up a fellow who had betrayed his confidence to the conſpirators, and ſent off to *France* in a ſhip that happened to be then in the river, ſome of the moſt dangerous amongſt them. Perceiving that many male-contents ſtill remained, he ſent them off under the conduct of a gentleman, one *Roche-Ferriere* to complete the diſcovery of *Outina*'s canton, and kept *Outigny* and *d'Erlac* about his own perſon, being aſſured of their fidelity. He did not, however, as yet, know the whole extent of the conſpiracy againſt him. Of the two barks which he employed for bringing proviſions to the colony, one was carried off by thirteen of his people, and the other by two carpenters, who never were heard of more. One *Stephen*, a *Genevois*, and two *Frenchmen*, *des Fourneaux* and *la Croix*, brought over ſome volunteers, and ſeveral ſoldiers to the number of ſixty-ſix, to a ſcheme of cruizing upon the *Spaniards*, the plunder of whoſe leaſt bark they imagined would enrich them all of a ſudden. This conſpiracy was ſo ſtrong, that ſeveral joined in it, for fear of being ill treated by the conſpirators. At laſt, while *Laudonniere* was buſied in giving orders for the conſtruction of two new barks in the room of thoſe he had loſt, and was confined to his bed by ſickneſs, the conſpirators entered his cabin in arms, and confined him in a veſſel lying in the river. It was in vain for *Laudonniere* to repreſent to them the danger of the courſe they were purſuing, his inſtructions bearing, that he ſhould cultivate a good underſtanding with the ſubjects of *Spain* in *America*; for they not only plundered him of every thing that could be uſeful to them, but forced him, with a dagger at his throat, to ſign a commiſſion for their cruizing upon the *Spaniards* in the gulph of *Mexico*, and obliged him to furniſh them with a pilot. They then embarked on board the two new veſſels, and ſet ſail on the 8th of *December*.

The conſpirators turn pirates.

Their intention was to plunder *Yaguana*, and they were in hopes of ordering matters ſo as that they ſhould appear before the place on Chriſtmas eve, while the inhabitants were at their devotions. Before they left the river *May*, they fell at variance amongſt one another, and the two veſſels ſeparated, the one ſteering for the iſle of *Cuba*, and the other, which was never heard of again, for the *Lucayan* iſlands. On board the former was the pilot *Trenchant*, and it was commanded by one *d'Oranger*, who took a *Spaniſh* brigantine, laden with wine and caſſava; and he then bore towards the weſtern part of *Hiſpaniola*, where, in a harbour near *Yaguana*, they careened their prize, which drew water. They then ſailed to *Baracoa* in the iſland of *Cuba*, where they made themſelves maſters of a caraval between fifty and ſixty tons burthen; and holding towards *Hiſpaniola* they took, near cape *Tiberone*, a patache richly laden, on board of which was the governor of *Jamaica*, then in poſſeſſion of the *Spaniards*, and his two ſons, whom they detained priſoners. They then ſtood for *Jamaica*; but were outwitted by the governor, from whom they expected a large ranſom. He pretended to write to his wife a letter, which he ſhewed to *d'Oranger*, injoining her to ſend by the bearer, who was to be his own ſon, the ſum which the pirates demanded for his ranſom; but he ſlipt into his ſon's hands another letter of very different contents; for next morning the pirates ſaw their two ſhips beſet by three *Spaniſh* veſſels of a ſuperior burthen, which took the largeſt, wherein were *d'Oranger* and the governor; but the other, on board of which were twenty-five men, ſlipt her cables, and bore away for the north coaſt of *Cuba*.

Their ill ſucceſs.

TRENCHANT, the pilot, who had been forced into the ſervice, in concert with others of the crew, who had been forced likewiſe, unknown to the others, carried the ſhip they were in acroſs the *Bahama* iſlands, to the river *May* in *Florida*, where ſhe threw anchor. *Laudonniere* had timely notice of her arrival, and appearing at the head of thirty well armed ſoldiers he made them all priſoners. Four of the moſt mutinous, amongſt whom were the *Genevois*, *le Croix*, and *des*

And puniſhment. *Fourneaux*, were inſtantly condemned to be hanged; but *Laudonniere*, at the earneſt requeſt of his own men, permitted them to be ſhot to death.

Farther diſcoveries In the mean while *la Roche-Ferriere* proceeded with vaſt ſucceſs in his diſcoveries. He had viſited the ſavages lying near the *Apalachean* mountains; and, notwithſtanding the reluctance which *Outina* ſhewed to his undertaking, he had made alliances with them, and returned to *Laudonniere* with abundance of fine preſents from the new friends of the *French*, conſiſting of little plates of gold and ſilver, curious quivers, furs, arrows ornamented with gold, hangings made of beautiful feathers, hatchets, and the like. A ſoldier, one *Gambie*, puſhed his diſcoveries on the other ſide of the country, and was returning well laden with merchandizes, which he had received in exchange for trinkets, when he was murdered in his boat by two ſavages, who had undertaken to be his guides. From thoſe travellers, *Laudonniere* underſtood that a paraouſti, one *Onathaca*, had in his poſſeſſion two *Europeans*, and upon *Laudonniere*'s promiſing to pay their ranſom they were ſent to fort *Caroline*. They proved to be *Spaniards*, and they had been ſo long in ſlavery, that when they were preſented naked to the governor, their hair reached to their knees; but one of them had concealed a piece of gold worth twenty-five crowns. Thoſe *Spaniards* reported, that *Onathaca* reigned over the eaſtern part of *Florida*; but that towards the weſt reigned another prince called *Callos*, who was far richer, and was maſter of all the gold and ſilver mines that *Florida* contained; but that his ſea-coaſts had been fatal to a great number of *European* ſhips, which had been wrecked upon them. They affirmed that this ſavage prince had dug a ditch, ſix feet deep and three wide, which he had filled with riches; and that he detained in his town four or five *European* women of rank, with their children, who had been ſhipwrecked upon his coaſt fifteen years before; and that the ſavage perſuaded his ſubjects that the fertility of the earth was owing to him; for which reaſon he ſacrificed every year about the time of harveſt an unhappy captive, who had been ſhipwrecked upon his coaſt. The ſame *Spaniards* counſelled *Laudonniere* not to truſt the *Floridans*, who were the moſt dangerous when they made the greateſt expreſſions of friendſhip, and they offered with one hundred men to put the *French* in poſſeſſion of *Callos*, and to make many other diſcoveries (U).

(U) The account given by the *Spaniards* of the riches of this country receives ſome countenance from an affidavit, made by

Soon after the arrival of thoſe *Spaniards*, *Saturiova* renewed his ſolicitations with *Laudonniere*, that he would aſſiſt him in his wars againſt *Outina* and *Timagoa*; and that he would, at leaſt, call home the *French* who were in the ſervice of the former. *Laudonniere* was ſo far from complying with this requeſt, though it was ſupported by ſeveral other *Paraouſtis*, that he did all he could to reconcile the natives to each other, and formed alliances with many of their chiefs, to which he intended to have recourſe in caſe of new diſturbances amongſt his coloniſts. He then applied himſelf to the ſtoring his magazines, in giving employment to his people, and in diſpatching *Ottigny* upon new diſcoveries. That officer returned with an account of a vaſt lake he had diſcovered, and probably was the ſame that was known to *Ferdinand de Soto*, in his journey to the *Apalachean* mountains; and it was pretended that the ſands upon the borders of this lake were mingled with grains of ſilver. In returning to fort *Caroline*, *Ottigny* viſited *Outina*, with whom, at his earneſt requeſt, he left ſome of his acquaintance. Two years after, one of them, *Groutaut*, came to fort *Caroline* with a very plauſible propoſition made to *Laudonniere* by a *Paraouſti*, neighbour to *Outina*, to put the *French* in poſſeſſion of the *Apalachean* mountains, provided they would aſſiſt him in reducing one of his enemies, who then held them. *Laudonniere*, as well as his people, was ſtill haunted with a firm belief that thoſe mountains contained mines of gold and ſilver; but his colony was now ſo much reduced, that he forbore returning any anſwer to the *Paraouſti*, till he ſhould receive ſome ſuccours which he expected from *France*.

The French *aſſiſt* Outina

In a ſhort time an embaſſy arrived from *Outina*, deſiring *Laudonniere* to ſend him a reinforcement of twelve or fifteen men, as the war between him and *Patanou* had again broke out. *Laudonniere*, by the advice of his officers, inſtead of twelve men, ſent *Ottigny* with thirty to *Outina*'s aſſiſtance, who no ſooner received this reinforcement than he took the field with three hundred of his own ſubjects. Having marched two days, he had intelligence that his approach was diſcovered by the enemy, which diſconcerted him ſo much that he had recourſe to his Iona or prieſt, to know whether he ſhould advance or retire. The juggler adviſed him to retire, aſſuring him, that *Potanou* was waiting for him with 2000 men with cords to bind him and his ſubjects. This diſcouraged *Outina*

---

by one *Sagean* before the regent of *France*, about the time he projected the *Miſſiſſippi* company, and which about eight years ago was tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed.

And beat his enemies.

ſtill more, and he was upon the point of returning; but being made aſhamed of his cowardice by *Ottigny*, he advanced, and came with *Potanou*, who, as the juggler had ſaid, was at the head of 2000 men. *Ottigny* immediately attacked them, and his muſketry made ſuch havock amongſt their foremoſt ranks, that their whole army was in an inſtant put to flight, *Ottigny*, vexed at being obliged to ſerve under ſuch a coward as *Outina* was, left him twelve of his men, and made the beſt of his way with the reſt back to fort *Caroline*. He found *Laudonniere* and the colony in the utmoſt diſtreſs, having been diſappointed of the reinforcements and proviſions they expected from *France*. The barbarians ſaw the difficulties they were under, and having now abated in their paſſion for *European* trinkets, they forced the *French* to pay exorbitantly for every thing they ſold them, and when they had nothing more to diſpoſe of, they withdrew to a diſtance. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the fiſhes in the river diſappeared, as the game did from the woods and mountains; ſo that they were obliged at firſt to feed upon acorns, and then upon wild roots and herbs, which they found in the fields. This extremity of miſery was attended by inſults offered to the *French* on the part of the barbarians, who murdered one of the ſettlers, and robbed him of ſome gold he was in poſſeſſion of. *Laudonniere*, weak as he was, gave orders to ſet fire to the village where this ſavage lived; but the *French* found there only empty cabins, the murderers and all the inhabitants having fled to their faſtneſſes, where they were ſecure.

Great diſtreſs of the colony.

Outina arreſted and diſtreſſed.

1565.

THE colony being now reduced to a ſtate of deſpair, and its beſt and braveſt members being carried off by diſeaſes, the ſurvivors amongſt them preſſed *Laudonniere* to arreſt *Outina*, and thereby to force him to furniſh them with ſome means of ſubſiſtence. *Laudonniere* held long out againſt this propoſal; but he was at laſt obliged to give way to the voice of famine. *Outina* was made a priſoner, but all his ſubjects took arms for his reſcue, and the unhappy ſettlers found themſelves plunged in a war, which they were in no condition to ſupport. A negotiation ſucceeded, by which *Outina* bought his liberty for a trifle, which was paid in proviſions; but they were retaken by his ſubjects, while they were carrying to fort *Caroline*, two *Frenchmen* being killed, and above twenty wounded. This encounter, which happened on the 27th of *July* 1565, laſted for the whole day, and the ſavages diſcovered in it unuſual marks of reſolution and conduct, by ſquatting down on their bellies as ſoon as they ſaw the *French* ſoldiers ready to preſent their pieces; and it was owing

ing to the courage and authority of *Ottigny* and *d'Erlach*, that *Laudonniere* regained fort *Caroline*. Soon after, he received a ſupply of millet by a *French* ſhip ; and he then formed the reſolution of returning to old *France*, when he diſcovered four ſhips on the 4th of *Auguſt*. He and his people at firſt believed them to be *French*, and their joy was exceſſive. But he ſoon perceived them to be *Engliſh*. They were commanded by capt. *John Hawkins*, and obliged to put into the river to water; but not before the captain had aſked the *French* commandant's leave for that purpoſe. This generous *Engliſhman* underſtanding to what a miſerable condition the *French* were reduced, and that they were proteſtants, did all he could to relieve them. He came on ſhore unattended and unarmed. *Laudonniere* treated him with ſome wild fowl, which he happened to have by him, and *Hawkins* furniſhed bread and wine, which neither the *French* commandant, nor any of his people had taſted of for ſix or ſeven months before. The ſavages, imagining the *Engliſh* and the *French* to be but one nation, ſoon became more tractable towards the colony, and brought proviſions from all quarters. *Hawkins* was ſo humane as to offer to carry the *French* to *France*, and he furniſhed them with every thing they ſtood in need of; but they unaccountably refuſed his kindneſs, though their own ſhip was in no condition to carry them. At laſt, at the earneſt requeſt of *Hawkins*, *Laudonniere* purchaſed one of his veſſels, the ſettlers loudly declaring, that they were determined to leave a country where the proſpect of famine was every moment before their eyes. This ſpirit of deſpair aroſe from the bad principles upon which thoſe coloniſts ſet out. They had no idea of the habits of induſtry, and had formed to themſelves the hopes of becoming rich all at once, by dropping into mines of gold and ſilver, the ſearching after which coſt them more time and labour than the clearing, improving, and ſowing their grounds could poſſibly have done, by which they might have lived with comfort and in plenty.

Arrival of ſeven French *ſhips under* Ribaut.

HAWKINS leaving one of his ſhips with *Laudonniere*, took leave of him, and, by the 15th of *Auguſt*, the ſettlers were ready to ſail, but the wind did not prove fair till the 28th. As they were weighing anchor ſeveral ſhips came in view, and *Laudonniere* ſent out a boat to ſpeak with them; but to his great ſurprize, it did not return, upon which he ſhut himſelf up in his fort, where he was determined to hold out as long as he could. Unfortunately, for him, his people, having formed a reſolution of leaving the fort, had begun to demoliſh it, for fear it ſhould be taken poſſeſſion of by the *Engliſh*, the *Spaniards*, or the ſavages. Next morning *Lau-*

donniere perceived ſeven chaloupes full of armed people proceeding up the river, but obſerving a profound ſilence, till they came oppoſite to the fort, from whence ſome muſkets were diſcharged, but at too great a diſtance to do any execution. The garriſon at laſt threatened to fire upon them with cannon; and then they underſtood that the ſhips were under the command of *Ribaut.* Upon his landing he very fairly laid before *Laudonniere* all that had been ſaid to his diſadvantage to ruin him both with the king, and his patron, the admiral *Coligni.* The chief heads of the accuſation were his behaving in a haughty tyrannical manner, his affecting airs of independency; ſo that if the *French* king had a mind to preſerve that country in his own allegiance, he ought inſtantly to force *Laudonniere* to reſign his command, otherwiſe the ſettlers muſt be obliged to cut him in pieces, as they had done captain *Albert.* Such were the motives that had induced the *French* king to ſend off *Ribaut* with thoſe ſeven ſhips, on board of which were many catholics; and their paſſage had been long and tedious; *Ribaut* having ſpent ſome time after he came upon the coaſt, in treating with the ſavages. *Laudonniere* ſoon convinced *Ribaut* of his innocence ſo thoroughly, that he preſſed him to retain his command, and offered to ſettle himſelf elſewhere (X). *Laudonniere* perſiſted in his reſolution to vindicate his conduct at the court of *France* in perſon, and then *Ribaut* put into his hands a letter from admiral *Coligni*, deſiring him to return to *France*, that he might adviſe with the king and his miniſtry concerning the good of the colony. While *Laudonniere* was preparing to depart, the ſavages reſorted to *Ribaut* in great numbers with preſents, amongſt which was a large piece of golden ore, which they ſaid they had from a mine in the *Apalachean* mountains, and they offered to conduct him to it. *Ribaut*, probably, by this time, was tired of mine-hunting, and applied himſelf to repairing the fort; but perceived that there was not water enough upon the bar of the river to carry his four largeſt ſhips over it, and therefore he was obliged to let them remain in the road.

Arrival of the Spaniards *in* Florida.

THINGS were in this ſituation on the 4th of *September*, when ſix *Spaniſh* ſhips caſt anchor in the ſame road near the four *French* ones. Thoſe *Spaniards* were commanded by *don*

(X) This was a pretty extraordinary offer of M. *Ribaut*, conſidering the occaſion on which he had returned to *America*; but indeed, if we conſider the whole complexion of this ſettlement, the *French* king took very little concern in it; and the management of it was left entirely to *Coligni.*

Pedro Minendez de Avilez. This gentleman was a complete enthuſiaſt; for popery and bigotry had ſtifled in his breaſt every ſentiment of humanity; but at the ſame time he was brave and reſolute. Thoſe qualities, joined to his extraordinary gravity of behaviour, recommended him to *Philip* II. who gave him the command of a fleet and army, with very full powers to drive the huguenots out of *Florida*, and to ſettle it with good catholics. He likewiſe gave him the title of hereditary *Adelantade* of *Florida*, with conſiderable appointments. The largeſt ſhip of his fleet was the *St. Pelage*, about 1000 tons burthen, and in ten other ſhips he carried about 1000 men, amongſt whom were many workmen for the forts. Moſt of the armament was at the *Adelantade*'s charge, the king only furniſhing the *St. Pelage*, about three hundred ſoldiers, and one hundred mariners; but the whole of his armament conſiſted of above 2600 men. It was the 29th of *June* before it left *Cales*; but his fleet was very rudely treated on the voyage by the weather; ſo that ſeveral of his ſhips parted from him, and when he landed at *Porto Rico* on the 9th of *Auguſt*, he had not with him above the third part of his force. His ſoldiers were without experience; but he could depend upon his officers, who, like himſelf, were all of them bigots, and conſidered the expedition they were engaged in as a holy war, it being given out in *Spain*, not without ſome appearance of truth, that it was ſecretly encouraged by the *French* king himſelf in hatred to the huguenots.

MENENDEZ, notwithſtanding the diminution of his force, bore away for *Florida*, which he diſcovered the 28th of *Auguſt*, and, coming upon that coaſt, he underſtood with a good deal of difficulty, from ſome ſavages, that he was about twenty leagues to the northward of the *French* ſettlement. At the ſame time, he gave the name of *St. Auguſtine* to the river of *Dauphin*, having diſcovered it on that ſaint's day. Some of his officers were now for returning to *Hiſpaniola*, till they could be joined by the reſt of the fleet; but he continued firm in his reſolution to attack the four *French* ſhips, which he ſaw lying in the road of fort *Caroline*. According to the *French* hiſtorians, he approached them very ſoftly, and aſſured *Ribaut*, that the *French* had nothing to apprehend from him; but that all of a ſudden he turned ſhort upon their ſhips, and they had but juſt time to cut their cables, and to make off. The *Spaniſh* hiſtorian[q] is more circumſtantial. He ſays, that the *French* fired in the night-time

---

[q] D. ANDRE GONZALLEZ DE BARCIA, Enſayo Chronoligico para la Hiſtoria de la *Florida.*

The four French *ſhips eſcape.*

Obſtinacy and miſconduct of Ribaut.

upon *Menendez*, who, in the morning, declared who he was, and demanded of the *French* to know whether they were Lutherans or Catholics. Being anſwered Lutherans, he told them that he had a ſtrict charge from his maſter to put every man of them to death, which he would moſt punctually execute; but that, if any catholics were amongſt them, he would give them quarter: then proceeding to attack the *French* ſhips, they gave him the ſlip, without his being able to come up with them. Returning to the mouth of the *May*, he ſaw the ſmaller *French* ſhips drawn up under the fort, and the beach lined with their ſoldiers; upon which he bore away for the river of *St. Auguſtine*. In the mean while, the four *French* ſhips returned to their anchoring place, and *Coſſet*, who commanded them, having informed *Ribaut* of what had happened, the latter called a council of war, where the general opinion was, that they ought to complete the works of fort *Caroline*; and that a ſtrong detachment ſhould paſs by land to fall upon the *Spaniards*, as they were diſembarking. *Ribaut*, upon this, produced a letter from *Coligni*, adviſing him of *Menendez*' expedition, and injoining him to ſuffer the *Spaniards* to undertake nothing prejudicial to the crown of *France* in *Florida*, and gave his opinion for attacking the *Spaniards* by ſea. All the council oppoſed this reſolution, on account of the approaching hurricanes; but *Ribaut* perſiſted in it ſo obſtinately, that he obliged *Laudonniere*, to whom he had entruſted the charge of fort *Caroline*, to give him the greateſt part of his garriſon, and almoſt all his proviſions, and then he went on board of one of the four *French* ſhips in queſt of the *Spaniards*. *Laudonniere* was left in the fort, with about fifty men, beſides women and children; but he himſelf was confined to his bed, and the reſt of his garriſon ſo ſickly, that not above twenty of them were in a condition to carry a muſket.

In the mean while, *Menendez* had planned out his new fort of *St. Auguſtine*; and, underſtanding about the 10th of *September*, that he was about to be attacked by the *French* under *Ribaut*, he prepared to ſtand on the defenſive within the bar of the river. It is probable, however, that he muſt have been taken or deſtroyed, had not, at the very moment of the charge, a moſt dreadful hurricane, as had been foreſeen, ariſen, which drove *Ribaut* and his ſhips to ſea. *Menendez* then called a council of war, and, after ordering abundance of maſſes to be ſaid, he, like a true enthuſiaſt, concluded that the late hurricane was a divine judgment upon the heretics, and that they ought directly to attack fort *Caroline* by land, and to give no quarter to any one of the garriſon.

This reſolution was agreed to. *Menendez* put himſelf at the head of five hundred men, properly officered and armed, and notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of ſeveral of his officers, who differed from him, he began his march, leaving the charge of his new town to his brother, and of his navy and artillery to his vice-admiral. While he was upon his march, it was with great difficulty he could prevent his troops from openly mutinying; but the Adelentade obſtinately perſiſted, notwithſtanding a continual rain, and the hardſhips of the road, till they came within a quarter of a league of the fort, when the whole army was in ſo diſtreſſed a condition, that the officers upbraided *Menendez* to his face with leading them like ſo many beaſts to be ſlaughtered. *Menendez* bore all this with invincible patience; and, though the general voice was for returning to *St. Auguſtine*, yet he brought over his quarter-maſter general, and his ſerjeant major, who had great weight with the reſt, to agree not to defer the attack one moment. *Menendez*, who all along pretended that he had divine aſſurances of ſucceſs, inſtantly marched towards the place, which was eaſily ſurprized, the garriſon having retired to reſt, little imagining, in ſo dreadful a night, that their enemies were ſo near them. At firſt, they butchered all the ſick, the women and children, who fell into their hands, and *Laudonniere*, after making a very brave reſiſtance, was obliged to retire to the woods. The *Spaniards* being now maſters of the place, *Menendez* publiſhed an order, that all the women, and the children under fifteen years of age, ſhould receive quarter; but all the others were put to the ſword.

Fort Caroline *taken by the* Spaniards.

The three *French* ſhips were ſtill in the river, and the Adelantade ſummoned the crews to ſurrender, offering to ſuffer them to tranſport themſelves in any one of their ſhips they ſhould chuſe; but he threatened, at the ſame time, if they did not comply, to give them no quarter. This ſummons was rejected by young *Ribaut*; and the *Spaniards* beginning to play upon the ſhips from the fort, they were obliged to retire without cannon-ſhot. All this while *Laudonniere*, who had been joined by about a dozen of his garriſon, ſuffered inexpreſſible miſeries in the woods; but, at laſt, he gained the *French* ſhips in the river, and propoſed to young *Ribaut* that he ſhould go in ſearch of his father. *Ribaut*, whoſe conduct on this occaſion was greatly blamed, anſwered that he was determined to ſail directly for *France*, which provoked *Laudonniere* ſo much, that he went on board another ſhip; but, though *Ribaut* had four pilots on board his veſſel, he refuſed to ſpare one of them to *Laudonniere*. As for the third ſhip, it was without a crew, and *Laudonniere* propoſed to

Miſconduct of young Ribaut.

ſet her on fire, which *Ribaut* refuſed to do; for which reaſon, to prevent her falling into the hands of the *Spaniards*, *Laudonniere* ſent on board her his own carpenter, who ſecretly ſtove her in, and ſunk her to the bottom. After this, we hear no farther of young *Ribaut*; but *Laudonniere* ſet ſail for *Europe*, and being obliged to land at *Briſtol*, after ſuffering great hardſhips during his voyage, he remained long ill in *England*, and, when he went over to his own country, notwithſtanding all his ſervices, he met with but a cold reception from the *French* king, who was then more embroiled than ever with *Coligni*. *Laudonniere*, before his departure, had not been able to perſuade all the *French* to follow him. Some of them fled to the ſavages, and others ſurrendered themſelves to the *Spaniards*, who chained them along with their countrymen. The *French* accounts agree, without being contradicted by the *Spaniards* themſelves, that all of them were hanged upon a tree, to which was fixed the following inſcription. "Thoſe perſons are not treated in this manner, becauſe they are *Frenchmen*, but becauſe they are heretics, and enemies of God." After this horrid execution, the *Spaniards* hearing of the *French*, who had retired to the ſavages, did all they could to find them out, and intimidated thoſe barbarians ſo much, that the poor wretches were obliged to ſurrender themſelves to their enemies, who hanged them up, as they had done the others. About twenty other *Frenchmen*, who ſtill remained in the woods, were purſued and ſhot dead like ſo many wild beaſts by the *Spaniards*. The reader is to obſerve, that fort *Caroline* now loſt its name, being changed by *Menendez* into that of *St. Mattheo*, on whoſe day he took it. Upon his muſtering his troops, he perceived that he had not with him four hundred ſerviceable men, the reſt having returned, from the bad opinion they had of his enterprize, to *St. Auguſtine*, or remained upon the road, either through backwardneſs or wearineſs.

The French *in fort* Caroline *hanged.*

MENENDEZ having laid out ground for a church, and appointed *Gonzalo de Villareal* to be governor of *St. Mattheo*, with a garriſon of three hundred men, returned with no more than thirty ſoldiers, being all who were in a condition to march to *St. Auguſtine*, which he was afraid might be viſited by *Ribaut*, who ſtill kept the ſea. He was received in vaſt triumph by the garriſon; and, notwithſtanding his barbarities, he is ſtill ſpoken of by his countrymen, as a complete hero, ſtateſman, and catholic. Mean while, an accidental fire had almoſt reduced the fort of *St. Mattheo* to aſhes, and the garriſon had mutinied againſt their officers. But this was not all which diſtracted *Menendez* at this time.

Diſmal account of the French *fleet under* Ribaut.

He had, upon his arrival in *Florida*, taken ſome *French* priſoners, whom he ſent on board the *St. Pelage* to be carried to *Hiſpaniola*. In the voyage, the priſoners maſtered the *Spaniſh* crew, put the officers to death, and carried the galleon to *Denmark*. *Menendez* every day expected to be joined by the ſhips, from which he had ſeparated on his voyage; but he had not ſo great cauſe to be uneaſy as he imagined. The hurricane which had driven *Ribaut* from his intended attack of the *Spaniards*, carried him into the ſtraits of *Bahama*, where all his ſhips were wrecked in pieces upon the rocks (Y). The crews and ſoldiers ſaved themſelves, but nothing elſe, and arrived on the coaſt without arms or proviſions. As they were entirely unacquainted with the country, and had only the ſun and ſtars to direct them in their return to fort *Caroline*, their miſeries were inexpreſſible. At laſt, they diſcovered an empty ſloop that was driving along, and *Ribaut* gave the command of it to *Vaſſeur*, with orders to look into the river *May*. *Vaſſeur* immediately returned with an account, that he ſaw the *Spaniſh* colours flying on the fort. Upon this, it was agreed that two of the *French* officers ſhould march up the banks of the river till they came oppoſite to the fort, and that they ſhould endeavour to inform themſelves what terms they were to expect from the *Spaniſh* commandant. They were accordingly carried before him, and he told them, that *Laudonniere* and his garriſon had been ſent in a good ſhip to *France*; and that, if *Ribaut* and his party would ſurrender themſelves to him, he would grant them the ſame terms. Upon the return of the two officers, the *French* were divided in their opinions, and being ſenſible how meritorious the

---

(Y) The particulars that follow are told in two different manners by the *French* and the *Spaniſh* writers; though both of them agree as to the inhuman cataſtrophe. *Charlevoix*, for very obvious reaſons, ſeems ſomewhat to incline to the *Spaniſh* relations, rather than that of the Huguenots. We cannot be of the ſame opinion, were it only for one conſideration, which is, that the *Spaniſh* relation is founded only upon the authority of *Solis de las Meras*, brother-in-law of *Menendez*, and therefore, as we may eaſily imagine, intereſted to give the moſt ſoftening repreſentations he could; nor was his narrative publiſhed, till about an hundred and ſixty years after the thing happened. But the proteſtant account is given by one of the ſufferers themſelves, and is ſtrengthened by the petition, which the widows and orphans of the ſufferers preſented next year to the *French* king. We ſhall not, however, entirely diſregard the *Spaniſh* narrative.

Spaniards held it not to keep any faith with heretics, they ſent one of their officers back, and he obtained an oath from the commandant, who proved to be *Menendez* himſelf, that, if the *French* would ſurrender, they ſhould be furniſhed with a good ſhip, and every thing neceſſary, to carry them to *France.* They were obliged to truſt to this ſolemn engagement, and chaloupes were ſent to carry them croſs the river, where they were bound by fours together. *Ribaut* and *Ottigny* endeavoured to expoſtulate with the *Spaniards*, but could not obtain a ſight of the commandant; inſtead of that, a *Spaniſh* ſoldier came up, and gravely aſked *Ribaut*, whether he did not expect, that the *French* ſoldiers under him were to obey his orders? Without doubt, anſwered *Ribaut*. Then, replied the ſoldier, you are not to be ſurprized, if I obey my general's order likewiſe. Upon which, he plunged a dagger into *Ribaut*'s heart. *Ottigny* ſhared the ſame fate, and in an inſtant the throats of all the *French* were cut, excepting thoſe of ſome workmen, who were employed upon the fortifications at *St. Auguſtine.*

Spaniſh *account of the ſame.*

SUCH is the relation the *French* have given us of this horrible maſſacre. The *Spaniſh* accounts lay the ſcene of it at *St. Auguſtine*; and tell us, that *Menendez* never promiſed or ſwore to ſhew them any mercy, and rejected the offer of a large ranſom. That the *French* were divided into two parties. The firſt was of two hundred, whom he brought acroſs the river in boats; and, finding that eight of them were Catholics, he ſpared them, but gave orders that the throats of the reſt ſhould be inſtantly cut, which were obeyed. Next day, the other party of the *French*, which was the moſt numerous, conſiſting of three hundred and fifty ſouls, was diſcovered upon a raft; and *Menendez* informed the officer, who came to treat with him, how he had ſerved the former party of his countrymen; and even carried him to the place where their dead bodies lay. After this, he had an interview with *Ribaut* in perſon, and, after repeating to him all he had ſaid before, he diſmiſſed him back to his party, two hundred of whom threw themſelves on ſhore, but the other hundred and fifty, with *Ribaut* at their head, ſurrendered themſelves, and were all put to death, excepting four catholics. Soon after, *Menendez*, underſtanding that the two hundred *French*, who had fled, had begun to build a fort far up the river, ſurprized them with a party of *Spaniards* on the 1ſt of *November*; and, upon their flying to a neighbouring mountain, he invited them to ſurrender themſelves upon promiſe of pardon, and of being treated as his own ſoldiers, which they did, and he punctually performed his engagements; but we are told, at the ſame time, that many of them turned *Roman* Catholics.

Reflections upon it.

WHATEVER partiality *Charlevoix* may ſhew in favour of this *Spaniſh* relation, it carries upon its face the moſt palpable marks of forgery. Is it to be imagined, that a brave man, like *Ribaut*, at the head of a force, equal, at leaſt, to that of his enemies, with arms in their hands, (for by the *Spaniſh* accounts, moſt or all of them ſaved their arms) would have tamely given up their throats to be cut, after being again and again refuſed quarter; and after ſeeing how punctually cruel the *Spaniards* had been to their companions? There are other inconſiſtencies equally groſs in this relation; but they are too many to be particularized. We ſhall but juſt obſerve, that *Ribaut* and his companions in martyrdom muſt have been the worſt of fools and enthuſiaſts, not to have gone off with their two hundred countrymen; and to have diſcovered (as the *Spaniſh* writers ſay they did) that they had 100,000 crowns in their poſſeſſion, which they offered for their ranſom.

Account of de Gourgues

UPON the whole of this dreadful tragedy, it ſeems almoſt demonſtrable, that *Menendez* acted nothing but in concert with the court of *France*, who conſidered the huguenots of *Florida* as the very worſt of rebels and traitors, though they had been ſettled there under the charter, and by the authority of the *French* king, *Charles* IX. himſelf; the public is no ſtranger to the hiſtory of that prince; and that he acted in the ſame manner by his proteſtant ſubjects in *France*, as *Menendez* did by thoſe of *Florida*. All *Europe* was amazed, that, in whatever light he might view the *Floridan* huguenots, he did not reſent the inſult done to his own dignity; and all that has been ſaid in vindication of his tameneſs, is that his connections with *Spain* at that time did not admit of his breaking with her. The cauſe of his ſlaughtered ſubjects was not however neglected, but retaliated by a catholic gentleman, named the chevalier *de Gourgues*. He ſeems to have been a ſoldier of fortune, and was by birth of a good family in *Gaſcony*. He had ſerved with unparalleled intrepidity againſt the *Spaniards* in *Italy*; and ſuch was the inveteracy they bore to the *French* at that time, that, being taken priſoner, he was chained to a *Spaniſh* galley, and obliged to work as a ſlave. This galley was taken by the *Turks*, and, afterwards, by the *Malteſe*, by which *de Gourgues* recovered his liberty. After this, he betook himſelf to the ſea ſervice, and made ſome voyages to *Africa*, *Brazil*, and other places. Upon his return to *France*, he was looked upon to be one of the ableſt navigators in *Europe*; and, hearing of the maſſacre of his countrymen in *Florida*, he immediately laid a plan for revenging their deaths, and for driving their murderers out of that fine country.

FOR this purpoſe, he converted all he had into ready money, and likewiſe took up large ſums upon credit. With this money, he built three frigates, on board of which he put an hundred and fifty ſoldiers and volunteers, moſt of them gentlemen, and eighty ſailors. His ſhips drew very little water, and were conſtructed ſo, as that they could be worked in a calm by oars; ſo that they were proper for entering the mouths of rivers. It was the 22d of *Auguſt*, 1657, before he finally ſailed from *France*. He had, hitherto, kept his main intention a ſecret from all the world; and had therefore obtained from M. *de Montluc*, the *French* king's lieutenant in *Gaſcony*, a commiſſion for going to the coaſt of *Africa*, upon a ſlaving voyage. Having traded, or pretended to trade, there for ſome time, he, all of a ſudden, bore away for the coaſt of *America*. He firſt fell in with the little *Antilles* iſlands, and beat up to *Porto Rico*, and from thence to the ſmall iſland of *Mona*, where he is ſaid to have victualled and watered. Proceeding to *Florida*, he was obliged to put into *St. Nicholas* harbour, on the eaſt ſide of *Hiſpaniola*, by a ſtorm, which damaged great part of his bread; but the *Spaniards* refuſed to ſupply him with any more. Sailing from thence, he met with another ſtorm; and it was with great difficulty, that he reached cape *St. Antony*, on the weſt of *Cuba*. Here, for the firſt time, he opened his real intention to his company; and painted the cruelty of the *Spaniards* towards his countrymen in ſo lively a manner, that they reſolved unanimouſly to follow him wherever he ſhould lead them. Sailing through the ſtraits of *Bahama*, he came upon the coaſt of *Florida*, where the *Spaniards* thought themſelves ſo ſecure againſt any attack, that they took their ſhips for thoſe of their own countrymen, and ſaluted them accordingly; and they were duly anſwered by *de Gourgues*, who was unwilling to undeceive them. Next night, he entered the river *Tacatacouron*, called by the *French* the river *Seine*, lying within fifteen miles of the river *May*.

Who lands in Florida.

THE *Spaniards*, by this time, had rendered themſelves ſo odious to the natives, that the latter, taking *de Gourgues* ſquadron to be *Spaniſh*, prepared to oppoſe his landing. But *de Gourges*, having ſome notion of their miſtake, immediately ſent aſhore his trumpet, who having ſerved under *Laudonniere*, was maſter of the ſavage language, and knew *Saturiona*, whom he met by accident, along with the paraouſti of the country. The trumpeter informed them, that the *French* were come back to renew their alliance with them; and next day, *Saturiova* had an interview in perſon with *de Gourgues*, who found him exaſperated as much as he could wiſh againſt the *Spaniards*. He complained of their pride and cruelty; and offered, if the *French* would attack them, to back him with all his force, and that of his allies and dependents. *De Gourgues*, who, it ſeems, was well inſtructed in the manner of treating with the ſavages, pretended, at firſt, that he had not come there with any intention to make war, but to pay them a friendly viſit, and to renew the former leagues between the *French* and them; and that he intended, if he found they ſuffered any grievances from the *Spaniards* to return to *France*, and bring to their aſſiſtance a larger force. He added, however, that he had now changed his reſolution, and was ready to ſecond them with the few ſoldiers he had on board his ſhips. His anſwer won *Saturiova*'s heart, and amongſt other preſents he made *de Gourgues*, he put into his hands *Peter de Bray*, a young *Frenchman*, whom he had preſerved from the fury of the *Spaniards*, and whom he had always treated as his own ſon. A few days after, all the paraouſties, who were either allies or vaſſals of *Saturiova*, aſſembled to deliberate concerning their future operations. Here it was reſolved, that *d'Eſtampes*, a *French* gentlemen, and *Olacatora*, a brave *Indian*, nephew to *Saturiova*, ſhould reconnoitre fort *St. Matthea*. Before they ſet out, *de Gourgues* had the precaution to make *Saturiova* put into his hands, as hoſtages for the ſafety of *d'Eſtampes*, one of his ſons and his beſt beloved wife. They returned in three days, with an account, that the *Spaniards* had built two additional forts, one on each ſide of the river; that all three were in good condition, and garriſoned by four hundred men; but that the *Spaniards* lived in perfect ſecurity, as having no idea of any enemy being near them.

De Gourgues *takes fort* Matheo.

FROM this report, *de Gourgues* concluded he had no chance for ſucceſs, but from ſecrecy and ſurprize, and ordered a general rendezvous of all his allies upon the river *Somme*, called by the ſavages *Suraba*. They attended punctually; and, after entering into ſolemn engagements never to abandon the *French*, they ſet out on their march; but ſuch heavy rains had fallen, that their expedition was in danger of being defeated. At laſt, a ſavage undertook to conduct them by a ſafe way, though ſomewhat round about. This he did, but with great difficulty, and in the morning *de Gourgues* found himſelf ſo near the fort that he could reconnoitre it at leiſure. At firſt, he was a little ſtartled at ſeeing the people in motion; but he afterwards underſtood that this was occaſioned by their being buſied in repairing a fountain. About ten o'clock, the *French* paſſed the river, and ſo thorough was the hatred of the ſavages towards the *Spaniards*, that the latter, till the very moment of the attack, knew nothing of the *French* being in *Florida*; an uncommon inſtance of ſecrecy in thoſe barbarians. *De Gourgues* divided his little army into two parties, giving the command of the one to his lieutenant *Caſenove*, and himſelf marching at the head of the other. He had advanced ſo near the platform of the fort, that a *Spaniſh* engineer diſcovered him, and fired two culverins upon his party. This might have been fatal to the *French*, had not the brave *Olocotora*, creeping near the platform, mounted it all at once, and laid the *Spaniſh* engineer dead with his lance. So daring an action diſcouraged the *Spaniards* ſo much, that they gave over all thoughts of defending the fort, and fled out of it; but happened to run the way by which the other diviſion of the *French* under *Caſenove* was advancing. Thus, being put between two fires, all the garriſon, conſiſting of ſixty people, were cut in pieces, excepting a few, who were taken and reſerved to be hanged.

Mean while, the ſecond fort was inceſſantly firing upon the *French*; but *de Gourgues* drawing out the artillery of the firſt fort, played upon the *Spaniards* ſo effectually, and the ſavages ſeconded him ſo vigorouſly, that the *Spaniards* betook themſelves to the woods, where all of them but fifteen, who were taken priſoners, were put to death. The main fort, that of *Caroline*, remained only now to be reduced. This being a matter of ſome difficulty, *de Gourgues* obliged an old *Spaniſh* ſerjeant, who was his priſoner, to give him information as to the ſtrength of the place; and he quickly perceived, that he had no means of ſucceeding againſt it, but by a ſcalade. The two following days were paſſed in preparatives for that purpoſe, during which time, *de Gourgues* planted ſuch a number of *Indians* around the fort, that it was impoſſible for the *Spaniards* to come at any knowledge of his real ſtrength. Notwithſtanding this, a *Spaniard* diſguiſing himſelf like an *Indian*, mingled with the beſiegers, but was diſcovered by *Olocotora*, and upon examination proved to be a ſpy. Upon this, he was deſtined to the gallows; but the informations he gave were ſo uſeful, that great part of the ſucceſs of *de Gourgues* was owing to him. When every thing was ready for the attack, *de Gourgues* made ſuch diſpoſitions of his *Indians*, as rendered it extremely difficult for any of the *Spaniards* to eſcape, when the fort ſhould be taken. He then advanced to the attack under the guidance of the *Spaniſh* ſerjeant and the ſpy, who led him to the top of a little hill, from whence he had a full view of the ſtrength and weakneſs of the fort. His intention was to have delayed the attack till next morning; but the beſieged made a ſally with fourteen muſketeers, who by the diſpoſition *de Gourgues* had made, were completely ſurrounded, and every man of them put to death; though they fought very bravely. This ſlaughter being made under the eye of the beſieged, they loſt all heart, and, without minding any orders, they ran out of the fort towards the woods, where the ſavages were ambuſhed, and who gave them no quarter. They then endeavoured to eſcape another way, but were met full in the front by *de Gourgues*, who laid moſt of them dead on the ſpot; and, to complete his revenge, with ſome difficulty, he ſaved the reſt from the hands of the ſavages, that he might reſign them to thoſe of the executioner. He then reproached them with their cruelty, their perfidy, and violated faith, and ordered every one of them to be hanged up upon a tree, on which was the following inſcription, in imitation of that of *Menendez*. "I do not hang thoſe people as *Spaniards*, nor as the ſpawn of infidels, but as traitors, robbers, and murderers." Nothing but the deteſtable example of the like cruelty, ſet by the *Spaniards* themſelves, could have apologized for this barbarity; which indeed has been variouſly cenſured. That the *Spaniards* deſerved ſuch a retaliation has been generally allowed; but the law of nations diſapproves of its being made by a private perſon, and, in violation of the laws, even of his own country; for it is certain, that *de Gourgues* was not legally intitled to ſail upon the coaſt of *Florida*, far leſs to make ſuch repriſals. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that he undertook this expedition from very diſintereſted motives; for before he entered upon it, he knew that he had neither men to keep the forts, nor money to pay his men, and that it was impoſſible to procure them ſubſiſtence, even for money.

All the Spaniards *put to death.*

DE GOURGUES, therefore, ſatisfied with the glory of revenging the maſſacre of his countrymen upon a barbarous enemy, prepared to return to *Europe*; having demoliſhed the three forts, and ſhipped their artillery on board his veſſels. The ſavages ſeemed to be ſorry to part with him, but he knew he durſt not truſt to their friendſhip, and they loaded him with the moſt extravagant praiſes for an action, which was ſo much in their own manner; but far exceeded their abilities to have performed. On the 3d of *May*, he ſet ſail

De Gourgues *diſgraced at his own court*;

from *Florida*, and, on the 6th of *June*, arrived at *Rochelle*; having ſuffered a great deal on his voyage by ſtorm and famine; but all his loſs, otherwiſe, conſiſted only of a few ſoldiers, and five volunteers. Before his arrival in *France*, the court of *Spain* had intelligence of his expedition, and had fitted out a ſquadron to intercept him, from which he very narrowly eſcaped. Upon his landing, he was received by his old friend, the marſhal *de Montluc*, who highly extolled his valour and conduct, and adviſed him to go to court. It happened, fortunately for him, that the proteſtant party was then ſo powerful in *France*, that the government durſt not provoke it by inflicting any unſeaſonable ſeverity, which the court was inclined, and indeed entitled, to do upon *de Gourgues*; add to this, that the *French* in general, Catholics as well as Proteſtants, applauded what he had done. On the other hand, the friendſhip of *Spain* happened, at this time, to be neceſſary to the *French* king and the catholic part of his government; and a ſum had been ſet upon *de Gourgues*'s head at the court of *Madrid*, as being a pirate and a murderer. When he came to court, therefore, he was very ill received, and had ſecret intimations given him to withdraw, to avoid the fury of the queen-mother, and the *Spaniſh* faction, who had preſſed the king to conſent that he ſhould be tried. *De Gourgues*, therefore, was obliged to fly to *Rouen*, where he was concealed by the preſident *de Marigny*; and ſo reduced, at that time, were his circumſtances, that he owed his daily ſubſiſtence to that magiſtrate's generoſity. This perſecution ſerved only to encreaſe his fame, which, at laſt, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the *French* king, that he reſtored him, with great demonſtrations of eſteem and honour, to his favour. His countrymen pretend, but we cannot ſay upon what authority, that queen *Elizabeth* offered him a conſiderable poſt in her ſervice, which he declined. We much queſtion the truth of this report, as he always profeſſed himſelf to be a ſtrict *Roman* Catholic. It is certain, however, that don *Antonio* offered him the command of the fleet he was then fitting out to recover the crown of *Portugal* from *Philip* II. of *Spain*. But while *de Gourgues* was going to take poſſeſſion of that honourable commiſſion, he fell ſick and died at *Tours*.

appointed admiral of the Portugueſe *fleet. His death.*

THE *Spaniards*, by the evacuation of *de Gourgues*, for ſome years, had no competitors in *Florida*, and applied themſelves to the fortifying and improving their new ſettlement at *St. Auguſtine*. As to that at *St. Matheo*, it was ſuffered to go to decay, and it now ſubſiſts under the name of *St. Juan*;

the name which the *Spaniards* had given the river, on which it ſtands (Z). Upon queen *Elizabeth*'s going to war againſt the *Spaniards*, ſhe was adviſed to attack them in *America*. In conſequence of this ſcheme, ſome private adventurers in *England*, in 1585, fitted out a fleet conſiſting of twenty ſail of ſhips and pinnaces, with the number of 2300 ſailors and landmen on board. The admiral in chief of this fleet was the famous Sir *Francis Drake*; his vice-admiral was *Martin Forbiſher*; *Francis Knolles* was his rear-admiral; and lieutenant-general *Carliſle* commanded the land-forces. He attacked fort *St. Mattheo*, now called fort *St. Juan*, which being very weak, was abandoned by the *Spaniards*, and *Drake* found in it fourteen pieces of braſs cannon, with about 2000 pounds in money. Theſe ſeem to have been all the fruits of this attempt upon *Florida*; the reſt of the *Engliſh* expeditions againſt it have been mentioned in other places.

CAROLINA.

THIS country was originally claimed by the *Engliſh*, in conſequence of *Cabot*'s having diſcovered it; then by the *Spaniards*, becauſe it lay within the pope's grant to that crown; and then the *French*, as we have ſeen in the preceding article, pretended it was a part of their *Florida*, and even gave names to many places and rivers lying within it; but, as it is now indiſputably the property of *Great Britain*, we ſhall not take up our reader's time by tracing all the fluctuations of property it experienced. We are, however, here to animadvert upon a groſs miſtake, which the *Engliſh* writers in general have fallen into, and indeed many conſiderable *French* ones, as if fort *Caroline*, which, we have already mentioned to have been in the *French* and *Spaniſh Florida*, had been built in the *Engliſh Carolina*. The truth is, both the *French* and *Spaniards*, in thoſe days, had no objects but the mines of gold and ſilver to induce them to ſettle in any part of *America*; and, therefore, perceiving that the more northern parts of their *Florida* afforded no ſuch mines, they abandoned the whole tract. We are told, that, in the year 1622, ſome 1622 *Engliſh* families, flying from being maſſacred by the *Indians* in *Virginia* and *New England*, ſettled in a province which they called *Mallica*, near the head of the river *May*, where

---

(Z) This practice of changing the names of rivers and ſettlements in *America* has been very frequent amongſt the *European* nations, and occaſions vaſt confuſion in hiſtory, as well as geography.

1653.

Firſt ſettlement of Carolina.

1663.

Its patent.

they converted the inhabitants and the neighbouring *Apalaches*; and, that one *Brigſtock*, an *Engliſhman*, in 1653 was received by his countrymen who were ſettled at *Apalacha*. The deſcription[r], which we have of *Carolina* about this time is as follows. The neareſt river of any note to *Virginia*, falling into the ſea, is the *Jordan*, which lies in thirty-two degrees; from whence, about twenty leagues downwards to the ſouth, is the promontory of *St. Helen*, near *Port Royal*, which the *French* choſe for the beſt and ſureſt place to begin their plantations. Between the river *Jordan* and *St. Helens*, are *Oriſtanum*, *Oſtanum*, and *Cayagna*; *Oriſtanum* lying ſix leagues from *St. Helens*; *Oſtanum* four leagues from *Oriſtanum*; and *Cayagna* eight leagues from *Oſtanum*. From *St. Helens* to *Dos Baxos* haven is five leagues; from thence to the bay *de Aſapo* three leagues, thence to *Caſanuſium* three, to *Capula* five, to *Sanon* nine, to *St. Albany* fourteen, and to *St. Peter* twenty leagues; lying in thirty-one degrees of latitude. The next place is *San Mattheo*, five leagues from *St. Peter*. By this deſcription, though the latitude is inaccurately laid down, it appears that the river *Congaree*, or *Santee*, was originally the boundary of *Carolina* towards the north; but, as to the other places here mentioned, it would perhaps be a difficult matter, at this time, to inveſtigate them, though perhaps not abſolutely impoſſible by the aſſiſtance of old maps. Be that as it will, conveniency, as well as the right of prior poſſeſſion by *Cabot*, ſoon after the reſtoration of *Charles* II. induced numbers of *Engliſh* noblemen and gentlemen to throw their eyes upon this country, which was then, we are told, without inhabitants, or, if it contained any, they muſt have been *Engliſh*; as we cannot ſuppoſe that thoſe firſt proprietors could have had their information from any other people. The king, accordingly, on the 24th of *March*, 1663, granted it by patent to *Edward*, earl of *Clarendon*, then lord high chancellor of *England*; *George*, duke of *Albermarle*; *William*, lord *Craven*; *John*, lord *Berkley*; *Anthony*, lord *Aſhley*; Sir *George Carteret*; Sir *William Berkley*; and Sir *John Colliton*; who, to uſe the words of the grand charter, being excited with a laudable and pious zeal for the propagation of the goſpel, begged a certain country in the parts of *America*, not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by ſome barbarous people, who had no knowledge of God. Wherefore the king granted them all that territory in his dominions in *America*, from the north end of the iſland, called *Lucke Iſland*, which lies in the ſouthern *Virginian* ſea, and within thirty-ſix degrees of north latitude; and to the weſt, as far as the *South Seas*; and ſo ſoutherly, as far as the river *San Matheo*, which borders on the coaſt of *Florida*, and is within thirty-one degrees of north latitude; and ſo weſt, in a direct line, as far as the *South Seas* aforeſaid. This patent was accompanied with the uſual inveſtitures of fiſheries, mines, power of life and limb, with other requiſites for territorial propriety.

---

[r] Britiſh Empire in America, Vol. I. p. 459.

THE ſtate of *England*, at this time, happened to be extremely favourable for a ſettlement of this kind. The diſſenters had undergone ſome hardſhips, epiſcopacy had been reſtored, and many ſober well-meaning *Engliſhmen* were, by no means, ſatisfied with the intentions of the court in general. Some of the proprietaries themſelves were, at beſt, but very moderate favourers of the act of uniformity; and they very wiſely obtained a clauſe of toleration in their charter, by which the king granted the proprietaries full and free licence, liberty, and authority, by ſuch legal ways and means as they ſhall think fit, to give unto ſuch perſon and perſons, inhabiting and being within the ſaid province, or any part thereof, who really, in their judgments and for conſcience ſake, cannot, or ſhall not, conform to the liturgy, form, and ceremonies of the church of *England*, and take and ſubſcribe the oaths and articles, made and eſtabliſhed in that behalf, or any of them, ſuch indulgencies and diſpenſations in that behalf for and during ſuch time and times, and with ſuch limitations and reſtrictions, as they ſhall think fit.

Its original conſtitutions.

THE original conſtitutions, of which there were an hundred and twenty articles, proceeded upon the ſame plan of toleration, which is very reaſonably thought to have been ſuggeſted by the lord *Aſhley*, afterwards earl of *Shaftſbury*; for it ſeems to be certain, that they were penned by the great Mr. *Lock*, then an intimate friend to, if not a dependant upon, that nobleman. By the 96th, 101ſt, 102d, and 106th articles of thoſe fundamental conſtitutions, it is provided, "that, ſince the natives of that place, who will be concerned in our plantations, are utterly ſtrangers to Chriſtianity, whoſe idolatry, ignorance, or miſtake, give us no right to expel or uſe them ill; and, that thoſe who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them; and that it will not be reaſonable for us, on this account, to keep them out. Therefore, that ſure peace may be maintained, amidſt the diverſity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully obſerved, the violation whereof, upon what pretence ſoever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great ſcandal to the true religion, which we profeſs; and alſo that jews, heathens, and other diſſenters from the purity of the Chriſtian religion, may not be ſcared, and kept at diſtance from it; but, by having an opportunity of acquainting themſelves with the truth and reaſonableneſs of its doctrines, and the peaceableneſs and inoffenſiveneſs of its profeſſors, may, by good uſage and perſuaſion, and all thoſe convincing methods of gentleneſs and meekneſs, ſuitable to the rules and deſigns of the goſpel, be won over to embrace, and unfeignedly receive, the truth. Therefore, the ſaid conſtitutions provided for their liberty; but declared, that no perſon, above ſeventeen years of age, ſhall have any benefit or protection of the law, which is not a member of ſome church or profeſſion, having his name recorded in ſome one religious record." Thoſe conſtitutions, which were ſigned by the proprietaries, are declared by the laſt article to be the ſacred and unalterable form and rule of government in *Carolina* for ever. But, having thus given the reader a ſufficient idea of the religious part of thoſe conſtitutions, we are now to proceed to the civil part of them.

Alterations therein.

THE firſt article they contain provides, that a palatine ſhall be choſen out of the proprietaries, who ſhall continue during life, and be ſucceeded by the eldeſt of the other proprietaries. This palatine acted as a kind of a preſident to a court compoſed of himſelf, and three other proprietaries, and who were veſted with the execution of all the powers of the charter; and it is called the palatine's court. Each member had a power of nominating a deputy, who acted for him, but according to his directions, in *Carolina*. The fundamental conſtitutions require that there ſhould be three great hereditary landholders in every county, one called the landgrave, and the others called by the *Indian* name of caciques. Their great aſſembly, or what ſome call their parliament, was to conſiſt of the governor, the proprietaries, or their deputies, and the commons, in imitation of kings, lords, and commons of *Great Britain*. The commoners were to be elective, like thoſe of *England*, by the freeholders of every county; and this aſſembly was to ſit in one houſe, once in every two years, and oftener if requiſite; and the votes of all the members were to be of equal weight.

THE underſtanding reader will eaſily perceive that this plan of government was too unwieldy and impracticable for an infant, and indeed inconſiderable, colony, as that of *Carolina* then was, eſpecially, as it was loaded with the great council, and the hundred courts, the palatine's court, the chief juſtice's court, the high conſtable's court, the chancellor's court, the treaſurer's court, the chamberlain's court, and the high-ſteward's court. But he will have a clearer idea of the impracticability of this government, which was intended to be the miniature of the old *Saxon* conſtitution, from the words of Mr. *Archdale*, an underſtanding man, and who, beſides having a large property in the province, was governor of it. "The charter, ſays he, in his deſcription of *Carolina*, generally, as in other charters, agrees on royal privileges and powers, but eſpecially, at that time, it had an overplus power to grant liberty of conſcience, though at home was a hot perſecuting time; as alſo a power to create a nobility, yet not to have the ſame titles as here in *England*; and therefore they are here by patent, under the great ſeal of the province, called landgraves and caciques, in lieu of earls and lords, and are by their titles to ſit with the lords proprietors deputies, and together make the upper houſe, the lower houſe being elected by the people. Theſe landgraves are to have four baronies annexed to their dignities, of 6000 acres each barony; and the caciques two baronies, of 3000 each, and not to be divided by ſale of any part. Only they have power to let out a third part for three lives, to raiſe portions for younger children."

Expences of the proprietaries.

To make this government ſtill approach the nearer to the ancient fœdal conſtitutions, the inhabitants and freemen from ſixteen to ſixty years old, if called upon by the ſovereign power there, which was the grand council, were obliged to take the field with proper arms. Every planter, if he did not buy it off, was to pay annually one penny an acre quit-rent to his proprietary; and each county had a ſheriff, and four juſtices of the peace. The proprietaries expended above 12000l. and ſingle proprietors as much in tranſporting inhabitants and cattle thither, and it was long before either of them received any return from their eſtates. All free perſons, who came over, were to have fifty acres of land for themſelves, fifty for each man ſervant, and as many for each woman ſervant, who was marriageable, and forty for each of either ſex, who was not marriageable, and every ſervant after the expiration of his or her ſervitude, was deemed to be free, and to have fifty acres, paying the quit-rent of one penny an acre. But the proprietaries in all their leaſes took care when, as a great number of them did, the coloniſts bought off their quit-rents, to except mines, minerals, and quarries of precious ſtones. About the year 1670, colonel *William Sayle* was appointed by the proprietaries to be governor of *Carolina*. At this time, the lands about *Albemarle* and *Port Royal* rivers, as 1670.

being

being moſt convenient for trade, were the moſt frequented; but experience ſoon taught the coloniſts, that paſturage and tillage were neceſſary for their eſtabliſhment; ſo that *Aſhley* and *Cooper* rivers drew thither ſuch numbers, that their neighbourhood became the beſt inhabited parts of the colony. In 1671 captain *Halſtead* arrived with a ſupply of proviſions of all kinds, from the proprietaries in *England*, who created *James Carteret*, Sir *John Yeomans*, and *John Lock*, Eſq; landgraves. About this time, ſome deviations were made from the original conſtitutions. It was found that the number of landgraves and caciques, required by the original conſtitution to conſtitute the upper houſe, were not to be found; and, therefore, a governor was named by the palatine, the council was to conſiſt of ſeven deputies of the proprietaries, as many choſe by the aſſembly, or, as it is called, the parliament, and as many of the eldeſt landgraves and caciques. To thoſe were added (all of them nominated by the proprietaries) an admiral, a chamberlain, chancellor, chief juſtice, ſecretary, ſurveyor, treaſurer, high-ſteward, high-conſtable, regiſter of births, burials, and marriages, regiſter of writings, and marſhal of the admiralty. The quorum of the council was to conſiſt of the governor and ſix of the members, three of whom were to be proprietary deputies; and the aſſembly or parliament was to be compoſed of the governor, the deputies of the proprietors, ten members to be choſen by the freeholders of *Berkley* county, and ten by thoſe of *Colliton* county; but the number of this repreſentation was to be encreaſed according to the encreaſe of the colony.

The duke of Albemarle *and lord* Craven *firſt palatines.*

THE firſt Palatine of *Carolina* was the duke of *Albemarle*, but he dying, the earl of *Craven* ſucceeded him, and was Palatine in 1671, when the temporary laws were enacted. It appears at this time, that the proprietaries had conceived very ſanguine expectations of their colony; for they ordered captain *Halſtead* to ſail up *Aſhley* river, to make diſcoveries, and the model of a very magnificent town was ſent over to be built as the metropolis of the province. Hitherto the bulk of the coloniſts was diſſenters; but the promiſing appearances of the colony invited over to it many of the old cavalier ſtamp and others, whoſe irregular libertine manners gave vaſt ſcandal to the original planters, which, in time, produced a kind of a ſchiſm, or rather a civil war in the colony. Sir *John Yeomans* ſucceeded colonel *Sayle* as governor; but the diſorders of the colony encreaſed ſo much, that the *Indians* were abuſed, and though, at that time, very numerous in *Carolina*, were provoked into a war, in which many were killed on both ſides. Thoſe imprudent ſteps muſt have proved fatal to the colony, had it not been for the prudence of the proprietaries; for their party, and that of the planters, beſides having the natives on their hands, often came to blows; and one *Culpeper* was ſent over priſoner to *England*, where he was tried for high-treaſon in *Weſtminſter-hall*, for raiſing a rebellion in *Carolina*, but acquitted.

Colonel West *governor.*

To remedy thoſe diſorders, the proprietaries appointed one colonel *Weſt* to be their governor, and by what we can judge of his character or conduct, he was a man of wiſdom, moderation, and courage. He found great licentiouſneſs prevailing in the colony, when he came to the government, parties riſen to a great height, and the *Indian* war not extinguiſhed. Notwithſtanding this, *Weſt*, by taking the popular party, (for it muſt be allowed, that the proprietaries in the exerciſe of their power, had deviated from their original plan) he, in a great meaſure, cured the public diviſions ſo much, that the colony united in repelling the *Weſtoes*, an *Indian* nation, who were very troubleſome to the inhabitants. In 1682, he held a parliament in *Charles-town*, where ſeveral good laws paſſed, and particularly an act for highways, for ſuppreſſing drunkenneſs and profane ſwearing, for obſervation of the lord's day, and for ſettling the militia. Thoſe, and other popular acts, were, at this time, diſpleaſing to the chief proprietaries; and *Weſt*, in 1683 (a time when parties ran very high in *England*) was removed from his government, and ſucceeded by *Joſeph Moreton*, Eſq;

1682.

Differences with the Indians.

ABOUT this time, the differences between the *Indians* and the colony ſtill continuing, the proprietaries iſſued a commiſſion to *Maurice Matthews*, *William Fuller*, *Jonathan Fitz*, and *John Boon*, Eſqrs; to hear and determine all differences between the *Engliſh* and the *Indians* of *Carolina*. This commiſſion did not long ſubſiſt; for the commiſſioners being accuſed of unfair practices in their deciſions, it was diſſolved. But notwithſtanding all thoſe diſcouraging diſorders, the colony was ſo inviting, that it ſtill throve, and *Charles-town* was built and fortified in a very inviting ſituation, upon a neck of land between *Aſhley* and *Cooper* rivers. Three counties, thoſe of *Berkeley*, *Craven*, and *Colliton*, were laid out, and divided into ſquares of 12000 acres, proportioned to the ſhares held in them by the proprietaries, landgraves, and caciques. All the while it is certain that the proprietaries found the ſame fault with the adminiſtration of *Carolina*, that the *French* court and council did with that of *Canada*; and that was the coloniſts trading with the *Indians*, a commerce which they wanted to engroſs to themſelves. Though Mr. *Moreton*, when he entered upon his office, called a parliament, in which ſeveral excellent acts paſſed for the benefit of individuals, as well as that of the colony, yet he was ſoon removed, and Sir *Richard Kyrle*, an *Iriſh* gentleman, was made governor in his ſtead. Kyrle, He lived but a few months after his nomination, upon which Mr. *Weſt* was again appointed governor. West, As he ſtill maintained a great reputation, his adminiſtration was of vaſt ſervice to the colony, by bringing over many induſtrious planters, moſt of whom were diſſenters. During the time of Mr. *Weſt's* ſecond government, lord *Cardroſs*, afterwards earl of *Buchan*, a *Scotch* nobleman, arrived in *Carolina* with ten families of his countrymen, and ſettled at *Port Royal*, but diſagreeing with the government, he returned to *Scotland*, and the ſettlement came to nothing. Colliton *governors*. Mr. *Weſt* was ſucceeded in his government by *James Colliton*, Eſq; a *Barbadoes* gentleman, a proprietary and landgrave of *Carolina*. Settling there he built a fine houſe on *Cooper* river. His government is ſaid to have been ſo unpopular, that the people choſe members to thwart every thing he ſhould propoſe, even to the ſettling the militia, though their own ſafety depended on it. Diſputes about their tenures and quit-rents 1687. ſtill continuing, Mr. *Colliton*, in 1687, called a parliament, in which he and his party took upon them to alter the fundamental conſtitutions, and to ſubſtitute, in their place, other articles under the title of ſtanding laws and temporary laws. This proceeding was equally diſagreeable to the proprietaries, as to the planters, ſo that Mr. *Colliton* was not only driven from his government, but out of the province. A kind of interregnum ſeems then to have ſucceeded, or rather, the adminiſtration was put into the hands of gentlemen of the greateſt intereſt in the colony, without any intention of their being continued. Quarry, Southwell Ludwell, *and* Smith *governors*. Mention is made of colonel *Quarry*, Mr. *Southwell*, colonel *Ludwell*, and Mr. *Smith*, who were ſucceſſively governors. The laſt was a very worthy man, and finding it impoſſible to gratify the people in all their demands, he was ſo ingenuous in the year 1694, as to inform the proprietaries in *England*, that it was impoſſible to ſettle the country, except a proprietary himſelf was ſent thither with full power to hear their grievances. Upon this, the lord *Aſhley*, eldeſt ſon to the earl of *Shaftſbury*, was pitched upon by the proprietaries to go over as their governor. This lord was the famous and elegant author of the Characteriſtics; but his conſtitution not agreeing with the more active ſcenes of life, he declined accepting of the government, which was conferred Archdale. on Mr. *Archdale*, to whoſe printed account of *Carolina*, the public is chiefly indebted for its information as to this proprovince. Being furniſhed with very ample powers by the proprietaries, he arrived at *Carolina* in *Auguſt* 1695, and the firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration was to call a parliament for ſettling the diviſions, and removing the diſcontents of the colony; and the members choſe *Jonathan Amory*, Eſq; for their ſpeaker. 1695.

Mr. *ARCHDALE* found he had a very difficult province to manage; but at laſt, with good management and patience, he ſucceeded ſo well, that the aſſembly voted him an addreſs of thanks. There was, at this time, an intimate connection between the government of *Spain*, and that of *Great Britain*; but it was a common practice for the people of *Jamaica* and *Barbadoes* to buy for ſlaves, *Spaniſh Indians*, who had been taken priſoners by other ſavages. The *Tammaſees* were a nation of *Indians* under the protection of the *Engliſh*, though they had been formerly under that of the *Spaniards*. They had taken ſome priſoners from an *Indian* nation belonging to *Spain*. Mr. *Archdale*, hearing of this, immediately ordered the king of the *Tammaſees* to repair to *Charles-town* with his priſoners, which he did, and Mr. *Archdale* then commanded him to march with them to *St. Auguſtine*, where he was to preſent them with a letter from himſelf, to the *Spaniſh* governor; all which the *Indian* prince moſt punctually obeyed; and *Archdale* received a very polite letter from the governor in return. Soon after the *Engliſh Apalacheans*, killed three of the *Spaniſh Indians*, and the governor of *St. Auguſtine*, not to be behind his brother of *Carolina* in politeneſs, ſent one of his *Indians* to complain of the injury, upon which orders were ſent by the governor of *Carolina*, enjoining all the *Engliſh Indians* to live in ſtrict friendſhip with thoſe of *Spain*. Colonel *Bull*, one of the moſt conſiderable traders in *Carolina*, at the ſame time, perſuaded the *Indians* about cape *Fear* to put themſelves under the protection of the *Engliſh*. Thoſe meaſures had ſo good an effect, that the *Spaniſh Indians* omitted no opportunity of ſhewing all kinds of reſpect and hoſpitality to the *Engliſh*, and fifty-two of the latter being ſhipwrecked near cape *Fear* were relieved with the utmoſt tenderneſs and humanity by thoſe ſavages. Their king, hearing of their misfortune, invited them to his town, where, after hoſpitably entertaining them, he diſpatched a party of his people to intimate their ſhipwreck to the governor of *Carolina*, who immediately ſent off a ſloop, which brought them ſafe to *Charles-town*. This prudent management prevented any quarrel among the *Engliſh Indians*, or between the *Carolineans* and them, during Mr. *Archdale*'s adminiſtration. *His difficulties.*

He was ſucceeded by *Joſeph Blake*, Eſq; a proprietary, and nephew to the famous admiral of that name. It was now experimentally found that many inconveniences accrued from a ſtrict adherence to the letter of the fundamental conſtitutions; Blake.

and

1700.

Moreton.

and therefore during Mr. *Blake*'s government, a ſet of forty-one articles under the denomination of "the laſt fundamental conſtitutions," were ſent from *England*. Thoſe articles provided in as ample a manner as the former did for liberty of conſcience, and were ſigned by *John* earl of *Bath*, Palatine; *Anthony* lord *Aſhley*, the lord *Craven*, the lord *Carteret*, Sir *John Colliton*, *William Thornburgh*, merchant, and *Thomas Amy*, but they never were confirmed by the *Carolina* aſſembly. Mr. *Blake* was a man very well qualified for that adminiſtration; for though he was a diſſenter, yet ſuch was his moderation, that he prevailed with the aſſembly to ſettle one hundred and fifty pounds a year upon their church of *England* miniſter of *Charles-town* for ever, and likewiſe to furniſh him with a good houſe, a glebe, and two ſervants. Upon Mr. *Blake*'s death in 1700, the deputies of the proprietaries in *Carolina*, in conſequence of their powers in ſuch caſes, choſe for their governor the eldeſt landgrave, *Joſeph Moreton*, Eſq; who had been governor before. His election was objected to, as being injurious to the proprietaries, becauſe he had accepted of a commiſſion from king *William* to be judge of the admiralty, though he had before accepted of a like commiſſion from the proprietaries. Though this was a moſt ridiculous objection, as it did not appear that any admiralty juriſdiction was expreſſed in the original patent, yet Mr. *Moor*, who was Mr. *Moreton*'s antagoniſt, had intereſt enough to get his election ſet aſide, and himſelf choſen in his room; nor did the coloniſts, who very poſſibly were upon *Moor*'s ſide, give *Moreton* any redreſs.

THE earl of *Bath*, ſon to the late earl, was now palatine, and he happening to be, next to enthuſiaſm, a zealot for the church of *England*, his great ambition was to eſtabliſh that worſhip in *Carolina*, excluſive of all others; the ſame doctrine being at that time enforced in *England* by the bill againſt occaſional conformity. Mr. *Moor* was quite pliable to his views; but being himſelf in mean circumſtances, he was, by the aſſembly, diſappointed in an attempt he made to get the *Indian* trade into the hands of the government, and he therefore diſſolved it. Towards the end of the year 1701, he called a new aſſembly, and according to the repreſentation of his antagoniſts[*]; "he ſo influenced the ſheriff, that ſtrangers, ſervants, aliens, nay, mulatoes and negroes, were polled and returned." Complaints of this, and many other abuſes in his office, were ſent to the palatine, eſpecially by *Colliton* county, but no redreſs was obtained. In ſhort, if we are to believe the repreſentations of the diſſenters, *Moor*, who is commonly called colonel *Moor*, was a monſter of a governor; but it is plain that the charges againſt him were exaggerated in ſeveral reſpects.

---

[*] Caſe of the Diſſenters in *Carolina*, p. 29, 30.

Attempt upon St. Auguſtine *fruſtrated.*

Upon the acceſſion of *Philip* V. to the crown of *Spain*, it was eaſily foreſeen that a war between the *Engliſh* and the *Spaniards* muſt be ſoon inevitable, and the *Carolineans* had a ſtrong notion that the *Spaniards* were little better than uſurpers upon their original charter. This opinion was of great ſervice to colonel *Moor*, in promoting a ſcheme he had for engroſſing to his government and himſelf the profits of the ſlave trade, by ſelling the *Spaniſh Indians* in the *Britiſh* iſlands and plantations, at a leſs price than what they can be imported for from *Africa*. This, together with the hopes which the inferior planters entertained of the plunder from the *Floridan Spaniards*, who were reported to be immenſely rich, encouraged *Moor*, that he might avoid all inquiries into his own conduct, to propoſe an expedition againſt *St. Auguſtine*. As war was not then declared againſt *Spain*, the more wealthy planters, who looked upon the project as chimerical, had intereſt enough to get this motion thrown out of the aſſembly. But though the oppoſition againſt *Moor*'s government was very ſtrong, yet he ſoon obtained a majority, and defeated all the attempts that were made for having the laſt fundamental conſtitutions recognized by the aſſembly. This produced freſh repreſentations againſt his government; and in one of them it was ſaid "that he granted commiſſions to *Anthony Dodſworth*, *Robert Mackoon*, and others, to ſet upon, aſſault, kill, deſtroy, and take as many *Indians* as they poſſibly could; the profit and produce of which *Indian* ſlaves were turned to his private uſe: whereas ſuch undertakings, unjuſt and barbarous in themſelves, will, in all probability, draw upon us an *Indian* war."

It is probable that *Moor* could not have got the better of the diſſenting intereſt within his government, had he not been befriended by the palatine and the proprietaries in *England*; and, by the war which ſoon after broke out with *Spain*, which gave him a handle for renewing his project againſt *St. Auguſtine*. It is almoſt incredible, that a government ſo lately ſettled as that of *Carolina* then was, and ſubject to ſuch miſmanagements, ſhould undertake ſo unpromiſing an expedition, and be ſo near ſucceeding in it, as the *Carolinians* were. The wealthy planters in vain remonſtrated againſt the inability of the province to undertake ſuch an expedition, for ſo ſtrongly was the majority of the aſſembly bent upon it, that, to carry it into execution, they voted 2000 *l.* to be raiſed; a ſum ſo ſmall, that it may well ſurprize a modern reader, who conſiders the importance of the ſervice, that ſix hundred *Engliſh* and ſix hundred *Indians* were immediately raiſed, and that they had above three hundred miles to march between *Charles-town* and *St. Auguſtine.* Colonel *Daniel* was ſent before hand up the river with a party with peruaguas, from which he was to make a deſcent upon the land ſide, while the governor was to attack it by ſea. Every thing ſucceeded at firſt. *Daniel* defeated the *Spaniſh Indians*, and he and *Moor* together killed or took priſoners about ſix hundred of them. They then proceeded to the town of *St. Auguſtine*, which they took and plundered, as they had done all the open country; but the inhabitants, by this time, had retired with their beſt effects to the caſtle, which was well fortified, and contained proviſions for four months. The *Engliſh* were unprovided with bombs and mortars, and the whole of their artillery was in other reſpects very inconſiderable; ſo that all they could do was to blockade the place till they could receive a ſupply of bombs and mortars from *Jamaica.* A ſloop was diſpatched thither for that purpoſe; but the commander of it trifling away his time, colonel *Daniel*, on whoſe perſonal abilities the ſucceſs of the expedition ſeems wholly to have reſted, undertook to go to *Jamaica*, which he actually did, and procured a ſupply of bombs.

DURING *Daniel's* abſence two *Spaniſh* ſhips appeared in the offing of *St. Auguſtine*, which ſtruck Mr. *Moor*, who had lain there near three months, with ſuch a panic, that he broke up the ſiege, burnt his ſhips (though others ſay they fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*) and made his retreat with a precipitancy that did no honour to his martial abilities. *Daniel*, in the mean while, came back to *St. Auguſtine*, and, with great difficulty, eſcaped being taken. When the fright of the *Carolinians* was over, it plainly appeared that *Moor* had abandoned a certain conqueſt; for the two *Spaniſh* men of war were only two frigates, one of twenty-two, and the other of ſixteen guns; and if he had had the reſolution to have continued the ſiege, or rather the blockade, a little longer, the place muſt have ſurrendered. *Moor*, in his return to *Carolina*, had a long and a fatiguing land march, which was conducted in a very unſoldier-like manner. One of his *Indian* aſſociates *Arratommakaw*, king of the *Yanioſeaves*, knew the nature of the *Spaniards* too well to be alarmed by any reports of a purſuit, and therefore when he came to his peruaguas he there reſted himſelf and his people very contentedly, telling the *Engliſh*, who preſſed him to be gone, that though their governor left them he would not ſtir till he ſaw all his men before him. It is wonderful, that in this laborious expedition the *Engliſh* loſt no more than two men. Colonel *Moor* being returned to *Charles-town*, found the *Carolinians* greatly diſpirited by the bad ſucceſs of their expedition, eſpecially as it had entailed upon them a debt of 6000l. When the aſſembly met, the lower houſe, or the repreſentatives of the people, paſſed a bill for the better regulating elections, which was diſdainfully rejected by the governor and the council, who wanted to raiſe money to pay off the provincial debt. The members of the aſſembly were but thirty, and of them fifteen entered a proteſt (not very regularly perhaps) againſt the governor's proceeding. In ſhort, both parties ſeem to have been in fault, the governor having got the lower people on his ſide, with ſome of his riotous friends, inſulted the proteſters in the moſt groſs manner, and it is pretty plain that the latter wanted to evade the payment of the provincial debts. One Mr. *Aſh*, who was a member of the aſſembly, and had been perſonally abuſed, was employed by the proteſters, to draw up a repreſentation of their caſe while the riot againſt the members of the aſſembly continued; but, though great applications were made to the governor, both for quelling and puniſhing the rioters, nothing of that kind was done.

Diſſentions in Carolina.

Sir Nathaniel Johnſon.

AT laſt, Sir *Nathaniel Johnſon*, who had been governor of the leeward iſlands, in the reign of king *James*, and had, after that, retired to *Carolina*, was appointed governor; but he acted upon the principles of the late governor *Moor*, who was appointed attorney-general of the province, as one of his creatures, *Trott*, was chief juſtice of the common pleas, which was then a poſt of vaſt power in that province. But, notwithſtanding the black colours in which the *Engliſh* diſſenting writers have repreſented this governor *Moor*, it ought to be remembered [*], that the formation of the colony of *Georgia* was chiefly owing to him. In the year 1703, with the *Carolinians* of his party, he marched againſt the *Spaniſh Apalachians*, eight hundred of whom he killed or took priſoners, as he did don *Juan Mexia*, who commanded them. By his progreſs the whole province of *Apalachia*, ſubmitted to the *Engliſh*, and he tranſported from thence to the country, now called *Georgia*, about 1400 of the *Apalachians*, who put themſelves under the protection of the *Engliſh*. This did not prevent the *Carolinians* from vigorouſly proſecuting their complaints in *England*. They conſiſted of two heads; firſt, the riotous proceedings, which had been encouraged and abetted by the governors *Moor* and *Johnſon*; and the ſecond regarded

1703.

---

[*] ROBERTS's account of *Florida*, p. 89.

the illegal practices of thoſe two governors, in procuring returns to be made to the houſe of repreſentatives. Thoſe complaints met with a very cold reception in *England*; and the aſſembly meeting in *Carolina*, a bill was brought in, in expreſs violation of the fundamental charter, for the more effectual preſervation of the government, by requiring all perſons that ſhall hereafter be choſen members of the commons houſe of aſſembly, and ſit in the ſame, to conform to the religious worſhip in this province, according to the church of *England*, and to receive the ſacrament of the lord's ſupper, according to the rites and uſage of the church of *England*. By this act, all diſſenters were diſqualified, though legally elected, from ſitting in the aſſembly, and the candidate, who had the greateſt number of voices, after the diſqualified diſſenter, was to be admitted. The paſſing of this bill, which to ſay the truth was illegal and oppreſſive, alarmed all the diſſenters in the colony, who inſtructed Mr. *Aſh*, their agent, to repreſent to the lord *Granville* their grievances, which he did in a printed paper; but *Aſh* died before he ſaw any effect of his repreſentations, and his lordſhip was far from being a man of ſuch a temper and principles, as to give them relief.

A bill paſſed againſt occaſional conformiſts.

THE diſſenting *Carolineans* were thus left without all redreſs, and, to complete their grievances, a bill paſſed, which was ſigned by the governor and deputies for eſtabliſhing religious worſhip in this province, according to the church of *England*; and for the erecting of churches for the public worſhip of God, and alſo for the maintenance of miniſters, and the building convenient houſes for them. The following commiſſioners were appointed to ſee this act put into execution, Sir *Nathaniel Johnſon*, *Thomas Broughton*, Eſq; colonel *James Moor*, *Nicholas Trott*, Eſq; colonel *Robert Gibbes*, *Job How*, Eſq; *Ralph Izard*, Eſq; colonel *James Riſbee*, colonel *George Logan*, lieutenant-colonel *William Rhett*, *William Smith*, Eſq; Mr. *John Stroude*, Mr. *Thomas Hubbard*, *Richard Bereſford*, Eſq; Mr. *Robert Seabrook*, Mr. *Hugh Hicks*, *John Aſhby*, Eſq; captain *John Godfrey*, *James Serurier*, alias *Smith*, Eſq; and Mr. *Thomas Barton*. In conſequence of this act, many fooliſh, and ſome oppreſſive, things were done by the government of *Carolina* againſt the diſſenters there, and, at laſt, it drew from the merchants trading thither a petition to the lord *Granville*, to have it repealed. A board of proprietaries was, with great difficulty, aſſembled; but, notwithſtanding all the repreſentations of Mr. *Archdale*, who was himſelf a proprietary, and Mr. *Boon*, agent for the diſſenters, no redreſs could be obtained. The bill, however, was of ſuch pernicious conſequence to the colony, that the lower houſe paſſed a vote for repealing it; but the governor diſſolved them for their unſteadineſs. About the ſame time, the ſociety for propagating the goſpel in *America* and elſewhere, reſolved not to ſend any miſſionaries to *Carolina*, till both the act and the lay commiſſion attending it, were repealed. All thoſe meaſures and repreſentations ſignified nothing; but the colony every day gaining ſtrength, many of the moſt eminent merchants in *London* abetted Mr. *Boon*, in his agency, and even carried an application into the houſe of lords for the relief of the *Carolinians*. There, the matter was fully debated, and an addreſs was voted to the queen in behalf of the *Carolinians* in the following terms.

An addreſs of the houſe of lords in favour of the Carolinians.

“THE houſe having fully and maturely weighed the nature of theſe two acts, found themſelves obliged in duty to your majeſty, and in juſtice to your ſubjects in *Carolina* (who, by the expreſs words of the charter of your royal uncle king *Charles* II. granted to the proprietors, are declared to be the liege people of the crown of *England*, and to have right to all the liberties, franchiſes, and privileges of *Engliſhmen*, as if they were born within this kingdom; and, who by the words of the ſame charter, are to be ſubject to no laws but ſuch as are conſonant to reaſon, and as near as may be to the laws and cuſtoms of *England*) to come to the following reſolutions:

“Firſt, that it is the opinion of this houſe, that the act of the aſſembly of *Carolina* lately paſſed there, and ſince ſigned and ſettled by *John* lord *Granville* palatine, for himſelf, and for the lord *Carteret*, and the lord *Craven*, and Sir *John Colliton*, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying, entitled, An act for the eſtabliſhing religious worſhip in this province, according to the church of *England*, and for the erecting of churches for the public worſhip of God, and alſo for the maintenance of miniſters, and building convenient houſes for them; ſo far forth as the ſame relates to the eſtabliſhing a commiſſion for the diſplacing the rectors or miniſters of the churches there, is not warranted by the charter granted to the proprietors of that colony, as being not conſonant to reaſon, repugnant to the laws of this realm, and deſtructive to the conſtitution of the church of *England*.

“Secondly, that it is the opinion of this houſe, that the act of the aſſembly of *Carolina*, entitled, An act for the more effectual preſervation of the government of this province, by requiring all perſons that ſhall hereafter be choſen members of the commons-houſe of aſſembly, and ſit in the ſame, to take the oaths, and ſubſcribe the declaration appointed by this act, and to conform to the religious worſhip in this province, according to the rites and uſage of the ſaid church lately paſſed there, and ſigned and ſealed by *John* lord *Granville*, palatine, for himſelf and the lord *Craven*, and alſo for the lord *Carteret*, and by Sir *John Colliton*, four of the proprietors of that province, in order to the ratifying of it, is founded upon falſity in matter of fact, is repugnant to the laws of *England*, contrary to the charter granted to the proprietors of that colony, is an encouragement to atheiſm and irreligion, deſtructive to trade, and tends to the depopulating and ruining the ſaid province.

" MAY it pleaſe your majeſty,

WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful ſubjects, having thus humbly preſented our opinion of theſe acts, we beſeech your majeſty to uſe the moſt effectual methods to deliver the ſaid province from the arbitrary oppreſſions under which it now lies; and to order the authors thereof to be proſecuted according to law."

To which her majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to anſwer; "I THANK the houſe for laying theſe matters ſo plainly before me; I am very ſenſible of what great conſequence the plantations are to *England*, and will do all that is in my power to relieve my ſubjects."

Their charter ſurrendered.

BESIDES this repreſentation, the commiſſioners of trade and plantations, who were then the right honourable the lord *Dartmouth*, the honourable *Robert Cecil*, Eſq; Sir *Philip Meadows*, *William Blathwayte*, Eſq; *Matthew Prior*, Eſq; and *John Pollexfen*, Eſq; to whom the matter of the petition was referred, repreſented to her majeſty on the 24th of *May*, 1706, that the making ſuch laws is an abuſe of the power granted to the proprietors by their charter, and had forfeited the ſame, and offering to her majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give directions for re-aſſuming the ſame into her majeſty's hands by *ſcire facias*, in her majeſty's court of queen's bench. On the 10th of *June* following her majeſty approved of this repreſentation, the laws complained of were declared to be null and void, and the attorney and ſollicitor-general were ordered to inform themſelves about the moſt effectual method of proceeding againſt the charter of the colony by *quo warranto*. All this while, public buſineſs was almoſt at an entire ſtand in *Carolina*, where great abuſes were committed in electing a new aſſembly; and on the 2d of *January* 1705, when the members met, their number was not ſufficient for making a houſe, and chuſing a ſpeaker. At laſt, when their numbers were complete, they choſe Mr. *Seabrook* for their ſpeaker, who was approved of by the governor. Next day,

1705.

when the houſe met, great debates aroſe about the qualifications of the members; but before a ſufficient number were qualified they adjourned themſelves. At their next meeting they waited upon the governor, who ſpoke to them in the following terms, "Gentlemen, you are building on a wrong foundation, and then the ſuperſtructure will never ſtand; for you have diſſolved youſelves by adjourning before there was a competent number of members to adjourn, and I cannot diſſolve you if I would, you not being a houſe. All this I know very well, as being myſelf many years a member of the houſe of commons in *England*; and therefore, as I am head, I would adviſe you to go back no more to the houſe, but go every man about his own buſineſs: for if you ſhould perſiſt in ſettling and making laws, beſides the incurring the penalties of the act, the laws would be of no force." There was a great deal of truth in what the governor ſaid, and the houſe accordingly was diſſolved.

The next aſſembly was choſen under vaſt circumſtances of tumult; and not having heard of the blow which their palatine's government had received in *England*, they proceeded to very unwarrantable lengths: for they enacted their own continuance two years after the death of their then governor, and the acceſſion of his ſucceſſor. The preamble of this act is very remarkable, "Whereas the church of *England* has of late been ſo happily eſtabliſhed among them, fearing by the ſucceſſion of a new governor, the church may be either undermined or wholly ſubverted, to prevent that calamity befalling them, be it enacted." Colonel *Johnſon* was ſucceeded in the government of *Carolina* by major *Tynte*; and he by a variety of other names, *Gibbes*, *Craven*, *Daniel*, *Johnſon*, and *Moor*; of all whoſe governments, nothing falls under our cognizance. In the year 1718 *Francis Nicholſon*, Eſq; was governor, during whoſe time the province was terribly haraſſed by pirates; ſo that the planters fitted out at their expence two ſloops under the command of captain *Rhett*, who took a pirate ſloop of ten guns and ſeventy men; and *Johnſon*, the late governor, took another, but of ſmaller dimenſions. In the year 1722 four *Indian* nations ſent deputies to make peace between their nations and the *Engliſh*. They were well received and cloathed, and in return they owned themſelves ſubjects of *Great Britain*. In the year 1730, a dreadful plot was formed by the negroes of the province of *Carolina*, to maſſacre all the white people, and it might have ſucceeded had they not differed amongſt themſelves about their manner of proceeding. It was reckoned at this time that there were in this province about 28,000 negroes, men, women, and

Major Tynte.

1718.
Nicholſon *governor.*

1722.

children, and that 10,000 of them were capable of bearing arms. Nothing remarkable happened after this for ſome time, but an endeavour to deprive the *Carolinians* of their right to chuſe juries by ballot; but it was confirmed to them by the *Engliſh* government againſt all the efforts of their proprietaries. At this time it appears, that there was a very bad underſtanding between them and their governor, *Middleton*, who, in the year 1730, treated the aſſembly with the following ſpeech. "I cannot think but you muſt be thoroughly convinced of the neceſſity there is for granting immediate ſupplies for the paying the arrears due to the garriſons, the rangers, ſcouts and look-out: you will do well to conſider the miſerable circumſtances of thoſe poor people, who have now three years pay due to them. I would fain know, wherein conſiſts the prudence and policy of deferring the payment of public debts year after year, till the burthen becomes heavy, and the country becomes bankrupt. I need not tell you the *Indians* are no longer our friends than you keep them in fear, and who will credit the public in time of danger, when they will pay nothing of what they owe in time of tranquillity? before I conclude, I muſt put you in mind, gentlemen, of humbly addreſſing his majeſty with thanks, for purchaſing the ſoil, and taking it under his immediate protection."

Middleton *governor.*

THE diſagreement between the people and their governor, as uſual, encouraged the *Indians* to riſe againſt the *Engliſh.* It is very probable, that the ſavages were provoked to this by ſome oppreſſive practices of the *Engliſh*, and that they were abetted, both by the *French* and *Spaniards.* By this time the power and intereſt of the proprietaries in *Carolina* was dwindled to nothing; and ſo feeble was their adminiſtration, that the *Carolinians* were obliged to apply to the crown to take them under its protection; which the government of *England* pretended imply'd a reſumption of their charter. Notwithſtanding this, they made ſo good a head againſt the *Indians* and the *Spaniards*, that they carried on an offenſive war againſt them in *Florida*, and, according to their own accounts, drove the *Spaniards* in that country to take refuge under the guns of *St. Auguſtine*, and they deſtroyed all their houſes and cattle, with thoſe of their allies in the open country. But the proprietaries found themſelves unable to maintain, on their own bottom, any war againſt the *Indians*, when the latter were ſupported by ſuch powerful allies. They therefore reſolved to ſurrender their charter, which they accordingly did to *Edward Bertie*, *Samuel Horſey*, *Henry Smith*, and *Alexias Clayton*, Eſqrs; in truſt for the crown. The proprietaries then were *Henry*, duke of *Beaufort*, *William*, lord *Craven*, *James Bertie*, Eſq; *Dodington Greville*, Eſq; *Henry Bertie*, Eſq; *Mary Danſon*, *Elizabeth Moor*, Sir *John Colliton*, *John Cotton*, Eſq; and *Joſeph Blake*, Eſq; Thoſe noblemen and gentlemen poſſeſſed no more than ſeven eighths of the province; the other eighth being in lord *Carteret*, and they received from the crown for their ceſſion 17,500l. together with 5000 l. more due to them by the province on account of out-ſtanding debts.

THIS ſurrender and payment was in the year 1728 confirmed by an act of the *Britiſh* parliament, entitled, an act for eſtabliſhing an agreement with ſeven of the lords proprietaries of *Carolina*, for ſurrender of their title and intereſt in that province to his majeſty. One clauſe of this act runs as follows, "Having and reſerving always to *John* lord *Carteret*, his heirs, executors, adminiſtrators and aſſigns, all ſuch eſtate, right and title to one eighth part of the ſhare of the ſaid provinces or territories, and to one eighth part of all arrears." After paſſing this act the government fell in good earneſt to encourage this colony, which now appeared to be one of the moſt promiſing of any the *Engliſh* had in *North America*, and *Robert Johnſon*, Eſq; was appointed to be its governor. By the aſſiſtance which the province received from *England*, the *Indians* were expelled, and compelled to accept of equitable terms of peace; but it was now evident that a precarious peace was no other than an ill obſerved truce, and it therefore became neceſſary to endeavour to bring over the *Cherokees*, the *Indians* from whom the *Carolinians* had moſt to apprehend, to be cordial friends of the *Engliſh*. Sir *Alexander Cumming*, a *Scotch* gentleman, who happened to be in *America* at that time, undertook this arduous taſk, and ſet out upon a long and dangerous journey of four or five hundred miles, to perſuade thoſe ſavages to ſubmit to the crown of *Great Britain*. On the 1ſt of *March* 1729 he came to *Kecahwee*, which is diſtant about three hundred miles from *Charles-town* from whence he ſet out. Meeting with an *Engliſh* trader he was informed that the lower *Creeks* had given the *Cherokees* an invitation to join the *French* intereſt. Sir *Alexander*, without loſs of time, repaired to the houſe where about two hundred of the head *Cherokees* were aſſembled, and was by them received with the greateſt marks of reſpect. He then iſſued diſpatches for a general meeting of the nation, to confer with him at *Nequeſſee* on the 3d of *April* following. After this he travelled a vaſt way into their country, and was every where received with ſo many marks of diſtinction, that, if we are to believe ſome writers, ſeveral of the nations even offered

1728.

Johnſon *governor.*

him their chieftainſhip. One of their head men was *Moyty*; and, upon the return of Sir *Alexander* to *Nequeſſee*, he had honours performed to him next to a divinity. He then made a ſpeech to the aſſembly, extolling the grandeur and virtues of king *George*, whom all of them ſwore in the moſt ſolemn manner to obey; and they made Sir *Alexander* the compliment of receiving from his hands, *Moyty*, as chief of all their nation. After this, Sir *Alexander* was preſented with their ſovereign diadem, together with five eagles tails, and four ſcalps of their enemies, with a requeſt that he would be pleaſed to lay all at the feet of his *Britannic* majeſty. Every thing being now prepared for his departure, *Moyty* would have attended him to *England* in perſon, had not his wife, of whom, it ſeems, he was very fond, been dangerouſly ill; but he inſiſted upon the head warrior of the *Tepetchees* with other chiefs attending him to *England*, which they did, and they arrived at *Dover* on the 5th of *June*.

Submiſſion of the Cherokees *to the crown of* Great Britain.

THIS was undoubtedly a moſt important ſervice performed by Sir *Alexander*, to the crown of *Great Britain*, and it ought to have been both better improved and rewarded than it was. The chiefs, it is true, were preſented to the king, and ſaw all the magnificence of the *Engliſh* court, and at the ſame time they bore witneſs to the truth of Sir *Alexander*'s ſpeech, when he laid the *Cherokee* crown at his majeſty's feet, and declared the ſubmiſſion of their nation to his authority. But when this idle pageantry was over, the ſavages ſoon forgot it; nor indeed do they ſeem to have the ſmalleſt idea of any grandeur of government without the verge of their own country. No benefit aroſe to them from their ſubjection, which undoubtedly was the motive of it; neither do we know of any care that was taken, after Mr. *Johnſon*'s government, to keep up the *Britiſh* intereſt among them, though it might have been done at a very trifling expence. Mr. *Johnſon* arrived at his government in 1731, and in the firſt ſpeech he made, ſaid, " The king, our royal maſter, having been pleaſed to appoint me his governor of this his province, I took the firſt opportunity to repair hither, where, on my arrival, finding an aſſembly newly elected, which had never ſat to do any buſineſs, conſidering how ſhort a time there will be for a ſeſſion, before the ſeaſon of the year will make you deſire to be at your ſeveral plantations, I choſe rather to meet you now, than to wait for a new election. His majeſty, out of his great goodneſs and fatherly care of you, and at the earneſt requeſt and ſollicitation of yourſelves, has been graciouſly pleaſed, at a great expence, to purchaſe ſeven eighths of the late lords proprietors charter, whereby you are become under his immediate government, a bleſſing and ſecurity we have been long praying for, the good effects of which we only experience by the ſafety we enjoy, as well in our trade by the protection of our ſhips, as by land in an independent company, maintained partly for our ſafety and encouragement. The taking off the duty on rice is a peculiar favour."

Treaty with the Cherokees.

1732.

Mr. *JOHNSON* then recommended to the aſſembly, by his majeſty's order, the encouragement of a public ſchool in *Charles-town*, and the repairing the fortifications, and declared that he had brought over with him a conſiderable preſent for the chiefs of the *Cherokees*, to confirm them in their good diſpoſitions towards the crown of *Great Britain*; and likewiſe he communicated a treaty with which he had been charged by the commiſſioners of trade and plantations to be entered into with thoſe ſavages. This treaty was approved of by the aſſembly, and the heads of the *Cherokees* being invited to *Charles town*, they were there received in a moſt brilliant manner, by the gentry of both ſexes, and they ratified the treaty with the utmoſt cordiality. Unfortunately it happened, that the *Virginians* and the *Carolinians* purſued ſeparate intereſts among the *Cherokees*, and the *Carolinian* traders often complained of their being underſold by the *Virginians*. Mr. *Johnſon* omitted nothing that could remove all the grievances of his government. On the 25th of *Auguſt* 1732, he had an interview with *Mingobe Mingo*, a *Chickeſaw Indian*, who was attended by eight men and two women, together with two *Natchee Indians*. This ſavage preſented the governor, with whom were ſome of the principal inhabitants of the colony, with twenty-ſix *Indian* dreſt deer ſkins; and in the ſpeech he made the governor, whom he called father, he ſaid, "he had undertaken a very long journey to ſee him; that he hoped the path between them would never be ſhut up; that he came from a great town in his nation of which he was king; and that in their way thither they loſt one of their men, who was killed by one of the *Cherokee Indians* in friendſhip with the *Engliſh*. That he was ſent down by the other head-men of his nation, to receive the talk from him, and that he would faithfully carry it back." The governor apologized in the beſt manner he could for the *Cherokees*, and underſtanding that the *Chickeſaws* had ſome difference with the *Chactaws*, on account of the friendſhip of the former towards the *Engliſh*, he preſented *Mingo* with twelve cags of gunpowder, and twenty-four bags of bullets, as he did the two *Natchee Indians*, as well as *Mingo* and his attendants, with a coat, gun, hat, and other apparel. He then diſmiſſed them, after recommending a good underſtanding between the *Natches* and the *Chickeſaws*; and adviſed the latter to demand ſatisfaction of the *Cherokees* in a friendly manner, in order to prevent a war. In this governor's time the province of *Georgia* was planned, and he publiſhed an advertiſement in the *Carolina* gazette for receiving voluntary ſubſcriptions towards its eſtabliſhment. He and the people of *Charles town* gave likewiſe a moſt hoſpitable reception to Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and his attendants, upon that gentleman's firſt arrival there, in his way to *Georgia*; and upon their departure, the general aſſembly, upon the governor's motion, voted, that Mr. *Oglethorpe* ſhould be furniſhed at the public expence with one hundred and four head of breeding cattle, twenty five hogs, and twenty barrels of good rice; that, beſides ſmall craft to carry them, the ſcout-boats, and captain *Macpherſon*, with ten of the rangers, who are horſemen kept in pay to diſcover the motions of the *Indians*, ſhould attend Mr. *Oglethorpe*, and obey his command, in order to protect the new ſettlers from any inſults. He likewiſe would have attended Mr. *Oglethorpe* to *Georgia*, had not the aſſembly of *Carolina* been ſitting; but, at his requeſt, colonel *Bull*, who was extremely converſant in thoſe affairs, went to *Georgia*, where he was very aſſiſting to Mr *Oglethorpe*; and the governor, at the ſame time, recommended the care of the infant colony to all the *Indians*, who were in friendſhip with the *Carolinians*.

Settlement of Georgia.

War between the Carolinians *and the* Yamaſſees.

BEFORE this time, we perceive that there was war between the people of *Carolina*, and the *Yamaſſee Indians*. The *Carolinians* raiſed an hundred white men, and an hundred *Indians*, with whom they attacked the *Yamaſſee* village, and killed thirty-two of its inhabitants with a friar. After this, they drove both the *Spaniards*, who were ſettled there, and the *Yamaſſees* into *St. Auguſtine*, where the *Engliſh* for ſome time blockaded them. According to an article then publiſhed in the *Carolina* gazette, no fewer than three hundred ſhot were fired upon the *Engliſh* from the caſtle, but without any effect. At laſt, the governor of *St. Auguſtine* demanded what the claims of the *Engliſh* were, and received for anſwer that they required the *Yamaſſee Indians* to be delivered up to them. To this the governor replied, that the *Yamaſſees* being ſubjects of the crown of *Spain*, the demand could not be complied with, but that he would make good all the damage the *Engliſh* had ſuſtained. Upon this, the *Carolinians* retreated, after lying three days before the town. This war with the *Indians* brought a conſiderable expence upon many individuals in the province, who very juſtly complained of the extravagant grants of 12, nay ſometimes 24,000 acres, made by the proprietaries to the landgraves and the caciques, by which the complainants, who had defended the province againſt the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, were prevented from making any advantageous ſettlements at the eſtabliſhed quit-rents. This, upon examination, appeared to be a very great grievance; and the attorney and ſollicitor-general in *England* gave their opinion againſt the validity of thoſe exorbitant grants. Two perſons were taken into cuſtody on account of this grievance; and the controverſy, at laſt, was ended by an act of the aſſembly to remedy the ſame.

1732. *Settlement of the* Swiſſes *in* Carolina.

THE ſituation and fertility of *Carolina*, and the intereſt which the crown now took in its proſperity, about the year 1732, rendered it a moſt flouriſhing province. We have already mentioned a ſmall ſettlement, made by the *Scotch* lord *Cardroſſe*, on the river *Savannah*, and which was abandoned becauſe of its neighbourhood to the *Spaniards*; but, at the time we now treat of, the intention of that plantation was reſumed. One Mr. *Purry*, a *Swiſs* gentleman, born at *Neufchatel*, entered into a treaty with the *Britiſh* government for planting the ſame ſpot with *Swiſſes*. A hundred and ſeventy-two of them accordingly ſettled there, and, in a few months, they built upon the northern bank of the river *Savannah* a new town, called *Purryſburgh*, which ſoon contained above three hundred *Swiſſes*. In 1734, Mr. *Purry*, in conſequence of a very laudable ſcheme, which he had formed in concert with the aſſembly of *South Carolina*, for raiſing a barrier of hardy induſtrious people on the ſouthern frontier of that province, carried over thither two hundred and ſeventy more of his countrymen: ſo that above ſix hundred *Swiſſes* were now ſettled in *Purryſburgh*. The aſſembly voted him 400 *l.* for every hundred effective men he brought over; and promiſed to find proviſions and tools for three hundred of them for one year. The fund for defraying this expence was the negro duty, which the crown had remitted to the aſſembly for that purpoſe. A moſt noble ſcheme about the ſame time for the benefit of the colony was recommended by his then majeſty to the governor. It was propoſed, that eleven townſhips ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and the forty-third article of the governor's inſtructions declared, "That it is his majeſty's will and pleaſure, that each of theſe eleven townſhips do conſiſt of 20,000 acres of land to be laid out in ſquare plats of ground; that fifty acres (part of the above-mentioned 20,000) ſhall be granted to every inhabitant at their firſt ſettling; and, to the intent, that land near the townſhip may not be wanting for the conveniency of the inhabitants as their ſubſtance ſhall increaſe, no perſon, except the

1734.

lachti made a preſent of ſkins to his excellency; and accounted for the conduct of his people towards the *Cherokees*, and the other *Engliſh Indians*, which, though of great conſequence upon the ſpot, is too minute to have a place here. Upon the whole, *Malachti* promiſed every thing that the governor could require, excepting an alliance with the northern *Indians*, which he pretended to be a matter of ſo great conſequence, that he and his nation muſt deliberate upon it. This interview ſeems to have had an excellent effect upon the *Cherokees*, as well as the *Creeks*, for, after the taking of *Oſwego*, four hundred of them joined the *Engliſh* forces.

1739. William Henry Lyttleton *governor*.

1759.

We have often, in the courſe of this hiſtory, obſerved the vaſt advantages, which the *French* government had over that of *England*, by a ſuperior influence with the *Indians*. In the year 1739, when *William Henry Lyttleton*, Eſq; was governor of *South Carolina*, the *French Louiſianians* prevailed upon thoſe ſavages to attack the *Engliſh*, and their *Indian* allies; many of whom they plundered, maſſacred, and ſcalped. Mr. *Lyttleton*, having undoubted intelligence of thoſe outrages, with the conſent and aſſiſtance of the aſſembly of his province, raiſed, with extraordinary diſpatch, a very conſiderable body of troops, and marched, at their head, in the beginning of *October*, 1759, into the country of the *Cherokees*, who were under ſuch conſternation by ſo vigorous a meaſure, that they choſe the famous *Attakullakulla* to be their deputy, and to treat with the governor; he being attended for that purpoſe by ſeveral head men and warriors, who met the governor at fort *Prince George*. The ſavages, inſtead of diſputing the terms, received them from the governor, who was at the head of eight hundred militia, and 300 regulars. He had collected the militia at *Congrees*, about an hundred miles from *Charles-town*, which he had left in the beginning of *October*, and advanced two hundred miles farther to *Keowee*, where the *Indians* made their ſubmiſſions. The reader, in the note (A), will find the treaty, then concluded the while

---

(A) Treaty of peace and friendſhip, concluded by his excellency, *William Henry Lyttleton*, Eſq; captain-general, and governor in chief of his majeſty's province of *South Carolina*, with *Atakullakulla*, or the *Little Carpenter*, deputy of the whole *Cherokee* nation, and other headmen and warriors thereof, at fort *Prince George*, *December* 26, 1759.

"Art. 1. There ſhall be a firm peace and friendſhip between all his majeſty's ſubjects of this province, and the nation of *Indians* called the *Cherokees*; and the ſaid *Cherokees* ſhall preſerve whole expedition, not taking up above three months. It ſoon, however, appeared that the ſubmiſſion of the *Cherokees* was

ſerve peace with all his majeſty's ſubjects whatſoever.

Art. 2. The articles of friendſhip and commerce, concluded by the lords commiſſioners for trade and plantations, with the deputies of the *Cherokees*, by his majeſty's command at *Whitehall*, the 7th of *September*, 1730, ſhall be ſtrictly obſerved for the time to come.

Art. 3. Whereas the *Cherokee Indians* have, at ſundry times and places, ſince the 19th of *November*, 1758, ſlain divers of his majeſty's good ſubjects of this province; and his excellency the governor having demanded that ſatisfaction ſhould be given for the ſame, according to the tenor of the ſaid articles of friendſhip and commerce afore-mentioned, in conſequence whereof two *Cherokee Indians*, of the number of thoſe who have been guilty of perpetrating the ſaid murders, have already been delivered up, to be put to death, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, as his excellency the governor ſhall direct, it is hereby ſtipulated and agreed, that twenty-two other *Cherokee Indians*, guilty of the ſaid murders, ſhall, as ſoon as poſſible, after the concluſion of this preſent treaty, in like manner be delivered up to ſuch perſons as his excellency the governor, or the commander in chief of this province for the time being, ſhall appoint to receive them, to be put to death, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, as the ſaid governor and commander in chief ſhall direct.

Art. 4. The *Cherokee Indians* whoſe names are herein after mentioned, *viz. Chenohe*, *Ouſanatah*, *Tallichama*, *Tallitahe*, *Qarraſattahe*, *Connaſoratah*, *Kataetoi*, *Otaſſite* of *Watogo*, *Ouſanoletah* of *Jore*, *Kataeletah* of *Cowetche*, *Chisquataline*, *Skiaguſta* of *Sticoe*, *Tannaeſto*, *Wohatche*, *Wyeyah*, *Oucah*, *Chiſtanah*, *Nicholehe*, *Tony*, *Totaiahhoi*, *Shalliloſke*, *Chiſtie*, ſhall remain as hoſtages for the due performance of the foregoing articles, in the cuſtody of ſuch perſons, as his excellency the governor ſhall pleaſe to nominate for that purpoſe; and when any of the *Cherokee Indians*, guilty of the ſaid murders, ſhall have been delivered up, as is expreſſed in the ſaid articles, an equal number of ſaid hoſtages ſhall forthwith be ſet at liberty.

Art. 5. Immediately after the concluſion of this preſent treaty, the licenſed traders from this government, and all perſons employed by them, ſhall have leave from his excellency the governor to return to their reſpective places of abode in the *Cherokee* nation, and to carry on their trade with the *Cherokee Indians*, in the uſual manner, according to law.

Art. 6. During the continuance of the preſent war between his moſt ſacred majeſty and the *French* king, if any *Frenchman* ſhall preſume to come into the *Cherokee* nation, the *Cherokees* ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours to put him to death, as one of his majeſty's enemies; or, *His expedition againſt the* Cherokees.

was only to avoid the ſtorm that was ready to break upon them. The *Indian* hoſtages were lodged in fort *Prince George*, and, not being very ſtrictly guarded, they had found means to enter into a conſpiracy, with their countrymen without, for maſſacring the garriſon, and getting poſſeſſion of the fort. For this purpoſe, they had procured tomohawks, and other arms, and even a bottle of poiſon to taint the waters of the fort. About the ſame time, their warrior, *Ouconnoſtata*, attempted with twenty or thirty of his ſavages to enter the fort, on pretence of a conference, and mortally wounded an *Engliſh* officer, and wounded two others. This being known to enſign *Mills*, who commanded within the fort, the hoſtages were put in irons, but they made ſuch a reſiſtance, that one *Engliſhman* was killed, and another wounded; on which, it was found abſolutely neceſſary to put them all to death. The ſavages without the fort, not knowing of this cataſtrophe, attacked it in the evening; and being repulſed, they revenged themſelves upon the open part of *Carolina*, where they murdered great numbers of the *Engliſh*. Soon after, they aſſaulted fort *Ninety-ſix*, from whence

---

or, if taken alive, they ſhall deliver him up to his excellency the governor, or the commander in chief of this province for the time being, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhall direct; and if any perſon whatſoever, either white man or *Indian*, ſhall at any time bring any meſſages from the *French* into the *Cherokee* nation, or hold any diſcourſes there in favour of the *French*, or tending to ſet the *Engliſh* and *Cherokees* at variance, and interrupt the peace and friendſhip eſtabliſhed by this preſent treaty, the *Cherokees* ſhall uſe their utmoſt endeavours to apprehend ſuch perſon or perſons, and detain him or them until they ſhall have given notice thereof to his excellency the governor, or to the commander in chief for the time being, and have received his directions therein.

Given under my hand and ſeal at fort *Prince George*, in the province of *South Carolina*, this 26th day of *December*, 1759, in the 33d year of his majeſty's reign.

William Henry Lyttleton (L. S.)

By his excellency's command,

William Drayton, Sec.

We whoſe names are underwritten, do agree to all and every of theſe articles, and do engage, for ourſelves and our nation, that the ſame ſhall be well and faithfully performed. In teſtimony whereof we have hereunto ſet our hands and ſeals the day and year abovementioned.

Attakullakulla (L. S.)
Ouconnoſtata (L. S.)
Otaſſite (L. S.)
Kitaguſta (L. S.)
Oconoeca (L. S.)
Killcannokca (L. S.)

Joſeph Axſon, *William Forſter*, ſworn interpreters.

Witneſs, *Henry Vane*,
Adjutant-general."

they were repulſed likewiſe. It now appeared that this inſurrection was more dangerous than it was imagined at firſt. The *Creeks*, hearing of the *Cherokee* hoſtilities, gave the *Engliſh* all the ſecurity that could be required for their fidelity, and a body of them took the field againſt the enemy, under one of their chiefs, called the *Long Warrior*, who croſſed the *Savannah*, on the 22d of *March*, 1760. Seven hundred rangers were raiſed by the people of *Carolina*; and governor *Lyttleton*, underſtanding that the *Cherokees* would be ſupported by all the force the *French* could ſpare, wrote for aſſiſtance to general *Amherſt*, who ſent, on board tranſports, two hundred of the *Royal Scots*, and the firſt battalion of *Highlanders*, under the command of the honourable colonel *Montgomery*. About the ſame time, the *Chickeſaws* brought to *Auguſta* ſeveral *Cherokee* ſcalps; and many of the inhabitants of both the *Carolinas* aſſociated themſelves to act offenſively againſt the enemy. There was the more reaſon for thoſe precautions, as the *Cherokees* were, at this time, ſo powerful, that they could bring to the field, about 3000 warriors, and were headed by ſeveral *French* officers, diſguiſed like ſavages, who had obtained a great many advantages over the *Engliſh Indians*. 1760.

That of colonel Montgomery.

COLONEL *Montgomery*, after his arrival at *Charles-town*, marched to fort *Ninety-ſix*, and from thence to *Twelve Mile* river, which he paſſed in the beginning of *June*, without oppoſition. Diſpatch was the life of this expedition; and the colonel, leaving his heavy baggage at fort *Prince George*, marched towards *Little Keowee*, and from thence to *Eſtatoe*, which was twenty-five miles diſtant. *Little Keowee* was attacked by a detachment of light infantry, who ſurprized it with their bayonets on the muzzles of their guns, and put to death all the men they found in it. It is probable, that the ſavages there had put thoſe of *Eſtatoe* upon their guard; for, upon the arrival of the main body at the village, they found the bulk of the inhabitants had fled, ſo that only a few of them were put to the ſword; but new and unexpected ſcenes every hour preſented in this expedition. All the towns the *Engliſh* met with were delightfully ſituated; the houſes commodiouſly built, and ſtored with every thing that could make ſavage, or even rural, life agreeable; nor were fire-arms and ammunition wanting. The town of *Eſtatoe*, conſiſting of two hundred houſes, was plundered, and then reduced to aſhes; many of the wretched inhabitants, who had ſought to conceal themſelves, periſhing in the flames. A few hours after, *Sugar-town*, which was as large as *Eſtatoe*, ſhared the ſame fate; as did all the towns, villages, and houſes, in the lower nation. About eighty *Cherokees* were killed in this expedition, and forty women and children taken priſoners. None of the men received quarter, it being neceſſary to make ſevere examples. All the plunder, which was not inconſiderable, and which the ſoldiers could not carry off, was deſtroyed, and ſome money, with watches, fell into their hands. Colonel *Montgomery* then returned to fort *Prince George*, from whence he ſent a meſſenger, one *Tiſtowe*, to the *Cherokee* chiefs, particularly to *Attakullakulla*, informing them, that they might yet have peace upon their making proper ſubmiſſions. *Attakullakulla* was one of the chiefs who had been brought, when young, to *England* by Sir *Alexander Cumming*, and had always pretended the greateſt attachment to the *Engliſh* nation; but ſaid, that he could, on this occaſion, be of no ſervice to them amongſt his countrymen. Upon this, colonel *Montgomery* marched his army from their camp at *Mile Creek*, leaving all his tents, waggons, and unneceſſary baggage, at fort *Prince George*; on the 22d, they croſſed *Keowee* river, with ſix days proviſion *per* man, and took with them a drove of cattle, and four hundred pack-horſes, laden with flour.

Who chaſtiſes them.

THE colonel pointed his march now to the middle ſettlements of the *Cherokees*, which conſiſted of twelve towns. When he was within five miles of *Etchoe*, he was attacked by five hundred *Indians*, very advantageouſly poſted, who killed captain *Moriſon*, who commanded the van of the *Engliſh*, captain *Williams*, captain *Peter Gordon*, an enſign, and ſeveral ſoldiers, beſides wounding many, both officers and common men. The diſpute laſted between four and five hours, but, at laſt, the *Indians* were driven into a ſwamp with the loſs of fifty men. Notwithſtanding this, when the army reſumed their march, the firing on all quarters from the *Indians* proved extremely troubleſome; and it then ſufficiently appeared that they were under *French* commanders. The *Engliſh* arrived at the town of *Etchoe*, which they found forſaken, and ſtript of every thing, by the inhabitants, whoſe parties ſurrounded them on every ſide, and killed many of their horſes, as well as men. They even attacked the piquet guards, and were with difficulty repulſed. The colonel now found himſelf reduced to the melancholy alternative of being obliged either to advance without proviſions, or to leave his wounded behind him to the mercy of a provoked inhuman enemy, (they having taken particular aim at the horſes) or to return. The laſt was judged the moſt expedient, and though during the laſt days of his march, he continued to be moleſted by the ſavages, yet, in the beginning of *July*, he reached fort *Prince George*, after loſing during the expedition, beſides horſes, ſeventy men killed or wounded, including five officers.

To revenge this invaſion of their country, the *Cherokees* formed the blockade of fort *Loudon*, ſituated near the confines of *Virginia*, and commanded by captain *Demere*. This ſmall poſt, lying in the midſt of hoſtile ſavages, and at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty miles from *Charles town*, was cut off from all communication with the *Engliſh*; ſo that, for ſome time, the garriſon had ſubſiſted without bread, upon horſe-fleſh, and was brought in the end to ſuch miſery, that many of the ſoldiers deſerted, others ſubmitted to the cruelties of the ſavages, and the remainder were ſo emaciated, that they could not do duty, but threatened to retire to the woods. This dreadful ſituation rendered it neceſſary to ſurrender the place, and a capitulation was agreed on, by which the garriſon was to march out with powder and ball, and baggage, to be conducted to *Virginia*, or fort *Prince George*; the ſick, lame, and wounded, to be kindly treated in the *Indian* towns, till they were in a condition to reach fort *Prince George*; and the *Indians* to furniſh horſes for the march of the garriſon. The *Indians*, on this occaſion, profeſſed great friendſhip to the *Engliſh*, and a deſire to renew their trade with them; but no ſooner had the latter marched about fifteen miles from the fort, than they were ſurrounded by the ſavages, who ſlew twenty-five of the ſoldiers, made priſoners of the ſurvivors, and murdered all the officers, except captain *Stuart*, who was ſaved at the earneſt requeſt of *Attakullakulla*. After this, the ſame ſavages beſieged fort *Ninety-ſix*; but, upon the appearance of a party of provincials, they retired. We perceive, that, at this time, the province of *Carolina* was extremely apprehenſive, that the numerous nations of the *Creeks* and *Chactaws* would join the *Cherokees*; for which reaſon they addreſſed their governor to prevail with colonel *Montgomery* to remain for ſome time longer among them, and with general *Amherſt* to countermand the return of the regulars from thence. Upon this, eight companies of colonel *Vaughan's* regiment, two of the 17th, and two of the 22d, with an hundred and fifty *Mohawk Indians*, embarked for the province of *New York* the 20th of *December*, under the command of lieutenant-colonel *James Grant*, of the 40th regiment. Captain *Quintyne Kennedy*, of the light infantry of the 17th, commanded the *Indians*. About the ſame time, the forts, *Prince George* and *Ninety-ſix*, were ſeaſonably revictualled by major *Thompſon*, of the *Carolinian* rangers.

They take fort Loudon.

Their barbarity.

1761. It was not long, before colonel *Grant* was obliged to take the field. About the beginning of *July*, he began his march from fort *Prince George*, at the head of about 2600 regulars, rangers, and *Indians*; which the people of *Carolina* thought was a force too weak for the expedition he was to undertake. On the 10th of the ſame month, a body of the *Indians* attacked him; but, being ſoon repulſed, he reduced fifteen of their towns to aſhes, beſides ſmaller villages and houſes, and deſtroyed about 14,000 acres of corn. This ſeaſonable chaſtiſement ſpread ſuch conſternation amongſt the ſavages, that *Attakullakulla*, and another ſavage, one *Old Cæſar*, uſed all their intereſt to prevent the continuance of hoſtilities. The colonel accordingly informed them of the terms on which he was willing to grant them peace, and *Atakullakulla* agreed to them all, excepting one, by which four *Cherokees* were to be put to death at the head of the army; but this demand being moderated, the treaty was actually drawn up, and formally concluded on the 10th of *December*, ſince which time nothing remarkable has happened in that province.

They are reduced by colonel Grant.

Deſcription of Carolina.

It now remains that we give ſome account of its natural and commercial ſtate, government, and products. *Carolina*, as has been already obſerved, contains all the north coaſt of *America*, between thirty-one and thirty-ſix degrees of north latitude; but, by the *Engliſh* deſcription of it, its breadth is not to be aſcertained, becauſe king *Charles* II. in his patent, terminated it weſtward, only by the *South Seas*. According to ſome writers, it is the *American* land of *Canaan*, to which it lies parallel, being one of the moſt temperate, and therefore one of the moſt pleaſant, climates in the world. The *French* comprehended it formerly in their *Florida*; but the claim of the *Engliſh* to it afterwards was eſtabliſhed beyond all diſpute. According to the *French* authors, but their authority ſeems to be ſomewhat ſuſpicious, the ſettlement of *Carolina* was purely fortuitous. They tell us, that a ſhip on its return from the *Eaſt Indies* happened to be caſt away there; ſome bags of rice being taken out of it, a trial was made of ſowing them, and the experiment ſucceeding to admiration, the rice culture was improved ſo much, that one year with another 50,000 barrels of it, each weighing 400 lb. were ſent from thence to *Europe*, which brought in 80,000 l. to the proprietors. Beſides rice, the *Carolinians* cultivate ſome tobacco, but the chief article of their trade lies in proviſions; for they ſupply *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward Iſlands*, with beef, pork, grain, peaſe, butter, ſuet, raw hides, and leather. They likewiſe ſend to the ſame iſlands tar, turpentine, timber, maſts, and furs; but the latter is of an inferior kind. *Carolina*, likewiſe, produces prodigious quantities of honey, of which excellent mead is made. Maize or *Indian* corn, likewiſe, thrives here exceedingly; but in ſome other reſpects, the product has not been anſwerable to the expectations of the ſoil and climate. Though many parts of *Carolina*, eſpecially on the ſea-coaſt, abound with vines, yet no progreſs, worth mentioning, has been made in producing wine. Their manufactures of ſilk, notwithſtanding the great quantities of mulberry trees they have, have been hitherto inconſiderable, and though cochineal is ſaid to be found here, yet the inhabitants appear to neglect the profits ariſing from that inſect; and for ſome years their attention has been chiefly turned towards making indigo.

Trade of Carolina.

A FEW years ago, about forty veſſels were annually ſent to *Carolina* from *Great Britain*, laden with all kinds of woollen and linnen drapery, iron-ware, nails, ſtrong-beer, cyder, raiſins, potter's earth, tobacco pipes, paper, coverlids, mattreſſes, hats, ſtockings, gloves, tin ware, powder and ſhot, gun-flints, cordage, looking-glaſſes, and glaſs-ware, thread, haberdaſhery, and ſmall wares. Beſides thoſe veſſels from *Great Britain*, it is computed that two hundred come from other places. Thoſe from *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and the *Leward Iſlands*, furniſh the *Carolinians* with ſugar, rum, molaſſes, cotton, chocolate, negroes, and ſilver. Thoſe from *New England*, *New York*, and *Pennſylvania*, with wheat-flour, (wheat being very backward in *Carolina*) and hard-wares; and thoſe from *Madeira*, and the other iſlands in the weſtern ocean, with wine. The quantity of rice which *Carolina* produces is daily improving, as, indeed, are all the other branches of its commerce; ſo that it would be in vain to form any conjectures concerning the quantity of ſhipping this colony employs, or the benefit that it is of to its mother country. The price of manual labour in this country is remarkably dear. Some years ago, the paper currency of *South Carolina* amounted to 250,000 l. ſterling, and that of *North Carolina* to 52,000. The *Britiſh* money that circulates amongſt the *Carolinians* is very inconſiderable; but they have *French* and *Spaniſh* money in dollars, and pieces of eight.

CAROLINA, in general, is a plain country, though it is every where interſperſed with gentle riſings; and behind it lye the vaſt *Apalachean* mountains. *Albemarle* county, towards the north, was firſt ſettled upon what is called *Albemarle* river; but moſt of its planters removed, for conveniency of trade, to *Aſhley* river. This country is interſected with

Deſcription of Carolina.

rivers, the banks of which contain many *Indians*. South of *Albemarle* is *Clarendon* county; the *Indians* of which are reckoned the moſt barbarous of any in the province. Thoſe two counties form what is properly called the government of *North Carolina*; and are in a way at preſent of being greatly improved, and of rivalling, if not exceeding, *South Carolina*. The tobacco, which *North Carolina* produces, is by the inhabitants ſold to the *Virginians*, who ſend it to *England*. *Craven* county is inhabited, beſides *Engliſh*, by a conſiderable number of *French* families. It lies upon the borders of *Congaree* or *Santee* river, which divides *South* from *North Carolina*. This little colony very gallantly beat off the *French*, who landed amongſt them in 1706; and it ſends ten members to the aſſembly. South of this, lies *Berkley* county, containing the two fine rivers of *Cooper* and *Aſhley*. Upon a neck of land, between thoſe two rivers, lies *Charles-town*, the capital of the province. *Aſhley* river is navigable for ſhips twenty miles above the town, and for near forty for boats and peruagas, or large canoes. *Charles-town* is the great mart of the province, but no ſhips of above two hundred tons can paſs its bar. Its neighbourhood may vie for beauty with any country in the world, and a little expence would make its fortifications ſtrong, ornamental, and uſeful. At preſent, it ſtands as fair as any city to become the capital of *North America*. Some of its houſes are brick, others of wood, but all of them handſome and elegant; and the church is the moſt magnificent of any proteſtant one on the continent of *America*. The *French*, the preſbyterians, and the quakers, have here places of worſhip, and the religious heats, that formerly prevailed among the inhabitants, are now ſaid to have ſubſided. The town of *Charles-town* is the reſidence of the governor. Here the buſineſs of the province is tranſacted, the courts of judicature are held, and the aſſembly ſits. *Dorcheſter* is another thriving town in this county.

SOUTH of *Berkley* county lies that of *Colliton*; the north-eaſt parts of which are full of *Indians*. The two chief rivers of this county are *North Ediſtow* and *South Ediſtow*; the banks of both which are full of wealthy plantations, and on thoſe of *North Ediſtow* lies *Wilton* or *New London*, built under the direction of a *Swiſs* gentleman, called *Laberbuller*, and is ſaid, at preſent, to rival *Purryſburgh*. *Granville* county is the moſt ſoutherly of any in *Carolina*, and lies along the river *Savannah*. We have already mentioned the *Swiſs* ſettlement at *Purryſburgh*, and the *Vaudois* who are among them, are aſſiduouſly applying themſelves to the culture of ſilk. This county, the moſt promiſing of any in *South Carolina*, has been the lateſt ſettled, which is owing to its neighbourhood to the *Spaniards*. In this county lies *Port Royal* river and harbour, which is one of the fineſt in all *America*.

GEORGIA.

THE reaſons why *Carolina* has been ſo lately planted were the ſame that prevented *Georgia* from being planted at all, till the reign of king *George* II. we mean the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards* of *St. Auguſtine* and *Florida*. In the year 1732, a number of public-ſpirited gentlemen, taking into conſideration the vaſt benefit which might ariſe from the tract of land lying between the *Savannah* river, and the river *Alatamaha*, which is contained in king *Charles* II.'s charter, and undoubtedly belonged to *England*, formed a ſcheme of making it ſubſervient to many noble purpoſes, by erecting it into a bulwark for our ſouthern colonies againſt the *Spaniards*; of producing great benefits to the mother-country; but, above all, of giving employment to vaſt numbers of people, who were burthenſome at home to their friends and pariſhes; and petitioned the king for a charter, which was accordingly granted them. This charter, which is dated the 9th of *June*, that year, conſtituted them a corporation, by the name of truſtees for eſtabliſhing a colony, by the name of *Georgia*, including all that country ſituated in *South Carolina*, which lies from the moſt northern ſtream of the *Savannah* river, along the coaſt, to the moſt ſouthern ſtream of the *Alatamaha*, and weſt from the heads of the ſaid rivers reſpectively, in direct lines to the *South Sea*. The charter impowered the corporation, which was to ſubſiſt for the term of twenty-one years from its date, to appoint all ſuch governors, and other officers, both by ſea and land, as they thought fit, (the cuſtom-houſe officers excepted) provided every ſuch governor be approved by his majeſty; and, that the militia of the country ſhould be ſubject, in the mean time, to the governor of *South Carolina*; but that, after the expiration of the twenty-one years, the governor, and all officers, ſhould be appointed by the crown.

1732.

Hiſtory of the charter of Georgia.

THE truſtees had a power to collect benefactions for fitting out the emigrants, and ſupporting them till their houſes could be built, and their lands cleared. The names of the truſtees were *Anthony*, earl of *Shaftſbury*; *John*, lord viſcount *Percival*; *John*, lord viſcount *Tyrconel*; *James*, lord viſcount *Limerick*; *George*, lord *Carpenter*; *Edward Digby*, Eſq;

James Oglethorpe, Eſq; *George Heathcote*, Eſq; *Thomas Tower*, Eſq; *Robert More*, Eſq; *Robert Hucks*, Eſq; *William Sloper*, Eſq; *Francis Eyles*, Eſq; *John Laroche*, Eſq; *James Vernon*, Eſq; *Stephen Hales*, A. M. *Richard Chandler*, Eſq; *Thomas Frederick*, Eſq; *Henry L'Apoſtie*, Eſq; *William Heathcote*, Eſq; *John White*, Eſq; *Robert Kendal*, Eſq; and *Richard Bundy*, D. D. Thoſe gentlemen laid it down as a capital principle, that no negro ſhould be employed in the colony. This reſolution was founded on two reaſons. The firſt was, that negro-work not being required in rearing the commodities expected from the colony, the planters themſelves would, by ſuch a prohibition, be inured to the habits of induſtry. The ſecond reaſon was, that the introduction of negroes ſo near to a garriſon of *Spaniards*, as *St. Auguſtine* was, would have facilitated the desertion of the *Carolinian* negroes to *Georgia*, and from thence to *St. Auguſtine*. The truſtees, at the ſame time, in laying out their towns, reſolved to aſſign to every inhabitant fifty acres of land, as near as poſſible to his town.

Firſt ſettlement of the colony

TOWARDS the end of *Auguſt*, Sir *Gilbert Heathcote* recommended, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to the court of directors of the bank of *England*, the intereſts of the colony, and, among other particulars, obſerved, that the ſoil and climate were proper for raiſing raw ſilk. His ſpeech had the deſired effect, and the members of the court, after his example, contributed largely towards the undertaking, as did great numbers of the nobility, gentry, clergy, and others; and the parliament granted 10,000 l. Thoſe liberalities had ſo good an effect, that, by the beginning of *November*, about an hundred and ſixteen coloniſts had preſented themſelves, being moſt of them labouring people; and were furniſhed with working tools of all kinds, ſtores, and ſmall arms. Their proviſions on the voyage were plentiful, and of the beſt kinds, and nothing was wanting to make their lives comfortable. Among other precautions, care was taken to give them ſome inſtructions as to military diſcipline, which was very proper for their repelling the attacks either of the *Spaniards* or the *Indians*. To carry thoſe promiſing appearances into execution, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, one of the truſtees, a gentleman of an unbounded benevolence and public ſpirit, generouſly attended the firſt ſet of emigrants to *Carolina*, where they arrived in good health, on the 15th of *January* following. They were received by the governor of that province, and by the *Carolinians* in general, with great marks of affection and humanity. They made them a preſent of an hundred breeding cattle, beſides hogs, and twenty barrels of rice, and furniſhed them with a party of horſe and ſcout-boats, by the help of which they reached the river *Savannah*, where Mr. *Oglethorpe*, ten miles up that river, pitched upon a ſpot for laying out their new town. His own deſcription of this ſituation cannot fail to give both pleaſure and ſatisfaction to the reader. "The river there forms a half moon, around the ſouth ſide of which, the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country five or ſix miles, and along the river about a mile, ſhips that draw ten or twelve feet water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river-ſide, in the center of this plain, I have laid out the town. Oppoſite to it is an iſland of very rich paſturage. The river is pretty wide, the water freſh, and, from the key of the town, you ſee the whole courſe of the ſea, with the iſland of *Tybee*, which forms the mouth of the river; and the other way, you ſee the river for about ſixty miles up into the country. The landſkip is very agreeable, the ſtream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both ſides. The whole people arrived here the 1ſt of *February*, at night their tents were got up; till the 7th, they were taken up in unloading and making a crane, which I then could not get finiſhed, ſo took off the hands, and ſet ſome to the fortification; and began to fell the woods, as I marked out the town and common: half of the former is already cleared, and the firſt houſe was begun yeſterday in the afternoon, *February* the 9th; not being able to get negroes, I have taken ten of the independent company to work for us, for which I make them an allowance. A little *Indian* nation, the only one within fifty miles, is not only in amity, but deſirous to be ſubjects to his majeſty king *George*, to have lands given them among us, and to breed their children, at our ſchools. Their chief, and his beloved man, who is the ſecond man in the nation, deſire to be inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion." This town was called, by the name of the river, *Savannah*, and was originally inhabited by a nation called *Yammacraw*; and its chief was *Tomo Chichi*. The ſituation of *Savannah* was not only pleaſant, but healthful; and the new coloniſts were moſt generouſly aſſiſted by the *Carolinians*, and their governor, colonel *Bull*, not only with their purſes, but their labour, in raiſing and building the new town. Great numbers of pines were cut down, and ſome land was plowed up, which was ſown with wheat.

Deſcription of Savannah.

THE *Lower Creek* nation, hearing of this new colony, ſent a numerous deputation, making up about fifty perſons, to treat of an alliance with it. Thoſe *Creeks* conſiſted of eight tribes united in a kind of political confederacy, and all

Dealings with the Creek Indians.

ſpeaking the ſame language, but under ſeparate juriſdictions. Their deputation was compoſed of their kings, or micoes, and their warriors; and Mr. *Oglethorpe* gave them audience in one of the new houſes. This meeting was a ſufficient proof, that thoſe ſavages were far from being ſo ignorant, as ſome *Europeans* imagine, of their natural rights. When the deputies were ſeated, *Oueekachumpa*, or the *Long King*, ſo called from his tallneſs, informed Mr. *Oglethorpe*, in the name of all the eight tribes of the *Lower Creek* nation, that they claimed all the lands from the *Savannah* river, as far as fort *St. Auguſtine*, and up *Flint* river, which falls into the bay of *Mexico.* He then acknowledged the ſuperiority of the *Engliſh* and the white men to them; and ſaid, that they were perſuaded that the great power, which dwelt in heaven, and all around, (and whoſe immenſity he endeavoured to expreſs by throwing abroad his hands, and lengthening his ſounds) had ſent the *Engliſh* thither for their good; and that therefore they were welcome to all the land they did not uſe themſelves. He confirmed this ſpeech by laying eight buckſkins, the beſt things, he ſaid, they had to beſtow, before Mr. *Oglethorpe*; and thanked him for his kindneſs to *Tomo Chichi*, who, it ſeems, had been baniſhed, with ſome of his friends, from his own nation, but, for his valour and wiſdom, had been choſen mico by the *Yammacraws*, and had been very ſeaſonably relieved by the *Engliſh.* This being ended, *Tomo Chichi* entered, and returned his thanks in perſon for the favours that had been ſhewn him; two *Engliſh* gentlemen interpreting all that paſſed. The articles of agreement were then drawn up. They contained, as uſual, ſtipulations for their liberty of trade, reparations of injuries, and that the *Engliſh* ſhould poſſeſs all the lands not uſed by them; but, that at the laying out every town, a certain portion ſhould be allotted to the ſavages, and that all run-away negroes ſhould be reſtored to the *Engliſh*, who were to pay them a ſtipulated reward for every head. This agreement being ſigned, Mr. *Oglethorpe* preſented each of their micoes with a laced coat, a laced hat, and a ſhirt. To each of their chiefs, he gave a gun; and a mantle of duffil, and coarſe cloth, with other things to their attendants.

Their character.

Mr. *OGLETHORPE*, ſoon after the concluſion of this treaty, ſet out for *Charles-town* on his return to *England*; but, in the mean time, he ſtudied to make himſelf maſter of the character of the *Creeks.* According to him, they naturally were ſo moral, that nothing but a clergyman underſtanding their language was wanting for their converſion to Chriſtianity. They puniſhed murder and adultery with death;

but ſo weak is the executive part of government among them, that, in caſes of adultery, the offended party, and in thoſe of murder, the next in blood, are both the judges and executioners. Revenge and drunkenneſs are their greateſt weakneſſes. Their eloquence, like that of the other *American* ſavages, is ſimple, manly, affecting, and highly emblematical, annexing to every figure of ſpeech, the chief properties of the objects to which the figure alludes, or from which the metaphor is drawn. During Mr. *Oglethorpe*'s abſence, the fame of the new colony reached the *Natches*, of whom we have already ſpoken ſo much; and they likewiſe made an alliance with the *Georgians*, who, this year, reaped a very plentiful firſt crop of *Indian* corn. In the middle of *May*, a ſhip arrived at *Savannah*, with paſſengers and ſtores; and the captain received the prize that had been ordered to be beſtowed on the firſt ſhip, which ſhould be unloaded at that town. Soon after, fifty families were ſent over in another ſhip; and, in *March*, 1734, it appeared from the general ſtate of the truſtees accounts, that they had received for the uſe of the charity, 14,822 l. 12 s. 3d. and expended 8,202 l. 16 s. 6 d. but the reader is to obſerve, that, at this time, beſides the coloniſts ſent over by the charity, twenty-one maſters, and an hundred and ſix ſervants had gone at their own expences; ſo that the whole of this embarkation amounted to ſix hundred and eighteen, whereof three hundred and twenty were men, one hundred and thirteen women, one hundred and two boys, and eighty-three girls.

1734.

IN 1734, Mr. *Oglethorpe* arrived in *England*, and brought over with him *Tomo Chichi*, his wife *Lenawki*, and his ſon *Tooanahowi*. Along with them were a war captain, and five chiefs, with their interpreter. Being properly dreſt, they were introduced to his majeſty, then at *Kenſington*, and *Tomo Chichi*, preſenting him with ſome eagle's feathers, made the following ſpeech, which we ſhall communicate to the reader, to juſtify the character we have given of the *Creek* eloquence.

Speech of Tomo Chichi *to the king and queen.*

"THIS day I ſee the majeſty of your face, and greatneſs of your houſe, and the number of your people. I am come for the good of the whole nation called the *Creeks*, to renew the peace they had long ago with the *Engliſh* I am come over in my old days, though I cannot live to ſee any advantage to myſelf; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the *Upper* and *Lower Creeks*, that they may be inſtructed in the knowledge of the *Engliſh*.

"Theſe are the feathers of the eagle, which is the ſwifteſt of birds, and who flieth all round our nations: theſe feathers are a ſign of peace in our land, and we have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a ſign of everlaſting peace.

"O GREAT king! whatſoever words you ſhall ſay unto me, I will tell them faithfully to all the kings of the *Creek* nation."

His majeſty returned a very gracious anſwer to this ſpeech, and *Tomo Chichi* addreſſed her majeſty in the following terms. "I am glad to ſee this day, and to have the opportunity of ſeeing the mother of this great people. As our people are joined with your majeſty's, we do humbly hope to find you the common mother and protectreſs of us and all our children." During the reſidence of thoſe ſavages in *England*, our court and nation omitted nothing that could ſtrike them with the moſt reſpectful ideas of their power and magnificence. But whatever effects thoſe are ſaid to have produced, it ſeems to be certain that thoſe ſavages can be but ſlightly impreſſed with any ideas that are not familiar to them. *Tomo Chichi*, however, while he was in *England*, gave uncommon proofs of his ſagacity, and ſuggeſted to the *Engliſh* many particulars of great ſervice to them, as well as the *Indians*. He deſired that the weights, meaſure, prices, and qualities of the goods they were to purchaſe with their deer-ſkins, might be ſettled; and to prevent impoſitions, that there ſhould be but one ſtorehouſe in every *Indian* town. Thoſe and other particular requeſts were, by the truſtees, thought ſo reaſonable, that they were reduced into three acts, viz. 1. An act for maintaining the peace with the *Indians* in the province of *Georgia*. 2 An act to prevent the importation and uſe of rum and brandy in that province, or any kind of ſpirits or ſtrong waters. 3. An act for rendering the colony more defenſible, by prohibiting the importation of negroes. Thoſe acts being laid before his majeſty in council, were referred to the board of trade; and a favourable report of them being made from thence, they were ratified.

He returns to America.

DURING *Tomo Chichi*'s ſtay in *England*, his attendants gave daily proofs of their attachments to their own habits; and it was with difficulty that they were prevailed on to go to court with any other cloathing than a ſlight wrapper round their middle. On the 30th of *October* 1734, they embarked for their own country, having had an allowance, while they were in *London*, of twenty pounds a week, of which they ſpent but little, becauſe they commonly eat and drank at the tables of perſons of the higheſt diſtinction. Beſides this allowance they received preſents to a very conſiderable amount. Being conducted to *Graveſend*, they were embarked in a ſhip, which carried likewiſe over a number of *Saltzburghers*, being

1734.

ing *German* proteſtants. Theſe, with others of their countrymen who followed, were ſettled in a town, which they called *Ebenezer* on the *Savannah*, and by their habits of induſtry and ſobriety they ſoon became a conſiderable ſettlement. About this time, an alarm was ſpread, as if the *Spaniards* intended to attack the new ſettlement. *Tomo Chichi* profeſſed great alacrity to have gone in perſon to oppoſe them, but his affairs not permitting him, three of his chiefs ſupplied his place. The intelligence proving groundleſs, the planters of *Georgia* made a moſt ſurprizing progreſs in clearing their lands and building their houſes; and, as an encouragement the *Britiſh* parliament granted them a ſupply of 26,000l. which, with very great private donations, was expended upon ſtrengthening the ſouth part of *Georgia*. This being a neceſſary ſervice for the colony, the truſtees very properly pitched upon the highlanders of *Scotland*, one hundred and ſixty of whom, all of them able men, went over in 1735, and ſettled themſelves upon *Alatamaha* river, ſixteen miles by water from the iſland of *St. Simon*, and gave the name of *Darien* to a fort they built there, to which they afterwards added a ſmall town called *New Inverneſs*. The fort was mounted with four pieces of cannon, and the ſame *Scotch* ſettlers built a guard-houſe, a ſtorehouſe, and a chapel, to complete their ſettlement in the beginning of the year 1736. In *February* that ſame year, Mr. *Oglethorpe*, with about three hundred paſſengers on board two ſhips, anchored in the road of *Savannah*. Of thoſe paſſengers forty-ſeven were *Engliſh*, and ſettled on the iſland of *St. Simon*, to which Mr. *Oglethorpe* ordered the independent company there to march, and, at the ſame time, he ſet about building another town called *Frederica*. The *Engliſh*, however, found it neceſſary to treat with *Tomo Chichi* and the *Creek Indians*, about the property of this iſland, which was ceded to them, together with all the adjacent iſlands by the natives. Mr. *Oglethorpe* in this voyage forwarded the raiſing the beacon of *Tybee*, the building of a church, the erecting a wharf for landing goods, and providing men for clearing the roads and finiſhing the fortifications. 1735. 1736.

Mr. Oglethorpe *arrives a ſecond time at* Georgia.

In *September* the ſame year it was ſtipulated between Mr. *Oglethorpe* and the *Spaniſh* governor of *St. Auguſtine*, that the *Engliſh* ſhould evacuate the fort built upon the iſland of *St. George*, which lies near the influx of *St. John*'s river, and the *Atlantic* ocean, forty miles north of *St. Auguſtine*; but at the ſame time it was agreed, that this evacuation ſhould not injure his *Britannic* majeſty's rights to the ſaid iſland, or any other of his dominions, or claims upon the continent. By this time, a kind of a deputation of *Swiſs* gentlemen from

Purryſburgh waited upon Mr. *Oglethorpe*; in conſequence of which, and another from *Ebenezer*, many regulations were made. The ſituation of *Ebenezer* was complained of by the inhabitants, who moſt earneſtly requeſted to be moved nearer the mouth of the river. Mr. *Oglethorpe* went thither to examine the ſituation of the place, which he found in ſo good a condition, that he wanted the inhabitants to keep poſſeſſion of it; but their importunities getting the better of his advice, he marked out a town for them upon the ſpot they deſired. *Progreſs of the colony.* He next turned his attention towards completing fort *Frederica*, which, with proper out-works, formed a regular ſquare with four baſtions, and ſurrounded by a ditch. This fort was ſituated upon the iſle of *St. Simon*, to which *Tomo Chichi* and his *Indians* brought as much veniſon as fed the *Engliſh* for ſeveral days. Mr. *Oglethorpe*, after this, went a kind of a progreſs with the *Indians* to ſurvey their country, chiefly with a view of preventing them from falling upon the *Spaniards* with whom *Great Britain* was then at peace. During this progreſs he was carried to an iſland at the mouth of *Jekyl*'s ſound, where he marked out another fort, and gave the name of *Cumberland* to the iſland. After this, he viſited another iſland about ſixteen miles long, bearing oranges, myrtles, and vines, all wild, and to this iſland he gave the name of *Amelia*.

1737. IN the year 1737 a very bad underſtanding ſubſiſted between the courts of *London* and *Madrid*, on account of the depredations which the *Spaniards* were daily committing by ſea againſt the *Engliſh*. As this naturally portended a war, advice was ſent from *South Carolina* to *London*, that the *Spaniards* at *St. Auguſtine* and the *Havannah* were making preparations for attacking the infant colony of *Georgia*. Upon this the *Britiſh* government, at the requeſt of the truſtees, ſent thither a regiment of ſix hundred men, and, for the encouragement of thoſe ſoldiers, a grant in truſt was made to each of them, of five acres of land to be cultivated for the proprietor's uſe and benefit, during his continuance in that ſervice. A reſolution was taken at the ſame time at the board, that if any ſoldier was inclined, at the end of ſeven years, to quit the ſervice, he ſhould have a regular diſcharge, with a proper certificate, and be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land. The parliament this year granted the colony another ſupply of 20,000l. which enabled the truſtees to ſend over another embarkation of perſecuted proteſtants. But it was now found by experience, that ſome fundamental errors mingled with the original conſtitution of the colony. A capital one was, the confining the tenure of the coloniſts lots to heirs male. This was ſuch a diſcouragement to induſtry as threw a damp upon the whole conſtitution of the colony; as no planter, even if he had ſons, would chuſe to labour for what could not deſcend to his daughters. The truſtees, therefore, made an alteration in this article; and reſolved, that in default of ſuch iſſue, the legal poſſeſſor of any land might, by his laſt will, or other written deed, appoint his daughter, or any other female relation, his ſucceſſor, provided the lot ſo granted and deviſed, ſhould be perſonally claimed in the proper court in *Georgia*, within eighteen months after the death of the granter or deviſor.

Encouragement given to it. 1739.

THIS reſolution being found not extenſive enough to ſatisfy all the planters and their relations, in *September* 1739, an advertiſement, by authority, was publiſhed in the *London* gazette, importing, " That the lands already, or hereafter, to be granted, ſhould not only, on failure of male iſſue, deſcend to the daughters of ſuch grantees; but if there were no iſſue, either male or female, the grantees might deviſe ſuch lands; and that for want of ſuch deviſe, ſuch lands ſhould deſcend to the heirs at law; provided that the poſſeſſion of the perſon, who enjoyed ſuch deviſe, ſhould not be increaſed to more than five hundred acres; and that the widows of the grantees ſhould hold and enjoy the dwelling-houſe, garden, and one moiety of the lands their huſbands ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of, for the term of their lives." At the ſame time it was reſolved by the truſtees, that no fee or reward ſhould be taken, directly or indirectly, for entering ſuch claim by any perſons whatever. The inhabitants of *Frederica* town had by this time cut a road ſix miles from them to the ſoldier's fort, and *Tomo Chichi*, with four *Creek* kings, thirty warriors, and fifty attendants, offered to Mr. *Oglethorpe* to march 1000 *Creek* warriors againſt the *Spaniards*, to wherever he ſhould command them. They likewiſe gave him an invitation to ſee their towns, and inſiſted upon his ordering them braſs weights, and ſealed meaſures, to be lodged with each of their kings to prevent frauds. Mr. *Oglethorpe*, who well knew the diſpoſition of thoſe ſavages, made them preſents. They danced all night, and next morning ſet out on a journey of four hundred miles to their own townſhips. Mr. *Oglethorpe* next year made a progreſs of five hundred miles from *Frederica* fort, to poſſeſs himſelf with all the intelligence he could acquire of the ſavages in thoſe parts. He arrived at the town of *Coweta*, where he conferred with the deputies of that town; and likewiſe with thoſe of the *Chactaws* and *Chikeſaws*, a kind of neutral *Indians*, lying between the *Engliſh* and *French* ſettlements. Thoſe deputies, as a ſign of their

Dealings with the ſavages.

their unanimity, drank black broth, a compoſition of their own, together, and "declared, *nem. con.* that they adhered in their ancient love to the king of *Great Britain*, and to the agreements made in the year 1733, with the truſtees eſtabliſhed for the colony of *Georgia*; and they farther declared, that all the dominions, territories, and lands, from the *Savannah* river to *St. John*'s river, and all the iſlands between them; and from *St. John*'s river to the bay of *Apalache*; and from thence to the mountains, doth by ancient right belong to the *Creek* nation, who have maintained poſſeſſion of it againſt all oppoſers by war, and can ſhew the heaps of the bones of their enemies by them ſlain in defence of their lands. And the ſaid eſtates further declared, that the ſaid nation hath for ages enjoyed the protection of the kings and queens of *England*; and that the *Spaniards*, nor no other nation, have any right to any of the ſaid lands; and that they will not ſuffer them or any other perſon, except the truſtees of the colony of *Georgia*, to ſettle on the ſaid lands. And they acknowledge the grant they have already made to the ſaid truſtees of all the lands upon the *Savannah* river as far as the river *Ogeeche*, and all the lands along the ſea-coaſts as far as *St. John*'s river, and as high as the tide flows, and all the iſlands as far as the ſaid river, particularly the iſlands of *Frederica*, *Cumberland* and *Amelia*, to which they have given the names of his *Britannic* majeſty's family, out of gratitude to him. But they declare, that they did and do reſerve to the *Creek* nation all the land from *Pipemakers Bluff* to *Savannah*, and the iſlands of *St. Catharine*, *Oſſebaw*, and *Sappolo*: and they farther declare, that the ſaid lands were held by the *Creek* nation, as tenants in common. And Mr. *Oglethorpe*, the commiſſioner for king *George* II. doth declare, that the *Engliſh* ſhall not enlarge or take up any lands, except thoſe granted as above to the truſtees by the *Creek* nation, and doth covenant, that he will puniſh any perſon that ſhall intrude upon the lands ſo reſerved by that nation."

1739. Georgian *ſilk exhibited.*

IN 1739 a ſpecimen of *Georgian* raw ſilk was exhibited at *London*, and a *Swiſs* gentleman depoſed before a maſter in chancery, that he received it from Mr. *Thomas Jones* the truſtees ſtore-keeper at *Savannah*, and that it was the produce of *Georgia*. This ſpecimen being ſhewn to two very eminent merchants, who deal in that commodity, they declared it to be as good as any raw ſilk that came from *Italy*, and that it was worth at leaſt twenty ſhillings a pound. The ſame year the truſtees rendered the daughter of any grantee, or any other perſon, capable of enjoying, by deviſe or inheritance, any number of acres, not exceeding 2000. About the ſame time, a licenſe was granted to all the land-holders in *Georgia* to leaſe out any part of their lots for any term, not exceeding three years, to any of the reſidents in that province. To prevent litigious proſecutions, and to render the reſidence and condition of the ſettlers as comfortable as poſſible, a general releaſe was likewiſe paſſed, by which no advantage was to be taken againſt any of the land-holders of *Georgia* for any forfeiture incurred before *Chriſtmas* 1740, on account of the tenure or cultivation of land. By the ſame releaſe, a poſſeſſor of five hundred acres was not obliged to cultivate more than one hundred and twenty acres in twenty years, from the date of his grant, and thoſe who poſſeſſed under five hundred acres, and above fifty acres in proportion.

Georgia *invaded.*

Upon the breaking out of the war between *England* and *Spain*, the province of *Georgia* became one of the chief objects againſt which the *Spaniards* directed their hoſtilities; and we have in another part of this work given the hiſtory of general *Oglethorpe*'s attack upon *St. Auguſtine*. In 1742 about 5 or 6000 *Spaniards* and *Indians* invaded *Georgia* from *St. Auguſtine*, in about fifty veſſels of all kinds, but were repulſed by general *Oglethorpe* at the head of the *Engliſh* forces, and a ſmall body of *Indians* under *Tomo Chichi*'s ſon. It is certain, that if this deſcent had proved ſucceſsful, *Carolina*, and all the *Engliſh North America* muſt have been in imminent danger; and the general received congratulatory letters of thanks from the ſeveral *Engliſh* governors there, for the great and important ſervices he had done them. It perhaps does not belong to us to inveſtigate the ſecret cauſes why this promiſing colony did not anſwer the moſt ſanguine expectations. It is certain, that, to the amazement of the public. it drooped and languiſhed from the year 1742, till Mr. *Ellis* was appointed governor, and under his adminiſtration it became again of ſuch importance, that his preſent majeſty, upon removing him to another government, rewarded him with a handſome preſent in money for his adminiſtration of that of *Georgia*. It now reſts for us to give ſome detail of the advantages ariſing to *Great Britain* from this infant ſettlement. 1742.

An inſpection of the map in a great meaſure anſwers that purpoſe, and ſhews the wiſdom of filling up the vacuity between *Florida* and *Carolina*, which, more than probably, had it not been critically effected, would have been occupied by the *French*, who thereby muſt, in a manner, have ſhut up the *Britiſh American* ſettlements within their own. The town of *Savannah* is every day increaſing, and a road has been marked out between that and *Ebenezer*, and the like roads have opened communications between *Georgia* and the neighbouring *Indians*, which have introduced a very conſiderable trade into the colony. *Auguſta* fort, which lies upon the river *Savannah*, contains ſtore-houſes for the goods which the *Indians* want, and for the furs and other commodities they give for them in exchange, and which are ſent two hundred and thirty miles down the river in boats, each about four ton and a half burthen. The *Saltzburghers*, who are ſettled at *Ebenezer*, are a ſober induſtrious people, and not only raiſe great numbers of cattle, but furniſh corn and other proviſions to the inhabitants of *Savannah*.

Account of the iſlands and forts of Georgia.

THE iſlands and forts upon the coaſt of *Georgia*, as they lie from ſouth to north, are as follow. Firſt, *Amelia* iſland, lying ſeven leagues to the north of *St. Auguſtine*, about two miles broad, and thirteen long. Second, *Cumberland* iſland, about twenty miles ſouth of *Frederica*. This iſland commands the inlet of *Amelia* ſound, by means of a fort, called fort *William*; which is ſtrongly palliſadoed, and mounts eight pieces of cannon. It likewiſe contains barracks for two hundred and twenty men, magazines for ammunition and proviſions, and fine ſprings of water. Third, *St. Simon's* iſland, lying near the northern mouth of the river *Alatamaha*. This iſland is ſaid to be about three miles in breadth, and forty-five in length. It formerly was fortified towards the ſouth end, and a battery erected upon it defended *Jekyll* ſound. In the middle of it ſtands the town of *Frederica*, which is well fortified and provided with a regular magiſtracy. The ſoil of this iſland is good, and produces plenty of oak and hickery trees. Fourth, *New Inverneſs*, which is in the ſouth part of the province, where the *Scotch Highlanders* are ſettled, is a fort lying on the river *Alatamaha*, twenty miles from *Frederica*. After all, the late peace with *France* and *Spain*, has made ſo many alterations upon the face of this province, that any deſcription, which can be given of its improved ſtate, muſt be but ſhort-lived and imperfect. We ſhall therefore finiſh the hiſtory of it, with ſome account of its original and natural ſtate.

ACCORDING to the beſt accounts, the *Indian* natives of *Georgia* had ſome notion of an omnipotent Being; who formed man, and inhabited the ſun, the clouds, and the clear ſky. They likewiſe had ſome idea of his providence, and power over human race. It is even ſaid, that they believed ſomewhat of a future ſtate; and that the ſouls of bad men walk up and down the place where they died; but, that God, or, as they call him, the Beloved, chuſes ſome from children, whom he takes care of, and reſides in and teaches. But, though we have given our reader this account of the ſavage faith, we are far from being ourſelves convinced that the miniſters and miſſionaries, from whom it is collected, were not impoſed upon, or wanted to impoſe upon others, and, particularly, in the doctrine of election and grace, which ſome ſeem to be ſo fond of, that they want to make it a part of uninſtructed religion.

Its natural productions

As to the natural productions of *Georgia*, though it is in general allowed to be a rich and a delicious country, yet the deſcriptions of them vary according to different parts of the colony, ſome being undoubtedly leſs proper for cultivation than others; it is, however, univerſally allowed that the ſoil produces *Indian* corn, wheat, oats and barley, potatoes, pumpkins, melons, cucumbers, green peas, and garden beans, with ſallading of all kinds, through the whole year. Nectarines, plumbs, and peaches, grow here in great abundance, and might by cultivation be rendered equal, if not ſuperior, to any in *Europe*. The grapes grow wild, and are ripe in *June*; and *Engliſh* apple and pear trees, and ſometimes apricot trees, agree with the ſoil. The white and black mulberry trees ſend out leaves that are excellent nouriſhment to the ſilk worms, the propagation of which was one of the great inducements for ſettling the colony, and we hear is daily improving. Oranges and olives thrive, eſpecially in the ſouthern parts of *Georgia*, to the greateſt perfection. Their chief timber trees are oaks, of which they have ſix or ſeven kinds, pines, hickery, cedar, cypreſs, walnut, ſaſſafras, beach trees, and many others for which the *Europeans* have no name, beſides a great variety of flowering ſhrubs.

GEORGIA produces variety of game from the beginning of *November* to *March*; ſuch as a ſmall kind of woodcocks and partridges, turkeys weighing from twenty to thirty pounds, turtle doves, wild-geeſe, ducks, teal, and widgeons, with great quantities of wild pidgeons, not to mention other birds, little known in *Europe*. In the ſummer-time, the inhabitants kill deer and ſummer-ducks. They have likewiſe the poſſom, or, as they call it, the opoſſom, which ſhuts its young one up in a falſe belly, and are ſaid to be excellent food, as are alſo the raccoons. Tygers are common in this country, as are bears, whoſe cubs eat like young pigs. Their woods abound with wild cattle, and wolves and ſnakes; but none of them, except the rattle-ſnake, are venomous; and, as in *Louiſiana*, the natives have a ready and infallible cure for its bite. Their rivers are peſtered with ſharks and alligators; but, at the ſame time, their coaſts are ſtored with trout, mullet, whitings, and a vaſt variety of other fiſh, which are both cheap and good. They have vaſt quantities of oyſters, which are ſaid to be not ſo good as thoſe of *Eng-*

land. They have likewiſe clams, muſcles, and very large prawns. To conclude, the greateſt inconveniency which this ſettlement has hitherto laboured under, ariſes from the fewneſs of hands to improve its natural productions. There ſeems to be no doubt, that, if the ſame attention in cultivating it was applied to the ſoil of *Georgia* as to that of *England,* it may be rendered highly beneficial and profitable to the mother-country as well as to the inhabitants.

MARYLAND.

Lord Baltimore *proprietary of* Maryland.

MARYLAND, to the weſt, is bounded by high mountains, by *Cheſapeak Bay* and the *Northern Sea* to the eaſt, by *Delaware Bay* to the north, and by *Patowmeck* river to the ſouth, and lies between latitude 37° 50″ and 40° N. It was originally included in the patent of the *South Virginia* company, and conſidered as part of *Virginia*; but, in the year 1631, king *Charles* I. made a grant of it to *George Calvert,* lord *Baltimore,* upon the diſſolution of that company, with a proprietary power in his government; and this was the greateſt grant that was given by the crown, upon the reſuming the *Virginian* charters into its own hands. When his majeſty ſigned the patent, he gave the new province the name of *Maryland,* in honour of his queen, *Henrietta Maria,* daughter to *Henry the Great,* king of *France.* The lord *Baltimore* held it of the crown of *England* in common ſoccage, as of the honour of *Windſor*; paying yearly for ever at the ſaid honour, a *reddendo* of two *Indian* arrows of thoſe parts. As to the grant itſelf, its proprietary power is as independent as that of any of the *Britiſh* ſettlements.

1631.

THE lord *Baltimore,* who was of the *Roman* catholic religion, but a quiet, inoffenſive, ſubject, and had obtained the grant to be an aſylum to himſelf, and thoſe of his perſuaſion, from the perſecutions of the times, appointed his brother, *Lionel Calvert,* Eſq; to go governor of his new colony, and joined in commiſſion with him, *Jeremy Hawley* and *Thomas Cornwallis,* Eſqrs. and the firſt plantation, conſiſting of about 200 coloniſts, was ſent thither the 22d of *November,* in 1633. They were chiefly, if not wholly, *Roman* catholics, many of them gentlemen of fortune; and, like the proteſtants of *New England,* their ſettlement was founded upon a ſtrong deſire for the unmoleſted practice of their own religion. The chief of their names are as follow: *George Calvert,* brother to the governor; *Richard Gerard, Edward Winter, Frederick Winter,* and *Henry Wiſeman,* Eſqrs.; Mr. *John Saunders,* Mr. *Edward Cranfield,* Mr. *Henry Green,* Mr. *Nicholas Fairfax,* Mr. *John Baxter,*

Mr.

1634.

Mr. *Thomas Dorres*, captain *John Hill*, Mr. *John Medcalfe*, and Mr. *William Saire*. *George*, lord *Baltimore*, who had obtained the original patent, died before it could be expedited; but his plan was punctually followed by his eldeſt ſon, *Cecil*, lord *Baltimore*; and the firſt embarkation of coloniſts landed at *Point Comfort* in *Virginia*, in the beginning of the year 1634. Here, in conſequence of recommendatory letters from the king, they met with all poſſible aſſiſtance from the governor of *Virginia*, and they proceeded on the 3d of *March* to *Patowmeck* river, which lies at the diſtance of about twenty-four leagues. They ſailed fourteen leagues up this river, and Mr. *Calvert*, in the *Roman* catholic manner, took poſſeſſion of ſeveral points and iſlands in the name of the king his maſter, particularly, the iſland of *St. Clement*. Proceeding in two pinnaces four leagues higher, he found the inhabitants had abandoned the ſouth ſhore of the river through fear; and, ſailing ſtill nine leagues higher, he came to the town of *Patowmeck*, where the werowance, or chief, being an infant, the territory was governed by his uncle, who was very friendly to the *Engliſh*. Purſuing his voyage, he came to *Piſcataway*, where he found an *Engliſhman*, one captain *Henry Fleet*, who had lived for ſeveral years in ſuch credit with the inhabitants, that he prevailed with the werowance to go on board the governor's pinnace. The werowance, on being aſked the queſtion, whether he was willing the *Engliſh* ſhould ſettle in thoſe parts, bade them do as they pleaſed, as he would neither conſent to, nor oppoſe, their ſettlement. The werowance's ſubjects, being apprehenſive for his ſafety, crouded in ſuch numbers down to the ſea-ſide, that it was thought proper that he ſhould ſhew himſelf to appeaſe them.

Adventures of governor Calvert.

THE werowance's cautious, and perhaps wiſe, anſwer, together with the ſituation of the country, determined the governor to ſeek for a ſettlement farther down the river; and, taking captain *Fleet* along with him, he ſailed down to within four or five leagues of the mouth of the *Patowmeck*, where he met with another river, which he called *St. George*; and, ſailing four leagues up it, in his long boat, he came to the town of *Yoamaco*, where the ſituation was very inviting for a new ſettlement. Though the werowance gave him no great encouragement for that purpoſe, yet he received him with great kindneſs, and gave him his own bed to lie on. Mr. *Calvert* knew that the werowance's backwardneſs was owing to his not having conſulted his head men, and he made them preſents of *Engliſh* cloth, houghs, knives, and axes, and the like; which won them ſo much, that they offered to cede one part of their town to the ſettlers, and to live in the other part till they could get in their harveſt; after which they were to reſign the whole to the *Engliſh*. It ſoon appeared, that the *Yoamacoes*, for fear of the *Saſquehanocks*, a race of ſavages between *Cheſapeak* bay and *Delaware* river, had reſolved, for a twelvemonth before, to remove higher up the country, as many of them had actually done, and the reſt of them would have followed, though the *Engliſh* had not appeared amongſt them. Mr. *Calvert*, getting thus amicably in poſſeſſion of the whole town, gave it the name of *St. Mary's*, and applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to the cultivation of his new colony. The ſhips and pinnaces were ordered to lie off the place, and ſtruck the neighbouring ſavages with great terror. A guard and a ſtorehouſe were immediately erected; the ſhips were unladen, and their cargoes brought on ſhore; the ſoil was cultivated; and the governor was viſited by ſeveral of the *Indian* werowances, before whom he made ſuch a diſplay of his ſtate and power, that they adviſed the *Yoamacoes*, who viſited the *Engliſh* likewiſe on this occaſion, to be careful of keeping the league they had made with the *Engliſh*, which implied that both people ſhould live friendly together, and that all injuries ſhould be ſatisfied by the offending nation. The governor, on his part, behaved ſo well, that the natives ſupplied his colony with corn, and all kind of proviſions which the country afforded, in exchange for knives, beads, and other ſuch trifles.

His ſettlement in the colony.

THE ſettling upon a ſpot where the land had been before cleared by the natives, was a piece of uncommon good fortune for the new colony, and, it is ſaid, that the firſt ſettlement of it coſt lord *Baltimore* above 40,000 l. ſo that, in a ſhort time, it began to vie with *Virginia* itſelf. This raiſed a jealouſy in ſome of the *Virginians*, who, at firſt, perſuaded the neighbouring natives that the new ſettlers were not *Engliſhmen*, but *Spaniards*, and enemies to the *Engliſh*. This ridiculous ſuggeſtion was believed by the ſimple ſavages, and, all of a ſudden, they withdrew their company from *St. Mary's*. The *Engliſh* were alarmed at this alteration of behaviour, and left off building houſes, that they might erect a fort for their ſecurity; which they did in the ſpace of ſix weeks, and then finiſhed the houſes they had laid out. In a ſhort time, the *Indians* were diſabuſed of their miſtake, and reſorted to the colony as formerly, while every day brought new acceſſions of inhabitants from *England*, which were more or leſs numerous, as the perſecution of the *Roman* catholics there raged or abated. The country was now divided into ſhires or counties, of which five lay on the weſt ſide of the bay of *Cheſapeak*, and five on the eaſt. The former were named *St. Mary's*, *Charles*, *Calvert*, *Ann Arundel*, and *Baltimore*, to which was afterwards added *Prince George* county. The latter ſhires were *Somerſet*, *Dorcheſter*, *Talbot*, *Cecil*, and *Kent*. The governor likewiſe built a houſe in *St. Mary's* for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, The government itſelf was likewiſe ſettled upon a plan reſembling, as near as poſſible, that of *England*. The governor had his council; and the upper houſe conſiſted of them, and ſuch lords of the manors, or others, who, from time to time, were called up thither by writs, by the lord proprietary or his lieutenant; and the lower houſe conſiſted of repreſentatives from the different counties. The acts of both houſes, the moment they were paſſed, became final, nor could they be repealed, but by the ſame power which paſſed them; a privilege which was peculiar to *Maryland*. But this original ſettlement has ſince met with many alterations, and is ſuſceptible of more, as the affairs and population of the colony improve. The courts of juſtice have likewiſe a reſemblance to thoſe of *England*, The provincial court is the higheſt in matters of property, and the lieutenant, or governor, and council, are judges in it, and, ſubordinate to that, each county has its court, which can decide without appeal, in cauſes that are not capital, nor exceeding the ſtated value of 3000 lb. weight of tobacco, Thoſe counties, in the year 1752, amounted to fourteen, *viz*, ſeven on each ſide of the bay of *Cheſapeak*.

1662.

and flouriſhing ſtate.

It was no wonder if ſo flouriſhing a colony, as that of *Maryland* was, under a *Roman* catholic proprietary, and conſiſting of *Roman* catholics, became obnoxious to the reigning powers, during the time of the great rebellion, who then aſſumed this government into their own hands. Upon the reſtoration, it reverted to the lord *Baltimore*, who, about the year 1662, ſent over his ſon, *Charles Calvert*, Eſq; to be his governor of the province, he having previouſly obtained a confirmation of the grant of 1631. This gentleman, who was afterwards himſelf lord *Baltimore*, was one of the beſt governors that any *Engliſh* plantation ever had in *America*. Though he was a *Roman* catholic, he paſſed an act of the aſſembly, by which all Chriſtians (profeſſing themſelves ſuch) of every denomination had liberty to ſettle in the province; and his adminiſtration was ſo mild, moderate, and impartial, that the *Engliſh* inhabitants of *Maryland*, ſo early as the year 1665, amounted to 16,000. Even the *Indian* nations ſubmitted to his authority; and when a chief, one *Naocoſco*, was choſen what they call emperor of *Piſcataway*, his election was not thought to be valid, till it was confirmed by the governor of *Maryland.* In every other reſpect, he kept his promiſes of protection and encouragement to the proteſtants as well as the papiſts; nor is there, during all the time of his long government, (for he reſided there twenty years) a ſingle inſtance of an invaſion upon the rights, properties, or privileges of any man.

SIR *William Berkley*, a violent royaliſt, was, at this time, governor of *Virginia*, where many ſevere laws paſſed againſt the diſſenters there; and he behaved with ſo much tyranny, that this ſon of the church of *England* drove great numbers of them into *Maryland*, where they were received with open arms, and kindly entertained by the popiſh proprietary there. 1677. In the year 1677, the *Indian* war in *Virginia* communicated itſelf, but in a very ſmall degree, to *Maryland*, and tranquillity was ſoon reſtored all over that province by the proprietary's wiſdom and moderation. The comprehenſive maxims of lord *Baltimore* did not ſuit thoſe of *James* II. when he mounted the throne of *England.* Though he had granted liberty of conſcience to all the ſectaries in *Great Britain*, that he might the more eaſily eſtabliſh the *Roman* catholic religion there, yet his popiſh counſellors ſuggeſted to him, that ſuch a toleration ought not to take place in a province where the bulk of the people were already *Roman* catholics. A reſolution was therefore taken to deprive the lord *Baltimore* of the right to nominate a governor to his province of *Maryland*, and had not the revolution taken place, it is more than probable that it would have been carried into execution. The difference of court-religion made, in this reſpect, no difference in court-policy; and, notwithſtanding the inoffenſive behaviour of lord *Baltimore* and his family, the reſolution of taking from him the right of nominating the governor of *Maryland* was ſtill purſued. Advantage of the acts of parliament againſt papiſts was taken againſt him, but lord *Baltimore* had the ſpirit to diſpute his rights inch by inch at the council-board; and though his lordſhip retained that of proprietary, he was deprived of that of naming a governor, or a council, both which have been ever ſince veſted in the crown. King *William* appointed Sir *Edmund Andros*, whom we have mentioned in the hiſtory of *New England*, to the government of *Maryland.* This gentleman, though ſaid to have been himſelf a papiſt, called together an aſſembly in 1692. 1692, who recognized the right of king *William* and queen *Mary* to the crown, and to prevent any inconveniencies ariſing from the alteration of the judicature in the province, an act was paſſed, confirming all law-proceedings, excepting where there was any error in proceſs or pleas. When an act of parliament

Lord Baltimore *deprived of the power of naming a governor.*

parliament paſſed concerning the ſucceſſion of declared papiſts to paternal inheritances, the *Baltimore* family very wiſely declared themſelves proteſtants, and have ever ſince been eminently attached to our preſent happy conſtitution in church and ſtate.

New conſtitution of the colony.

SIR *Edmund Andros*, who died in a very advanced age at *London*, in 1714, was ſucceeded in the government of *Maryland* by colonel *Nicholſon*. This gentleman is repreſented by ſome[x], as far from being an unexceptionable governor, though we cannot ſee for what reaſon. Under him paſſed the act of confirmation above-mentioned; in which there is a proviſo, that nothing in the act ſhould juſtify Sir *Edmund Andros* in taking and diſpoſing of the public revenues, or debar the aſſembly, or any other perſon, of their right or claims to the ſame. After this the proprietary enjoyed, as before, the revenues of the province, ariſing by grants from the aſſemblies, the exportation of tobacco, the ſales of uncultivated and unpurchaſed lands, and various other articles; all which make up a very conſiderable income. In the mean while, *Maryland* ſtill preſerves the privilege of not ſubmitting her laws to *Great Britain* for confirmation. In her government, there is, in effect, at preſent four negatives. All bills, before they are carried into acts, take their riſe in the lower houſe, or houſe of repreſentatives[y]. The proprietary himſelf has a negative; the governor has another; and another is lodged in the council, which conſiſts of twelve, and are paid by the province. The lower houſe of repreſentatives is compoſed of four from each of the fourteen counties, and two for *Annapolis*, for ſo the metropolis of the province is now called. It was natural for the government of *England*, after the revolution, and after the crown had appropriated to itſelf the appointment of the governor, to enquire more nearly into the ſtate of *Maryland*, than into that of any other of the *American* colonies, both as to its eccleſiaſtical and civil conſtitution. In 1692, it was thought proper that the biſhop of *London* ſhould appoint a commiſſary in *Maryland*; and he made choice of the famous Dr. *Thomas Bray*, who went over thither to inſpect the church affairs of the province, which he found in great diſorder, through the influence of the papiſts on one hand, and that of the quakers on the other. An act of the aſſembly, that ſame year, divided the then counties into thirty pariſhes, ſixteen of which were ſupplied with miniſters, who were provided with livings. By the doctor's care, likewiſe, the people were furniſhed with many books of proteſtant

practical

---

[x] DOUGLASS's Summary, Vol. II. p. 369.

[y] Ibid. p. 366.

Church of England *miniſters ſettled.*

Colonel Nicholſon *governor.*

practical devotion, and ſeveral chapels were erected. The ſtipends allowed to the miniſters were fixed by a perpetual law to be according to the taxables in each pariſh. Every Chriſtian male of ſixteen-years old, and negroes, male and female, above that age, pay 40 lb. of tobacco yearly to the miniſter, which is levied by the ſheriff, and thereby each miniſter, one with another, has an income of about 20,000lb. weight of tobacco, which anſwers to about 100 l. ſterling a year. This encouragement was greatly owing to colonel *Nicholſon*'s zeal; for before his time the people of the colony had never ſeen any divines of the church of *England*, excepting ſome itinerant preachers, whoſe morals were a reproach to their profeſſion. This had given the papiſts, and the other ſectaries, a great ſway over the bulk of the people; but in a few years the latter were ſo well reconciled to the church of *England*, that it became the chief religion in the province; and their audiences were even crouded.

Names of other governors.

COLONEL *NICHOLSON* left his government with a good character, and was ſucceeded by colonel *Nathaniel Blakiſton*. This gentleman promiſed to tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſors, but he was obliged to return to *England* for the recovery of his health, and in 1703 her majeſty was pleaſed to appoint colonel *William Seymour* to be governor. This gentleman in his paſſage to *Maryland* in the *Dreadnought* man of war, was forced to put into *Barbadoes*, and, being afterwards driven off the coaſts of *Maryland*, it was above eight months from his departure from *England* before he arrived at his government. He likewiſe had a good character, and the moſt remarkable of the ſucceeding governors were the colonels *Corbet* and *Hunt*, Mr. *Calvert*, Mr. *Bladen*, and Mr. *Ogle*, who was governor in 1752. The allowance of the governor's ſalary is, by agreement, with the proprietary, and therefore uncertain; but the value of the proprietary's own revenue is very conſiderable. His original quit-rent was two ſhillings ſterling a year for every one hundred acres. In time he patented vacant lands for double that ſum, and at laſt he endeavoured to raiſe the quit-rent to ten ſhillings for every one hundred acres; but failed in the attempt, though there is little room to doubt, that in the preſent flouriſhing ſtate of *Maryland*, the quit-rents may riſe to that ſum. Some years ago the aſſembly, with the conſent of the lord proprietary, granted him in lieu of his quit-rents for three years a revenue of 3s. 6d. ſterling duty on every hogſhead of tobacco, to be paid by the ſhipper. By this means the landed intereſt was eaſed of the burthen of quit-rents; but this ſcheme did not hold. The lord proprietary, by this new method of collection, received no more than 5000 l. a year; and therefore, upon the expiration of the three years, he reverted to the revenue ariſing from his quit-rents. Beſides thoſe, he has large eſtates in many parts of the province, which he lets to farm.

THE ſituation of *Maryland*, which ſecures it in a great meaſure from the rapines and incurſions of the *Indians*, has, at all times, preſerved this province in a tolerable ſtate of tranquillity; and conſequently it affords but little ſubject for hiſtory; the natives having wiſely applied themſelves to the culture of their country. *Tobacco.* Their chief commodity is tobacco, of which ſome time ago Dr. *Douglaſs*, in his Summary, tells us [r], *Maryland*, one year with another, exported upwards of 30,000 hogſheads, each hogſhead ſeven hundred pounds weight. This commodity forms the medium or currency of *Maryland*, being received in debts and taxes; and the inſpector's notes for tobacco delivered to him are tranſferable. It is ſaid that an induſtrious man can manage 6000 plants of tobacco, and four acres of *Indian* corn. *Pork.* The next commodity that we ſhall mention belonging to *Maryland*, is pork. The woods there contain vaſt droves of wild ſwine, which are generally ſmall, but when ſalted and barrelled they make a very conſiderable article of exports. 1733. In 1733, one planter is ſaid to have ſalted upwards of 3000 barrels of pork. *Grain.* The grain of *Maryland* is ſubject to the weevel, a ſmall inſect of the ſcarabeus kind, which often takes to the ear when growing. Good land in *Maryland* yields about fifteen buſhels of wheat, an acre or thirty buſhels of *Indian* corn. 1751. In 1751 the people of the uplands of *Maryland* ſent into *Baltimore* town, which lies near the bottom of *Cheſapeak* bay, ſixty waggons loaden with flax ſeed, which is a demonſtration that *Flax.* their ſoil is proper for that culture; and indeed they now raiſe great quantities, both of hemp and flax, *Hemp.* which may be manufactured to great advantage by the charity ſchools, which are every where eſtabliſhing in that country. The mountains of *Maryland* contain great quantities of iron-ore, *Iron-ore.* and ſome furnaces are already erected there for running it into pigs and forges for refining it into iron. *Timber.* The *Maryland* oak is not greatly eſteemed for building large ſhips, but is very proper for ſtaves and ſmall craft. Their black walnut is very proper for joiners work. They have likewiſe poplars, cedars, cheſnut, and other woods, which are uncommon to other parts of *North America*.

---

[r] DOUGLASS's Summary, Vol. 2. p. 372.

In

Air. *Number of inhabitants, and of ſlaves annually imported.*

IN proportion as the land is cleared, and the country inhabited, the air of *Maryland*, which before was not very wholeſome, muſt acquire a greater degree of ſalubrity, and the inhabitants, at preſent, are computed at near 70,000, excluſive of the negroes, though it is thought that the province is far from being well peopled. It is reckoned, that above 2000 negro ſlaves are annually imported into *Maryland*; ſome planters having five hundred, and one Mr. *Bennet* is ſaid to have had 1300 ſlaves at one time. No planter can plant more than 6000 plants of tobacco per negro, beſides raiſing ſome barrels of corn. The weekly allowance to each negro is a peck of *Indian* corn, and ſome ſalt. The tobacco they raiſe, which is called the *Oroonoko*, is of a ſtrong kind, and not ſo agreeable in the ſouthern parts of *Europe*, as the mild kind, and therefore exported from *Great Britain* to the northern parts. With regard to other manufactures, the inhabitants apply but little to them; a kind of a woollen cloth is made in *Somerſet* county; and a wax is extracted from the fruit of what they call the wax tree, being a kind of a myrtle, which, when mixed with tallow, makes candles. They likewiſe make excellent cyder for their own drinking; but they have vaſt quantities of grapes, that rot upon the ground in the woods, and which it is thought, if properly cultivated, might make a thin and wholeſome wine. The inhabitants of *Maryland* have not yet greatly aſſociated themſelves in towns, which ſome people think is a detriment to the province. We are, however, to obſerve, that, ſecure as they are from the incurſions of the *Indians*, they have not the ſame temptations, as others have, for flocking to great towns, eſpecially, conſidering the vaſt conveniencies for water-carriage with which their country every where abounds.

Cyder.

Trade of Maryland.

THE trade from *Maryland* is of incredible advantage to *Great Britain*. In 1736, it was computed, that *Maryland* employed above one hundred and thirty ſail of ſhips, and that the neat product of tobacco exported from thence and *Virginia*, of which *Maryland* had the greateſt ſhare, amounted to 210,000l. and, at preſent, it is computed, that their mother-country gains above 500,000l. annually from that trade. The inhabitants import their wines from *Madeira*, *Fyal*, and *France*, their rum from *Barbadoes*, and their malt and beer from *England*. Having few manufactures of their own, they likewiſe purchaſe from hence their linen, woollen, furniture, utenſils of every kind, and, indeed, all the conveniencies and elegancies of life. But, notwithſtanding what has been ſaid, their living in detached habitations is, in many reſpects, a great check upon their induſtry. It makes the recovery of their debts difficult, and renders the loading their ſhips very dilatory.

Chief Towns.

We ſhall not take up our readers time in deſcribing the rivers of this country, and their ſituation, which may be known by the map; we ſhall therefore only mention ſome of the chief places in the province. *St. Mary*'s was the original county and ſeat of government. In 1698, ſome medicinal wells were diſcovered there, and the government ordered they ſhould be purchaſed with the land adjoining, and ſome houſes built for the entertainment of the poor. Though the town of *St. Mary*'s is now but inconſiderable, yet it ſtill keeps up its privilege of being governed by a mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council, and the general court is ſtill held in the ſtatehouſe there, and the council for orphans is kept the firſt *Tueſday* in *September*, *November*, *January*, *March*, and *June*; and the place ſends two repreſentatives to the aſſembly. The pariſhes of *Briſtol* and *Piſcataway* are the chief in *Charles* county, which contains nothing in it remarkable; and prince *George* county was laid out ſo late as the year 1695. In *Calvert* county are three townſhips or pariſhes, *Harrington*, *Warrington*, and *Calverton*. *Ann* county contains *Annapolis*, formerly called *Severn*, but received its preſent name in 1694, when it was made a port town, and the reſidence of a collector and naval officer. The county-court was removed hither in 1699, and thenceforth it has always been the chief ſeat of juſtice, and held to be the capital of the province. Since that time a free-ſchool was founded there, and after that other ſchools were erected, of which the archbiſhop of *Canterbury* was chancellor, and truſtees were appointed for them under the denomination of rectors, governors, truſtees, and viſitors of the free-ſchools of *Maryland*. *Baltimore* county contains a ſtraggling pariſh of the ſame name, and theſe are all the counties on the weſt ſide of the bay.

Those on the eaſt ſide are *Cecil* county and *Kent* county, which contain nothing remarkable. *Talbot* county had for its capital *Oxford*, which name it loſt by an act of aſſembly in 1695, when it was called *Williamſtadt*, and made a port town. The inhabitants have a common paſture of one hundred acres of land adjacent to it, and the ſecond ſchool in the province was erected here. It is likewiſe the reſidence of a collector and naval officer, and the county contains beſides the pariſhes of *St. Michael* and *Bolingbroke*. The chief town of *Dorcheſter* county, which is the next, is *Dorcheſter*, and here the county court was kept. An act of the aſſembly in 1698 declared the land lying here on the north ſide of *Nanticoke* river, beginning at the mouth of *Chickacoan* river, and ſo up to the head of it, and from thence to the head of *Anderton*'s branch, and ſo down unto the north-weſt fork to the mouth of the aforeſaid *Chickacoan* river, to belong to two *Indian* chiefs, *Panquaſh* and *Annatouquem*, who, with their ſubjects, were to hold them under the lord proprietary, upon the *reddendo* of one beaver ſkin a year. This moderate and wiſe expedient no doubt has contributed to the tranquillity of this county, and indeed of the province in general. *Somerſet* county has in it a pariſh of the ſame name. Beſides thoſe counties, new ones have been lately laid out; but though all of them are in a flouriſhing condition, they are too inconſiderable to claim a place here.

END *of the* FORTIETH VOLUME.